

NARRATIVE
OF VARIOUS JOURNEYS
IN
BALOCHISTAN, AFGHANISTAN,
THE PANJAB, & KALÂT,

During a Residence in those Countries.

TO WHICH IS ADDED,

AN ACCOUNT OF THE INSURRECTION AT KALÂT, AND A MEMOIR ON
EASTERN BALOCHISTAN.

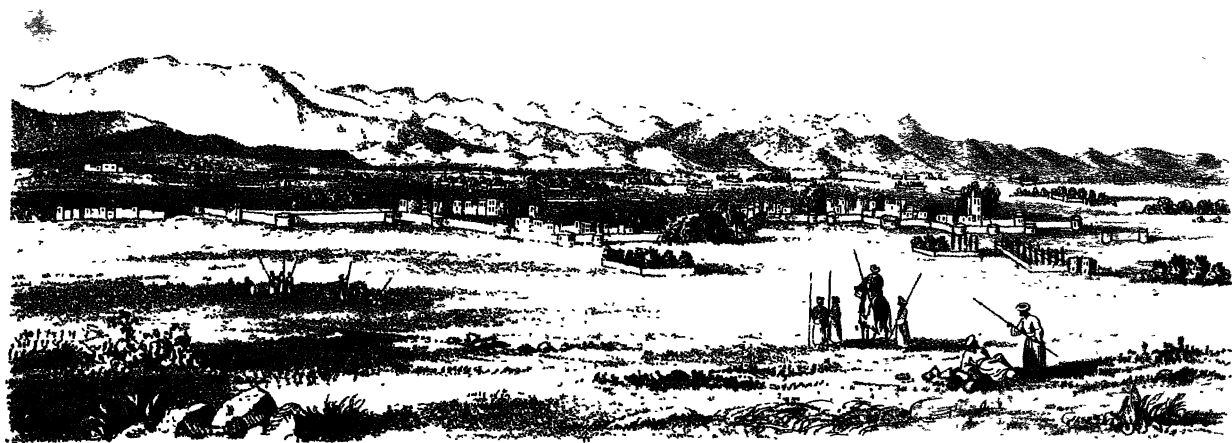
By CHARLES MASSON, Esq.

ILLUSTRATED WITH A LARGE MAP AND NUMEROUS ENGRAVINGS.

IN FOUR VOLUMES.

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The following from a sketch by J. V. M. 1842

VIEW of JELÁLABÁD from the SOUTH

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PREFACE.

It is hoped that the melancholy interest conferred by events upon the countries bordering on the Indus, may justify the publication of these Volumes.

Should the information afforded increase the stock of knowledge already possessed, my labours may prove neither ill-timed nor unprofitable. Accounts of several of the journeys, &c., performed prior to 1831, differing in no essential manner from those now given, found their way to the government-offices both in India and England. In the course of the work I have expressed regret that this should have been the case, but only under the apprehension that they may have been made to subserve the interested schemes of artful and designing men,—a purpose for which most certainly they were never written.

The late Sir Alexander Burnes, in a letter of 9th March, 1836, wrote to me:—"For some years past I have often crossed your path and I have never done so without finding the impressions which I had imbibed regarding your talents, your honour, and your zeal strengthened." I quote this passage

merely to show that while Sir Alexander could privately acknowledge that he had "often crossed my path, &c.," he found it inconvenient as regarded his pretensions publicly to avow so much; and I am in possession of a letter from England, informing me that my papers were considered valuable at the India House, as "corroborating the accuracy of Captain Burnes' statements." It will be seen that I was guiltless of the wild projects which would seem from the first to have possessed the mind of that unfortunate officer, and which he was mainly instrumental in forcing the Government to attempt, however notoriously the results have been disastrous to it and fatal to himself.

In the concluding chapters of the third volume, I have slightly noticed the commercial mission of Captain Burnes in 1837-38. I have, perhaps, said enough to convey an idea of it; it would have been painful to have said more. The late Dr. Lord was commissioned by Lord Auckland to write a history of it. To have glossed over so flagrant a failure probably exceeded his ability, and the task undertaken with temerity was abandoned in despair.

I have also alluded to the honour done me by Sir John Hobhouse in enrolling me amongst the defenders of Lord Auckland's policy. In declining the honour, I trust I have, although briefly, still sufficiently, shown that I am not entitled to it. I wrote the few remarks I made on this subject with

the speech of Sir John, as it appeared in the "Times," before me. I have now the published speech, which from the very circumstance of its being published, I presume the ex-minister to be proud of. In the "Times" I am quoted as having written: "In the recent efforts of Shâh Sûjah there is little doubt but that if a single British officer had gone with him, as a mere reporter of his proceedings to the Governor-general, his simple appearance would have sufficed for the Shâh's re-establishment." There is no doubt that these observations were made by me in 1835 or 1836 on some occasion, and that they could not have been imagined by the "Times" reporter; therefore it may be supposed they were quoted by Sir John Hobhouse, although they are omitted in the published version of the speech.

It was the general opinion in Kâbal that if a *single* British officer had accompanied the Shâh in 1834, that he would have been successful—and I could understand that there was truth in it. A *single* British officer might have done as much in 1838; and I question whether, if Sir Alexander Burnes had been entrusted with the Shâh's restoration, he would have been accompanied with more than the regiment or two which he considered necessary; but when Mr. Secretary Macnaghten became inspired by the desire to acquire renown and to luxuriate in Kâbal, the extensive armament was decided upon, which was utterly unnecessary, and which has conduced to the subsequent mischief as

much as the incapacity of those directing it—for in the hands of abler men it might have also proved a fatal experiment.

I may here controvert the opinion many entertain that Shâh Sújah was unpopular with his Afghâns. His career proves that he was not. Repeatedly, with scanty funds and resources, he has been able to collect thousands around him, and, although from his irresolution generally unsuccessful, he never lost this power until the British destroyed it for him. In the misfortunes the remembrance of which still excites our horror, there was no one more to be pitied than the Shâh, for no man could be placed in a more critical or compromised situation. Before leaving Ferozpúr, he remarked that he was conscious that he should acquire a “badnâm,” a bad name for ever, but that he should again see Kâbal. There was no reason that the exiled prince should have lost his reputation. A *single* British officer, or even a regiment or two might not have injured it. The envoy and minister and his host ruined it. The Afghâns had no objections to the match, they disliked the manner of wooing.

Even after the entry of the Shâh into Kâbal, had the army retired agreeably to the Simla proclamation, he might still have reigned there; but this did not consist with the views of the government from that time revealed.—It was found requisite to remain in order to keep him on the

throne. Had he dared, he would have deprecated such aid.

Misfortune naturally excites compassion, and this has been shown to Dost Máhoméd Khân, who, strangely enough, in opposition to the Shâh has been supposed to have been popular—yet he was not. Abandoned by his army at Arghandí, he became without a struggle a fugitive. When it was found that the British troops did not retire, and dissatisfaction as the consequence spread amongst the people of the country, he sought to profit by it, and presented himself at Bamíân—for what? to be repulsed and then deserted by his allies. Again he showed himself in the Kohistân, but only to surrender.

In Sir John Hobhouse's published speech my opinions are cited as brought forward by Sir Claude Wade. I believe it would be impossible for the latter individual to act in a straightforward manner. He might otherwise have stated that such opinions were given in 1835 or 1836, and might not be applicable to the state of things in 1838. However, Sir John Hobhouse was in possession of my own recommendation, written in reply to Mr. Secretary Macnaghten, that Shâh Sujah should be restored, but he forbore to notice it, because, perhaps, there was no allusion to the designs of Persia and Russia therein, and that the restoration was urged for the purpose of *sparing expense and loss of life*, not of occasioning both the one and the other.

In my remarks on the mission of Captain Burnes, I have endeavoured to show that the primary cause of its failure, was the neglect of the Pesháwer question. I never had but one opinion on that subject. In Mr. Baillie's speech of the 23rd of June, I was surprised to observe quoted a despatch from Captain Burnes to Mr. Macnaghten, written only the day before the mission left Kâbal, and which I introduce here, because, while aware of the interview alluded to, I never knew what passed at it, more than that Captain Burnes himself told me he had rejected every proposal made to him. It also amply proves the correctness of my views, and establishes I should think, pretty clearly, both how easily our affairs in Kâbal might have been arranged, and how grossly Captain Burnes suffered himself to be imposed upon from the very first — while it explains the meaning of all the various stratagems put into play to "rouse the mind of Sikander Burnes."

"On the 25th I received another visit from Sirdâr Meher Dil Khân who was accompanied by the Nawâb Jabâr Khân, Mírza Samee Khân, and the Naibs of Candahar and Câbul; the deputation was a formal one from both branches of the family. The Sirdar now informed me that *the ameer had agreed to dismiss Captain Vicovitch — to hold no further communication with other powers — and to write to the Shâh of Persia, that he had done with his Majesty for ever.* The sirdârs of Candahar on their part agreed to address the shâh, recal Ullahdad, the

agent who had accompanied Kambar Ali, and to place themselves along with their brother, the ameer, entirely under the protection of the British Government; in return for which they claimed at its hand two things, — first, a direct promise of its good offices to establish peace at Pesháwer, and an amelioration in the condition of Súltán Máhoméd Khán; and second, a promise equally direct to afford them protection from Persia in whatever way the British judged it best for their interests, it being clearly understood that Candahar was not to be allowed to suffer injury.”

I can easily imagine that Captain Burnes would conceal from me, on many accounts, the proposals made at this interview; for assuredly had I been aware of them, and that even at the last hour the chiefs had returned to their senses, I might have been spared the disagreeable task of recommending their deposition, under the impression that they obstinately declined any arrangement. The Bárák Zai chiefs have suffered from the errors of Captain Burnes as much as from their own. What Captain Burnes gained we all know.

It is to be hoped that the good sense of the British nation will never again permit such expeditions as the one beyond the Indus, to be concerted with levity, and to be conducted with recklessness; and that the experience acquired from disasters, may be made beneficial in placing the control of Indian affairs in very different hands from those who have so wilfully abused the power

confided to them, and whose rashness and folly in plunging the country into wars ruinous to its reputation may yet be punished.

The security and prosperity of the Indian possessions are too intimately connected with those of Great Britain, to permit that a minister or ministers of the crown, or a Governor-general, shall again endanger them, or be permitted the power of making aggressive wars on trivial or imaginary pretences, and such wars without the consent of the Houses of Parliament, the sanction of the Privy Council, and, for aught we know, without the knowledge of the sovereign of the realm. If such irregularities pass unnoticed the nation will deserve the misfortunes she may entail upon herself, and will cease to be free.

There is much general information on Afghânistan and its inhabitants, which I could not introduce into the present work, although I may at a future time strive to repair this deficiency. Lamenting to a friend that my contracted space obliged me to omit much that I should have been pleased to have noticed, he said, "I hope you have told us who the Afghâns are." I had not done so, yet the question was so pertinent, that I avail myself of the Preface to answer it imperfectly.

The term Afghân, acknowledged by a multitude of tribes speaking the same dialect,—the Pashto or Afghâni,—has no known signification, and is mani-

festly borne by many people of very different origin. There are, however, several marked divisions, such as the Dúránís, the Ghiljís, the Jájís and Túrís; the Yusef Zai tribes, the Khaibarís, the Vazírís, with the tribes of the Súlímân range, &c. Amongst these races it is difficult to tell to whom the appellation of Afghân originally belonged. As regards their origin, we may have recourse to the various traditions preserved by themselves, or by the historians who have mentioned them, as well as to other circumstances.

The Dúránís are known both in India and Persia as the Abdállí or Avdállí, (a plural term,) and when we find that the white Huns of ancient history, the Euthalites of classical authors, were named Hephthäls, by Armenian authors, we might infer that the Abdállí or modern Dúránís, are no other than descendants of that powerful people. The Síáposh Kâfrs remember that their ancestors were driven into their hills from the plains by the Odâls,—a term they still apply to the inhabitants of the low countries.

The Ghiljís are undoubtedly a Túrki tribe, the Khaljí or Khalají of Sherífadín, and other eastern authors.

Ferishta notes a tradition that the Afghâns were descendants of the Copts of Pharaoh's army. It is singular that the Jájís are called in the histories of Taimúr, Kâpt Jájí, seeming to intimate that to

them referred the tradition; it is equally certain that they have precisely the same cast of countenance as the Copt inhabitants of Cairo.

Another tradition describes the Afghâns as descendants of Jews, who accompanied the army of Walid, the general of the Caliphs. This would apply possibly to the Khaibar tribes, who reside in a locality to which they have given the name of a strong-hold or position in Arabia, and who wear locks of hair in a certain manner common to oriental Jews, so that one of the latter on seeing them unhesitatingly pronounces them to be of his stock.

Amongst the Yusef Zai tribes, there are many who may be affirmed, almost with certainty, to be akin to the Rájput tribes of India, and like them, therefore, descended from the Getic, invaders of this part of the world, the subverters of the Greek Bactrian monarchy.

The Vazírís and other mountain-tribes occupying the Súlímân-range or Khaisa-ghar are in the position asserted by very general belief to be the seat of the genuine Afghân races,—true is it that they are found where the Máhomedan inroads first brought the name to notice, and their claims to be considered as the genuine Afghâns are, perhaps, better than those of any other tribes.

The introduction of the Máhomedan faith, with the legends and traditions of that religion, has induced all the Afghâns to pretend to a descent from

the Jewish patriarchs and Kings,—a pedigree, however, only due to their vanity, and which does not require to be too seriously examined.

In another sense they affirm that they are all Ben Israel, or children of Israel, which merely means that they are not heathens; for they affirm Christians, although not acknowledging their prophet, and Shiás whom they revile as heretics, to be equally with themselves Ben Israel, although they exclude Híndús, Chinese, and all idolaters.

LONDON,
1st August, 1842.

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SYSTEM OF ORTHOGRAPHY EMPLOYED.

a	a, as in above, abode, &c.
á	a, as in flat, mat, &c.
â	a, as in fall, hall, &c.
e	e, as in met, set, &c.
é	a, as in mate, fate, &c.
i	i, as in fir, sir, &c.
í	ee, as in meet, feet, &c.
o	o, as in open, over, &c.
ú	oo, as in poor, boor, &c.
ai	i, as in bite, mite, &c.

The consonants have the sounds they ordinarily express in English.

JOURNEYS

IN

BALUCHISTAN, AFGHANISTAN, AND THE PANJAB.

CHAPTER I.

Arrival at Baháwalpúr.—Agreeable transition.—The khân's wish to see me —Khân Máhommed.—His conversations.—Suspected to be an elchí.—Start for Ahmedpúr.—Country between Baháwalpúr and Ahmedpúr.—Arrive at Ahmedpúr.—The Bakhshí Máhommed Khân.—Treated as a public guest.—Ráhmát Khân.—His history.—The khân visits Ahmedpúr and returns to Daráwal. — The Bakhshí and his levées.—Invited to take service.—Seized with fever. — The khân's physicians. — Departure for Allahabád. — Vární.—Appearance of Allahabád. — The khân's hunting pavilions.—Fortunate encounter.—Physicians of Allahabád and their remedies.—The fever leaves.—Salám Khân —Return to Ahmedpúr.—The Bakhshí opposes an interview with the khân.—Refused admittance to the khân's palace. — Humane act of Mútí, Rám. — Chance meeting with the khân. — Interview with the Bakhshí, and offer of military service. — Audience of the khân. —Present of money.—Permission to depart.

IN the autumn of 1826, having traversed the Rájput States of Shekhawátí, and the kingdom of Bikanír, I entered the desert frontiers of the

khân of Bahâwalpûr; and passing successively the towns and castles of Pûlarah, Mîhr Ghar, Jâm Ghar, Marût, and Moz Ghar, arrived at the city of Bahâwalpûr.

Although in crossing Râjpútâna I had met with no obstacles beyond what were presented by the country itself, and its sultry climate, they were so considerable that notwithstanding I had been everywhere civilly received and kindly treated, I was delighted to leave behind arid sandy wastes, and to find myself in a large populous city, surrounded with luxuriantly cultivated fields, and groves of stately palm-trees. As Bahâwalpûr is seated on the skirts of the desert, the transition from a land of sterility and solitude to one of fertility and abundance is very striking to the traveller approaching it from the east, and to myself was particularly agreeable, from my purpose of enjoying within its precincts, the indulgence of a little repose, which I felt to be warrantable after the toils of the journey I had surmounted.

I found, however, that the arrival of a Feringhî, or European, within the khân's territory had been notified by the governor of Pûlarah, and it was wished that I should proceed to Ahmedpûr, that the khân might have an interview with me, as it seemed his curiosity had been so far excited that he had expressed a desire to see me.

At Bahâwalpûr I was the guest of one Khân Mâhomed, a man high in authority, if not the

governor of the place; and in one or two conversations I held with him he acquitted himself very fairly, his themes being politics, medicine, the philosopher's stone, and religion—fashionable topics with great and learned men in the East. I was astonished at some of his questions about Russia, and other European powers, but less so at some curious notions he entertained as to the nature of the Company Sáhib, having previously heard from Salim Singh, an officer of the Bikkanír Rájáh, that the Company Sáhib was a very good old lady, for whom he had a great respect. But the forte of Khán Máhomed was medicine,—and the large quantity of glass bottles ranged around his apartment, and filled with variously coloured liquids, evinced, if not his proficiency as a physician, some little dexterity as a compounder.

He was very anxious to know my business, and could hardly believe that I had none, or that I had not brought some message to the khán, to whom he loyally expressed the devotion of a slave. I had frequently before been suspected to be an elchí, or ambassador, and it was in vain I appealed to the negative evidences of my poverty, and my trudging alone, and on foot. Europeans were considered incomprehensible beings, and the inconveniences I bore from necessity were imputed to choice, or to “ikhmat,” or ingenuity.

I passed three or four days at Bahâwalpúr, which gave me the opportunity of inspecting some of the

manufactures of silk and tissue, for which the city is famed, and of making the acquaintance of Nizámádín, the Kází, a worthy man, who more than once invited me to his residence. I then signified to Khân Máhoméd that I was ready to start for Ahmedpúr; and he commissioned one of his dependents to accompany me, and to conduct me to the house of Máhoméd Khân, the bakhshí, or paymaster of the khân's forces.

The distance between Bahâwalpúr and Ahmedpúr is about twenty cosses, or thirty miles; and we made two journeys, passing the night at Bakhshí Khân ka Masjít, a small village, so called from a comparatively handsome mosque, built by an individual whose name it bears. The heat of the weather was oppressive, but the country was well cultivated and peopled—the villages being usually distinguished by contiguous groups of tamarisk trees, which attain a surprising size. Water everywhere abounded, in wells of slight depth, and is raised to the surface by the medium of wheels, worked by oxen, and sometimes by camels. On one occasion we crossed a nullah or water-course, which I have reason to remember, as the camel I was riding lost his footing, and precipitated me into it; an accident more than compensated by the pleasure derived from immersion,—while so powerful were the rays of the sun, that my apparel—and I was clad in white linen—became dry nearly as soon as wetted.

On reaching Ahmedpúr we proceeded, as had been arranged, to the abode of the bakhshí, who, while he courteously welcomed me, was, setting aside his elevated position, by no means so refined a personage as his colleague and friend at Bahâwalpúr. He informed me that the khân was then at Daráwal, a fortress, eighteen cosses distant in the desert, where, it is understood, he keeps his treasures, as in a safe place, and where he frequently resides. The bakhshí was anxious that I should spend my time pleasantly until the khân revisited Ahmedpúr, which he was expected to do in a few days, and assigned me to the care of Ráhmát Khân, a Rohilla officer, who from long service in Hindostân was supposed to be acquainted with European manners and habits, and therefore competent to attend to my wants.

Ráhmát Khân cheerfully accepted his charge, and conducted me to his quarters, which were, indeed, not very good ones—still a distinct and tolerably fair house was prepared for my reception. The bakhshí was also careful to send after me a variety of provisions, with bedsteads, utensils, and water vessels, as is the usual observance in the case of public guests, amongst whom, I learned, that I was enumerated. Ráhmát Khân was a native of Rámpúr, in Northern India; and I gleaned from his history, that he had been a soldier of fortune, having commanded, in his palmy days, two battalions in the camp of the Mahrátta Sirdár Hírah Singh.

Afterwards he had served under the celebrated Amír Khân, and still later, under the banners of the Bhow Sáhíb, the chief of Jáwad, when, at the capture of that fortress by the British, he became a prisoner of war. When set at liberty he abandoned India, and gained Bahâwalpúr, where the command of one hundred men was conferred upon him, with the custody of the gharrí of Fázilpúr, on the frontier of Sind. His pay was fixed at two rupees per diem, but I was told he realized about five rupees by false musters, and practices which, if not permitted, are at least tolerated. Unable, however, to forget or to forego the gaities to which he had been accustomed in the Mahrátta camps, he was necessarily involved in debt, to the large amount of six thousand rupees; and during my stay with him we had some nautches, spectacles of which, like most natives of India, he was excessively fond, and concluded that I must be equally so. His men were generally of the same town or province as himself. Many of them were attached to him when in better circumstances, and all of them, according to their own assertions, had been in more honourable and lucrative employ than that of the khân of Bahâwalpúr.

It was not long before the khân came to Bahâwalpúr, but as he remained only a day or two, and had much business to transact, the bakhshí, bewildered by his accounts, and the clamours of the soldiery for pay, forgot to inform him of my presence, and

ignorant thereof, the khân returned to his strong desert fastness, glad to shelter himself in its solitude from the importunities of his dependents, and the weighty cares of government.

The bakhshí, I found, had been born a slave of the reigning family, and had been promoted to his present office by the favour of the present khân. He is not emancipated, and his pay, as registered, is but eight annas, or half a rupee daily; still, having the management of large funds, he is enabled to enrich himself, and to live luxuriously. I attended at two or three of his levées, and was surprised at the freedom with which the meanest soldier addressed him. No delicacy was observed in the selection of language, and I wondered that he called me to witness, as it were, the torrents of abuse lavished upon him. When he dismissed his contentious clients, he conversed with me, and felt the conviction that I was a sirdar of no small consequence, from the circumstance of having made use of my hand in addressing him. He appeared to have little ability, and although considered the head of the forces, he never commands them on service, the post of honour being reserved for the Vazír Yákúb Máhoméd Khân.

I expressed so strongly displeasure at his forgetfulness that we became worse friends than we had before been, and I told him that I should now continue my journey without seeing the khân. Fearful to incur blame, in that case, he replied, that I should

not proceed ; which made me ask him, who he was who dared to prevent any one travelling on God's high roads ? To which question he had no answer to make, but evasively suggested that I should engage in the khân's military service, as, he said, one Búra Sáhib (some European who had previously visited Bahâwalpúr) had done. To this I gave a peremptory refusal. I had understood from my Ahmedpúr acquaintance that the climate was very hostile to strangers ; and I found that Búra Sáhib, the European mentioned by the bakhshí, had died from its baneful effects. Indeed the heat was seriously troublesome ; and I was particularly anxious to move forward, which I should have done in spite of the bakhshí's prohibition had I not been seized by an intermittent fever, which entirely prostrated me. This misfortune increased my anger with the bakhshí, whom I reviled as being the cause of it ; and he, apprehensive lest the termination should be fatal, sent the khân's hákíms or physicians, whose insignificant remedies I was obliged to reject ; and being ignorant myself of the correct mode of treatment, my case became nearly hopeless. There seemed little chance of the khân's speedy re-appearance at Ahmedpúr, and as little that I should recover if I remained there, I therefore decided upon trying a change of air and locality ; and from my inquiries, selected Allahabád, a town twenty cosses from Ahmedpúr, on the road to Sind. I accordingly left my effects in the charge of Ráhmat Khân, and

taking nothing but my sword, started, before sunrise, on the road pointed out to me. From the commencement of the fever, the glare of the sun had been peculiarly irksome to me, and I found it impossible to travel after sunrise, when I was compelled, wherever I might be, to seek the nearest shade and throw myself on the ground beneath it. The country through which I was passing was covered with tamarisk jangal, among which the villages and cultivated lands were sprinkled. The former were seldom visible from the road, but I was directed to them by the creaking of the wheels at the wells. At all of them was what is called a *máchí*, a person, generally a female, who provides lodging and prepares food for the stranger and traveller. I made so little progress that it was four or five days before I reached *Vární*, a large village on the road side, and I was so exhausted that I remained at the *máchí's* house two or three days, and then proceeded, somewhat recruited, towards Allahabád. The approach to this town was more pleasing than I had anticipated, for the jangal ceasing, I came upon a rivulet of running water, beyond which stretched a large expanse of meadow, and in the distance I beheld the cupola of the principal mosque of the place, embosomed in groves of date-trees. As I neared the town I came upon a veranda, carried around a huge *pípal* tree, which I found was one of the *khân's* hunting pavilions, and as the shade it afforded was very complete, I re-

posed the greater part of the day under it. I afterwards saw many other such pavilions in various parts of the country; and if simple in construction, they are not inelegant, while admirably adapted for the purpose for which they were formed. Towards evening I moved towards the town, and at its entrance was accosted by a well-dressed person, who at once invited me to his house. I accompanied him, and soon found myself comfortably located.

My new friend was most attentive; nor did his goodness merely extend to my entertainment; he proposed also to remove my disorder. He convened the physicians of the place; but their prescriptions were quite as inefficacious as those of their brethren at Ahmedpúr, and they laboured in vain to persuade me that conserve of roses and sugar-candy could cure inveterate fevers. I had every reason to be grateful for my reception here, but my disease seemed in no wise likely to yield, when in despair I became my own doctor, and, to the dismay of my well-meaning friends, sent for the ájâm, or barber, who bled me both on the hands and arms; I likewise drank plentifully of infusions of senna; and whether the remedies were judicious, or from other causes, I had the great satisfaction to find myself without fever, although in a deplorable state of weakness.

My hospitable entertainer was delighted and astonished at my recovery, from remedies he considered

desperate ones, but spared neither pains nor expense in the fare with which he provided me, under the idea of establishing my strength. I had found the cuisine of Khân Máhoméd at Baháwalpúr a very good one, and that of my Allahabád friend was not less entitled to praise. This commendable person, to whom I owe so much obligation, was Salám Khân, Dáoud putra, a man of affluent circumstances, and the principal authority in his town. I need not testify to his humanity, but may add, that he was extremely mild and modest in manners. I learned from his attendants that he was reputed a kímíá ghar, or alchemist; but more instructed men than he was have their foibles, and with me he never discoursed on the subject.

Finding myself better, I proposed to return to Ahmedpúr, when Salám Khân begged me to stay yet another two or three days, when he would go there himself, and we should go together. In due time, a horse being saddled for my use, we started. My friend made a respectable appearance, and carried on his back a handsome quiver of arrows, the emblem of rank and dignity, and we were followed by some of his mounted attendants. Salám Khân being acquainted with the country, passed by a much nearer route than the high road by which I had journeyed, and skirting the edge of the desert, we were not long in reaching Vární, where we passed the night, and in the morning proceeded to Ahmedpúr. There we separated, Salám Khân re-

pairing to his friends, and I to my former quarters at Ráhmát Khân's. I found that my Rohilla acquaintance was favourably known to Salám Khân for his courteous and sirdar-like demeanour, and I became cognizant that he was generally respected throughout the country for the same reason.

Ráhmát Khân received me most cordially, and I had abundant congratulations on my recovery. I learned that the khân had not during my absence revisited Ahmedpúr, but that he was daily expected. In effect, he very soon came, and I notified to Ráhmát Khân that I intended to pay my respects to him, and he in turn informed the bakhshí, who now said that I should not see the khân, as I would not engage in his service. To which, when stated to me, I said, I would see the khân.

On going, however, to the khân's residence, for the purpose of an interview, I found that the people at the entrance had been instructed by the bakhshí to refuse me admittance. I discovered it was useless to argue with them, and was about to return, when Mútí Rám, the khân's Hindú dewán, or minister of finance, came out. He did not go so far as to act in opposition to the bakhshí, and procure me an interview with the khân, but, contrary to my wishes and expostulations, alighted from his horse, and insisted that I should ride the animal home. The truth was, I was still very feeble, which he observed, and his act at least showed that he was a humane man.

I had now determined to continue my journey westward, and was careless about seeing the *khân*, as I had really no business with him—thinking only of giving my friend the *bakhshí* a good lecture before I left. It happened, however, that near the town was a fine meadow, where, now that I felt able, I strolled in the evening; and here by chance, the *khân*, who never sleeps in Ahmedpúr, passed me, carried in a palanquin, and escorted by a numerous cavalcade. His eye caught me, and he ordered his conveyance to be halted; when he asked, who I was, how long I had been at Ahmedpúr, and why he had not been informed of it, at the same time making a motion with his hand for me to approach. I had not pressed through the crowd, when the *khân* resumed progress, but one of his attendants, to whom he had whispered something, apprised me that his lord would be glad to see me in the morning at *darbár*.

I had scarcely returned to Ráhmát Khân, and told him what had occurred, when a messenger came from the *bakhshí*, praying that I would call upon him. I accordingly went, and Ráhmát Khân accompanied me. We found the great man at prayers. When concluded, he joined us, and we had a long conversation, during which I upbraided him for his conduct in detaining me, and then for preventing my interview with the *khân*. He entreated me to engage in the service, telling me that the *khân* would make over to me his seven regi-

ments of infantry, with their guns, and sanction the levy of as many more. I repeated what I had before told him, that I would have nothing to do with them. He urged that Búra Sáhib, had before engaged in the service,—and I said, what suited the convenience of Búra Sáhib might not suit mine. He then recommended me to proceed, and join the Saiyad Ahmed Shâh. And I asked who was Saiyad Ahmed Shâh, and what I had to do with him. I was at this time ignorant as to the Saiyad, and the cause in which he was combating, and knew little more than that he was a deadly enemy of the Síkh's. The bakhshí was then desirous to learn where I intended to go, and whether to Dost Máhoméd Khân of Kábal. I answered, I should go where and to whom I pleased. He was, probably, little satisfied with the result of his interview, but he was so subdued that when I spoke sharply to him he actually trembled, which when we parted afforded a subject of merriment to Ráhmat Khân.

On the morrow I walked to the Killa, or residence of the khân, and was immediately ushered in at the gate. We passed a well-stocked aviary before being introduced to the khân's presence. He was seated, cross-legged, on a carpet, reclining on a large pillow, with his left arm resting on a black shield. He was plainly dressed in white linen, but had magnificent armlets of turquoises, set in gold. Before him was lying a double-barreled fowling-piece, and on each side of him European

sabres. His countenance was remarkably handsome, and bore every indication of goodness, although I recollected as I beheld it, that his accession to authority had been marked by the slaughter of some of his father's ministers, an usual consequence of the transfer of power in oriental states, yet barely excusable on that account. He was not above twenty-three or twenty-four years of age. He politely welcomed me, and directed his arms to be shown to me, that I might ascertain their fabric, while he explained how he had procured them. He made few other inquiries, either because he knew from the bakhshí, who was dutifully standing behind him, that I was obstinate in refusing to enter his service, or because, aware that I had been recently unwell, he was deterred by good feeling from wearying me. He asked the bakhshí, however, as to my diet, and was told that I ate everything, meat, fish, fowls, eggs, and, as was added, all at the same time, which I doubt not was thought very singular, although I did no more than they do constantly themselves. I soon received permission to depart, the good Mútí Rám mentioning that I was feeble; and I had gone a few paces when I was called back to be told, the khân had ordered a sum of money to be carried home with me for "mímâní," or my entertainment; and I saw the khân himself take three double-handfuls of rupees from two heaps which were piled up before him. I was glad to get away, and paid no attention to the present;

therefore, when I regained my quarters I received about sixty rupees, which must have been a small portion only of the sum given.

When again in my quarters, I found myself attended by numbers of the officers and men of the battalions, who it seemed had heard of the khân's wish to place them under me; and they urged me to accept the charge, for then, they said, the bakhshí would be unable to detain their pay, and they should receive it regularly. I expressed my doubts whether I should be likely to reform the incorrigible bakhshí, and assured them, apparently to their regret, that I did not intend to undertake the task. I received also, another application from the bakhshí, who, perhaps, thought the kind reception and liberality of the khân might have softened my resolution; but hearing that I was firm, he signified that I was at liberty to remain as long as I pleased at Ahmedpúr, or to go when and where I thought fit.

Although I had suffered much from fever and its consequences, during my stay at Ahmedpúr and its neighbourhood, I had every reason to be gratified with the civility of all classes of the people; and I found them always disposed to be communicative on points within their knowledge.

CHAPTER II.

BAHAWALPUR.

Boundaries.—Extent.—Distinctions of soil, &c.—Domestic animals, &c.—Towns.—Bahâwalpúr.—Barra Ahmedpúr.—Uch.—Khânpúr.—Chúta Ahmedpúr.—Gujugar Wâlla, &c.—Púlarah.—Múrút.—Moz Ghar.—Gúdíána.—Daráwal.—Fazilpúr.—Military strength.—Revenue.—Dáoudpútras.—Bahâwal Khân.—Sâdat Khân.—Bahâwal Khân.

THE country of Bahâwalpúr is bounded on the north by the Síkh provinces of Múltân, Mankírah, and Líya. To the south it has the great desert, separating it from Jessalmír. On the east it touches to the north on the lands of the Síkh chief of Pátíala, and more directly east, on the frontiers of the Rájput principality of Bikkanír. Westward it is defined by the river Indus, which divides it from Mittan Rote, and a slip of territory dependent on Déra Ghází Khân; and lower down, from Harrand and Dájíl, provinces of the Bráhúí Khân of Kalât.

From Gúdíána, its frontier town on the Pátíala side, to Chúta Ahmedpúr, where it connects with Northern Sind, the distance is one hundred and eighty cosses, or about two hundred and seventy miles; and from Púlarah, on the borders of Bikkanír, to Déra Ghází Khân, is computed one

hundred and forty cosses, or above two hundred miles. Its breadth importantly varies, being affected by the course of the Gárrah river to the north, and of the desert to the south. Its greatest breadths are on the extreme frontiers to the east and west. In the centre the pressure of the desert upon the cultivated parts allows but a comparatively small space between it and the river to the north.

In this extent there are some marked distinctions as to soil, character, and produce. The portion between Gúdíána and the capital I have not seen, but have heard spoken of in glowing terms as to fertility and population. The accounts may be credited, as its fertility would be secured by the vicinity of the Gárrah, and fertility would induce population. The portion of desert stretching eastward of Baháwalpúr to Bikkanír, is of course but little productive, yet, as in many parts of it the surface has more soil than sand, there are, amongst other inhabited localities, the bazar towns of Púlarah, Múrut, and Moz Ghar, which drive a considerable trade in grain with the neighbouring states. In this tract also the camel thrives exceedingly, and finds ample sustenance in the prickly and saline plants which cover the surface. Neither are there wanting numerous herds of horned cattle; which are, however, continually shifting their position, being guided by the convenience of water. Their proprietors, in certain seasons of the year,

abandon their villages, and erect temporary abodes in the spots they select, which, as in Bikkanír, are called kétlís. At them the traveller finds abundance of milk, butter, &c. which at such times he might not procure at the villages they have abandoned. In remote times, rivers flowed through and fertilized this now sterile country; their beds may in many places be still traced; and numerous vestiges remain of ancient towns, in burned bricks and fragments of pottery strewed on the soil. The central districts of Uch, the capital, Khânpúr, Allahabád, and Ahmedpúr are distinguished by a most luxuriant cultivation of the various kinds of grain, of sugar, and of the indigo plant. There cannot be a more gratifying sight than is exhibited by this part of the country before the period of harvest, the whole surface presenting an expanse of standing grain, with villages, neatly constructed of reeds, interspersed, and accompanied with groups of trees, usually of the bér, and date species. As soon as the crops are removed, such is the exuberance of vegetation, that the ground is covered with plants and shrubs, and no one would suppose that the land, now mingled with the jangal, had so lately been under cultivation. Between Uch and Déra Ghází Khân there is much jangal, yet occasionally, or adjacent to the towns and villages, there is a vigorous cultivation of grain, and of sugar-cane, denoting that the soil is rich and prolific. From Bahâwalpúr to Khânpúr the country is rich and well-culti-

vated, although confined on the south by the sandy desert. From Khânpúr to Chúta Ahmedpúr the face of the country changes, and becomes more adapted for grazing; still, even in this direction there is much tilled land near the towns and villages. Although the larger proportion of surface in the Bahâwalpúr territory is spread over with jangal, it must not be supposed that it is unprofitable. On the contrary, it affords pasture to immense numbers of horned cattle, cows, and buffaloes, — sources of wealth and comfort to the inhabitants. Bikkanír, and other of the Rájput states to the east, mainly depend upon Bahâwalpúr for their supplies for consumption. There are few, if any countries in Asia, where provisions, the produce of the soil, are more abundant or cheaper than in the Bahâwalpúr state.

The domestic animals of Bahâwalpúr are, the camel, the buffalo, the common cow, the gaddí or short-tailed sheep, the goat, &c. The camel is reared in large numbers, as above stated, in the desert to the east, also in the neighbourhood of the capital and of Ahmedpúr. It is employed, to a limited extent, for agricultural purposes, being sometimes attached to the plough, or made to revolve the wheel at wells. In Bikkanír this animal is universally so employed, and partially in Sind. The buffalo is highly prized for its milk, which is delicious, and its meat is even preferred to that of the cow. Poultry are plentiful, but tame geese, I con-

clude, are rarities, having only seen them at Bakhshí Khân ka-Masjít. Wild fowl are so abundant in the western parts near the Indus, that at Fázilpúr a goose may be purchased for one of the small copper pais of the country, in value less than a halfpenny, and two or three ducks may be procured for the same sum. They are caught by a peculiar race, called Mohánís, who furnish the fishermen and sailors employed on the Indus. The jangals abound in game, as deer and the wild hog. Partridges, quail, bustards, pigeons, &c, are universal.

There are many opulent and commercial towns in the Bahâwalpúr dominions. Amongst the first class towns, may be reckoned Bahâwalpúr (the capital), Barra, or Great Ahmedpúr, Uch, Khânpúr, &c. Amongst the second class, Chúta, or Little Ahmedpúr, Allahabád, Gugujar Wâlla, Channí Khân di Got, Gházipúr, Kinjer, Púlarah, Múrút, Moz Ghar, Gúdíána, &c. The minor towns, or large bazar villages, are very numerous, and the number of agricultural villages and hamlets exceedingly great.

Bahâwalpúr is seated about two miles from the river Gárrah. It formerly had walls, the indications of which only exist, and are used as a walk for the inhabitants. The houses are chiefly constructed of kiln-burnt bricks, and are very much mixed with gardens. The whole is arranged in a loose straggling manner, and is on all sides encircled by groves of date and pípal trees. The public

buildings are not very remarkable, neither are any of the khân's palaces attractive residences. There is, indeed, a handsome stone masjid in progress of erection. This town is the seat of many manufactures, some of them costly, and has a large trade. It is sixty cosses from Múltân, one hundred and twenty cosses from Bikkanír, and sixty from Déra Ghází Khân.

Barra Ahmedpúr from having been merely a cantonment has become an extensive and commercial town, as well as the principal residence of the khân. It is seated on the verge of the desert. The killa, or palace of the chief, is yet unfinished. The houses are generally mean, but the gardens are good. From the favour of the khân, it may be considered a rising town, as Bahâwalpúr is on the decline.

Uch is, perhaps, the more ancient of the towns in the country. The name is borne by two towns contiguous to each other. One of them, Pír-ka-Uch, is bestowed on Pír Nassiradín, the spiritual adviser of the khân. They have both good bazars, and some commerce. Seated upon the Gárrah, grain-boats frequently descend from the two Uchs to Sind. They are principally, however, distinguished by the ruins of the former towns, their predecessors, which are very extensive, and attest the pristine prosperity of the locality. They are eighteen cosses from Ahmedpúr, and about forty cosses from Múltân.

Khânpúr is forty cosses from Barra Ahmedpúr. It is surrounded by a country amazingly fertile, and is a depôt for indigo, rice, and all kinds of grain. It has no pretensions to be considered a handsome town; neither, judged by its traffic, can it be called a large one. Some of the Hindús have spacious residences, yet, generally speaking, the houses are very indifferent. The ancient walls have fallen down, and have not been replaced. Without their ruins are many dilapidated serais, and other buildings. There is no fort here; nor is it judged necessary to keep a garrison.

Chúta Ahmedpúr is a fair-sized town, with good bazar, and surrounded with mud walls. Within them are some more recently fortified erections, but they are detached, and have no connection with each other, so that they seem to have been raised in pursuance of a plan never completed, as is probably the case. Otherwise they are well built, of kiln-burnt bricks. Being the frontier town towards Sind, a regiment of three hundred and fifty men, with six guns, is stationed at Ahmedpúr.

Gujugar Wâlla, Channí Khân di Got, Gházípúr, and Kinjer, are all small, but commercial towns, principally in grain, the produce of the country.

Púlarah, on the frontier of Bikkánír, has a good bazar, but is not perhaps very commercial. The fortress adjacent has been a superior building, for these parts, but is now sadly in decay. There was once a good trench; the walls are very high, and

the battlements are tastefully decorated. The killedar's house soars above the ramparts, and the whole has an antique and picturesque appearance, particularly from the northern side, where the walls are washed by a large expanse of water, in which is a small island studded with trees. There are three guns at Púlarah.

Múrút is a town of importance, as regards its trade in grain, but of little as to its aspect. It is surrounded with mud walls of considerable extent, and strengthened by numerous towers. It is the station of a regiment, with six guns.

Moz Ghar is not so large a town as Múrút, but its contiguous fortress is a lofty structure, built of kiln-burnt bricks. On the western face the walls have been perforated with cannon balls, which, we are told, happened in the siege it endured from the first Baháwal khân. The apertures have never been repaired, being supposed evidences of the obstinacy of the defence and of the strength of the fortress. They, however, show its weakness, for they enable us to detect the slightness of the walls. East of the fort is a pool of water, shaded by a grove of trees, amongst which is a huge pípál, an object of veneration to the Hindús of the town. At a slight distance to the north is a Máhomedan tomb, handsomely decorated with lacquered blue and white tiles.

Gúdíána being a frontier town, is the station of a regiment, with its attached guns. It is said to have a good bazar and some trade.

The chief fortress of the state is Duráwal, before noted, equidistant from Ahmedpúr and Baháwalpúr, or eighteen cosses from each. It is represented as strong, and possibly some care has been bestowed upon it, as the khâns have always selected it for the deposit of their hoards, and for an asylum in case of invasion. Its chief dependence in such a case, would appear to be in its situation, and the difficulty a besieging army would find in subsisting near it, there being no water to be procured without the walls at a shorter distance than nine cosses. It has been seen, that the desert between the capital and Bikanír is abundantly stocked with fortresses, which were formerly more needed than at present. Besides those enumerated, the gharrís, or castles, at Jam Ghar and Míhr Ghar are built of kiln-burnt bricks, but have no longer garrisons. Six cosses from Chúta Ahmedpúr is Fázilpúr, also a gharrí, with a garrison of one hundred and fifty men, which furnishes a detachment of fifteen men to Kandéri, a ruinous castle in the desert, in the direction of Jesalmír. Kandéri is twenty-seven cosses from Fázilpúr, and the limit of the khân's territory.

The troops consist of seven regiments of infantry, of three hundred and fifty men each, forming a total of two thousand four hundred and fifty. To each regiment are attached six guns, which may suppose some four hundred artillerymen. There are, besides, foot companies of Rohillas and Patáns, of fifty, one hundred, and two hundred men each, under

their respective officers, having, each one, two or three nishâns, or standards, as the case may be. These men possibly amount to one thousand. There are, moreover, horsemen in regular pay, who can scarcely exceed in number from two to three thousand. The grand total of the army may be from six to seven thousand men. They are badly equipped, irregularly paid, and, I suspect, not very warlike. The regiments have no sort of discipline. The natives affirm the military force to consist of fourteen thousand men, which I think can only be correct as including all the jághírdárs, and others, whom it might be possible to assemble in case of emergency.

The annual revenue is estimated at eighteen lakhs of rupees, one half of which is paid to the Síkhs. But then the khân rents from them the city and territory of Déra Ghází Khân, for three lakhs of rupees; and it is believed that he gains two lakhs thereby.

The reigning chief at Bahâwalpúr is of a Jet family, called Dáoudpútra, or the sons of David. They formerly lived about Shíkárpúr, but becoming numerous, and perhaps refractory, they were expelled; and crossing the Indus, possessed themselves of the country, where they established separate and independent chiefships. Many of their leaders built towns, to which they gave their respective names; hence Bahâwalpúr, the town of Bahâwal; Ahmedpúr, the town of Ahmed; Fazilpúr, the town of Fázil; Sabzul Kot, the kot or fort of Sabzal; &c. &c.

There is mention in the history of Amír Taimúr, of a notorious freebooter named Dáoud, in the vicinity of Shíkárpúr; and this good man may have been the ancestor of the present Dáoudpútras. I know not how long the various leaders may have subsisted in a state of independence, or subject to the sovereignty of Delhí, but the dislocation of the Chághatai empire permitted Bahâwal Khân, the grandfather of the present khân, to reduce them all, and to make himself absolute. He grew so powerful as to be the terror of his neighbours, and to resist the claims of tribute made on him by the Duraní monarch of Kâbal, Taimúr Sháh, who found himself compelled to enforce it with an army. Bahâwal Khân died full of years and renown, and was succeeded by his son, Sâdat Khân, favourably known to Europeans by his cordial reception of the British embassy to Kâbal in 1808. At a subsequent period he compromised himself with Máhárájá Ranjit Sing, whose conquests had extended his authority over Múltân; and Sâdat Khân, unable to oppose him, was constrained to purchase peace by submission, and the payment of an annual tribute. He died soon after, and left his enfeebled sway to the present Bahâwal Khân.

This chief, I have before observed, has a prepossessing appearance, and I believe is generally popular. His ministers relieve him, in great measure, from the toils of government, and his time is principally occupied in amusements, of which shikár, or

the chase, is the most prominent. He has, however, other accomplishments, and is a very tolerable mechanic.

Since my visit to Bahâwalpûr, the train of events in these quarters had brought about a treaty between the khân and the government of India, by which his relations with the Sîkhs were placed on a secure footing, and a British resident, or agent, was located at his court. In the commencement of the unfortunate expedition against Kâbal in 1838, the awkwardness of the political officer employed to procure the coöperation, so far as necessary, of the khân, had nearly involved that chief in embarrassment with the British government, and, in despair, he was thinking of terminating his existence by a dose of poison. Luckily, Sir Henry Fane proceeded down the Satlej and Gárah, in his route to Bombay, and visited Bahâwalpûr. His straight-forward manners dispelled the doubts and apprehensions of the bewildered chief, and Sir Henry had the gratification to save a good man from the evils which threatened him.

CHAPTER III.

Departure from Ahmedpúr.—Country between Ahmedpúr and the Indus.—The Indus.—Déra Ghází Khân.—Christmas-day.—Departure from Déra Ghází Khân.—Baháwalpúr army.—Arrival at the Sang Ghar frontier.—Alarm in camp.—Arrival at Sang Ghar.—Assad Khân.—Sang Ghar.—Revenue of Assad Khân.—His bravery.—His fate.—Country between Sang Ghar and Déra Fatí Khân.—Déra Fatí Khân.—Superstition of Ranjit Sing.—Gerong.—Déra Ismael Khân.—Destruction of old city.—Progress of the new one.—Its fortress.—Revenue.—Military strength.—Former Nawáb dispossessed by the Síkhs.—Country around Déra Ismael Khân.—Its capabilities.—Origin of the three Déras.—The Nawáb Shír Máhommed Khân.—His amusements and character.—Sherín Khân, the vazír.

I HAD arranged for departure from Ahmedpúr, when I learned that Yákúb Máhommed Khân, the khân's chief minister, or vazír, was proceeding to Déra Ghází Khân and Sang Ghar, with an army, for the purpose of compelling the petty chief of the latter place to pay tribute. It became, therefore, partly necessary to shape my course according to the vazír's movements, as both the places lay in my route, and it might not be prudent to enter the Sang Ghar district until some arrangement had been made. I consequently kept myself informed of Yákúb Máhommed Khan's plans; and when he finally marched from Ahmedpúr, I did so likewise.

The distance from Ahmedpúr to Déra Ghází Khân is computed at sixty cosses, or ninety miles. Numerous villages and small towns occur on the road, and two or three considerable ones, as Uch, Kinjer, &c. Some of them are held by the Síkhs, whose territory on this frontier is curiously dovetailed into that of the khân of Bahâwalpúr; and I noted, that all those under Sîkh rule were more flourishing in appearance than those under the Máhomedan government, as well as being much more cleanly, which I accounted for by supposing that the Hindús, always the principal inhabitants, felt themselves at liberty under Sîkh sway to display their wealth, whereas under Máhomedan masters they were studious to conceal it. The surface of the country was generally covered with jangal, of long grass, and tamarisk trees, in some places so dense, that it was difficult to pass through it. I, however, suspect that we were conducted by a circuitous route, and that there was a much better and more open route by which the army marched. The jangal swarmed with wild hogs and deer, and in many spots we remarked the grass trodden or beaten down, indicating they had been scenes of the khân's hunting exploits. On such occasions, a large tract is enclosed by multitudes, collected from the country around. They gradually close in upon the pavilion in which their ruler, with his favoured attendants, is seated, driving the animals, hemmed in within the circle, before them, when he deliberately aims at

them, and estimates his triumph by the number of the helpless victims he brings to the ground.

It was not without emotion that I approached the river Indus, hallowed by so many historical recollections, and now the boundary, as once possibly the parent seat of the Hindú races. I found it, perhaps, nearly as low as it could ever be ; still its bed was most extensive, and at the point we crossed must have been three miles in breadth. There were two or three boats at the ferry, but the wide expanse of sand, and the scanty reeds and shrubs fringing the opposite shores, gave a feature of loneliness to the prospect, which required the strength of associations to relieve. Numerous, on the borders, were the tracks of tigers, which, from such tokens, must be very common, although they are seldom seen, and, I learned, seldom do harm. I felt, however, a deep interest of another kind, in reflecting on the people and scenes I was about to leave behind, and on the unknown lands and races the passage of the river would open to my observation. If a feeling of doubt for a moment clouded my mind, one of pride at having penetrated so far removed it, and encouraged me to proceed farther.

Three or four miles beyond the river we entered the immense assemblage of date groves and gardens, amid which the large, populous, and commercial town of Déra Ghází Khân is situated. In the town itself, we were provided with good quarters, and were not sorry that we should be obliged to halt a

a few days at it, as Yákúb Máhoméd Khân required some time to complete his arrangements, before making his offensive demonstration against Sang Ghar, now thirty cosses distant.

The town of Déra Ghází Khân, but a few years before the residence of a Dúrání governor, contained within its limits numerous vestiges, which denoting its present depressed political condition, also pointed to its former prosperity. Such were large brick-built residences, with extensive gardens, either desolated or occupied by humble tenants, and the public mosques, neglected and falling to decay. The bazars, with no pretensions to appearance, or even cleanliness, were still capacious and well supplied, and the merchants carried on a good trade, Déra being one of the commercial marts visited by the Lohání merchants of Afghânistân, while it does good business with the immediately adjacent parts.

During our stay here we spent our Christmas-day, and the abundance of every thing enabled us to regale ourselves bountifully, while we enjoyed the luxuries of fresh grapes, pears, and apples, brought by the traders from the orchards of Kábal. The nights here were particularly cold, and the days equally warm; indeed the vicissitudes of temperature at Déra render it an unhealthy place, and strangers are liable to intermittent and other fevers.

The Máhomedan inhabitants complained much of their misfortune in being under Síkh domination, while the Hindús joined with them in deprecating

the rapacity of the Baháwalpúr chief, who farms the revenues from Máhárájá Ranjit Singh. Both parties also united in regretting that the Dúrání power had passed away. And amongst their ancient governors they affectionately remembered the Nawáb Jabár Khân, extolling his liberality and his humanity.

The vazír being at length prepared to march, we started with him, and contrived to pass the night in the village near to which he encamped with his troops. We had now a better opportunity than before of observing his little army, and its composition. There were about three thousand men, horse and foot, with six guns. The appearance of the soldiers told little for them; and if by that test their prowess in the field might have been estimated, I should have thought them lucky to escape collision with a determined foe. On inquiry as to the means of opposition at the command of the khân of Sang Ghar, I was told, that he was personally a brave man, and that he had a body of seven hundred good horse, mostly Afghâns, and more than a match for the whole of the vazír's force, besides the less esteemed foot levies, from his raiyats, or subjects.

It was not, however, expected, by the best informed, that a contest would take place; but that, after a little blustering the khân would submit with the best grace he could, and pay the tribute, thirty thousand rupees, demanded of him; for, even should he succeed in discomfiting the vazír, he would be

apprehensive of drawing down upon him a large SÍkh force, when he would be compelled to abandon his country.

We marched through the lands dependent on Déra Ghází Khân without much order or precaution; but on entering the domain of Sang Ghar the vazír observed greater vigilance, especially as reports were rife that the khân's intentions were warlike. Indeed, we halted at the first village, and Yákúb Máhomed Khân showed no disposition to advance, seeming to await the arrival of his opponent, who, it was said, was advancing to his encounter. We were accommodated in this village, placed on a mound, and had an excellent view of the camp on the plain beneath. The delay became so tedious, that we heartily wished matters would be settled one way or the other, that we might continue our journey; which, so far as security was concerned, we might no doubt have done, but the vazír did not appear to wish it. It chanced, that one afternoon an alarm was raised in the camp, that the Sang Ghar force was in full advance, and had interrupted the foragers. Yákúb Máhomed Khân immediately mounted, and rode towards his foe, followed by horse and foot, in the greatest possible disorder. The guns were left in the camp, which was entirely deserted. About sunset the force returned, having met with no enemy, whom probably they did not seek; but the nagáras, or kettle-drums, were beaten before the vazír with as much noise

and parade as if he had gained a victory. Two or three days after, a settlement was effected, the Sang Ghar chief paying, or engaging to pay the sum required of him, and Yákúb Máhoméd Khân retired from his frontier.

We now followed the road to Sang Ghar, where we were courteously received and hospitably entertained by Assad Khân, the chief who had so lately been pugnaciously inclined. He was, I found, a Baloch by nation, and a stout well-looking man of about forty-five years of age. He complained of the encroachments of the Síkhs, and lamented he had not more powerful means to resist them. He was, moreover, very anxious to be supplied with restorative medicines. With these I was unable to oblige him; and as to his position with the Sikhs, I could comprehend that it was unfortunate, for it required little foresight to feel the conviction that, enclosed as was his small territory by the confines of those powerful neighbours, it would hardly elude their grasp eventually, and that the chief would be fortunate, if he avoided being cajoled into captivity, to become a fugitive in the hills, where, if he lost the possessions of his ancestors in the plains, he might preserve at least his personal freedom.

The khân resided in a mud fortress of some extent, but with very dilapidated defences. Contiguous were the mean huts of his soldiery, and at a trifling distance the bazar village of Mangalot. The term Sang Ghar, (the stone fort,) is applied, if

unappropriately, to the mud fortress. It implies, however, merely a strong place, which Sang Ghar is supposed to be by the people of this country, and who were often displeased to find that I could not concur with them. The revenue of the state was said to be one lakh and twenty thousand rupees, of which, it has been seen, the *khân* of Bahâwalpûr, at the instigation of the *Síkhs*, or in exercising the privilege of the stronger party, enforces the payment of thirty thousand rupees.

It is due to Assad Khân to record that he has, in more than one encounter, proved himself a brave soldier, and on one occasion he gained a splendid advantage over the *Sikh* governor of Mankírah in an action fought on the banks of the Indus. Some years after I saw him, it became the policy of the *Síkhs* to possess themselves of Sang Ghar, and they did so after a well contested struggle, in which Assad Khân sustained his former reputation, and gave them two or three defeats. He sought refuge in the hills, and has since been little heard of.

In continuing our journey from Sang Ghar to the north, we passed through a tract of country compressed between the river and the hill ranges to the west, the road sometimes nearing the one and the other. The skirts of the hills presented a change in the vegetable productions, and we were pleased to breathe a purer atmosphere. Villages were less numerous, and very meanly constructed; the inhabitants were Patáns, and the Pashto dialect was

spoken by them, although they generally understood that of the Panjâb. The cultivated produce was similar to that of the southern parts, and turnips of large size were largely grown as food for cattle. Herds of buffaloes were everywhere grazing in the rank pastures of the jangals.

Thirty cosses of road distance led us beyond the khân's frontier, and we entered a more fertile tract, dependent on the town of Déra Fatí Khân, held by the Síkhs. It is smaller than Déra Ghází Khân, but is clean, and has a good and well-supplied bazar. Cultivation around it is not only general, but choice, as, besides some sugar-cane, there were fields of poppies, from which some opium is extracted. The villages have an appearance of greater comfort than those of Sang Ghar, evincing at least the mildness and protecting influence of the Sikh government — although no advantages can compensate, to their Máhomedan subjects, the idea of subjection to infidels, and the prohibition to slay kine, and to repeat the azân, or summons to prayer.

The district attached to Déra Fatí Khân extends some ten cosses to the south, and about five cosses to the north, where it connects with the territory of Déra Ismael Khân. It is worthy of note, that it is the only tract west of the Indus *bonâ fide* retained by the Máhárájá Ranjit Singh, although he has reduced all the countries immediately bordering on that river to a state of tributary allegiance. I have heard it observed, that he has a superstitious

notion which renders him averse to establishments on the western bank. That he has overcome such prejudices, or departed from his prescribed policy, in this instance, may be owing to the superior fertility of the district, and that it was deemed advisable to occupy Gerong, a fortress reputed strong, about three cosses west of the town, and where are a few guns and a garrison of three hundred men. At Déra Fatí Khân there were no troops.

From Déra Fatí Khân our road mostly led along the river banks; the jangal became more intricate, and the villages farther apart, and more rudely built, for we were now in the territory of another Máhomedan ruler, the nawâb of Déra Ismael Khân. The cultivation, when occurring, was wheat and turnips. At this season the wheat had just appeared above the surface; and it is the custom to allow cattle to graze the rising crops, which, so far from causing injury to them, is said greatly to increase the vigour and productiveness of the mature plants.

Forty cosses brought us to Déra Ismael Khân, immediately before reaching which we passed the large village of Morad Alí. This Déra is a newly built town, about three miles from the river, its predecessor seated thereon, having been carried away, about three years since, by an inundation. So complete was the destruction, that of a large and well fortified city no token remains to testify that it once existed. Two or three date-trees have only survived the wreck of its groves and gardens,

and in graceful majesty exalt their heads amongst the surrounding desolation.

The new town promises to become very extensive. The bazar is already spacious, and of commodious breadth, an improvement on the general arrangement of Indian towns, where bazars are mostly, of all parts, the most narrow and confined. On the destruction of the old town the village of Morad Alí became of consequence, being the temporary resort of the nawâb and inhabitants; and, the new town lying about two cosses from it, they will likely in time become incorporated. Indeed, the various buildings, with the serais, already nearly fill the intermediate space. Déra Ismael Khân is one of the greatest marts on the Indus, and an entrepôt for the merchandize of India and Kho-rasân passing in this direction. Few sites have a greater commercial importance. The custom's levied form the chief source of revenue. The new fortress is not one of strength, the Síkhs forbidding the erection of too substantial a place of defence. It is small in extent, of a rectangular form, with angular towers, on which are mounted six pieces of ordnance, taken in an engagement with the chief of Tá-k. The walls are high, but there is no trench. The inner fort, or fortified residence of the nawâb's family, is protected by a ditch; the walls are lofty, and the several faces are defended by jinjáls.

The district belonging to Déra Ismael Khân

extends about forty cosses to the north, and thirty-five cosses to the south. The nawâb, moreover, exacts tribute, either on his own account or on that of the Sîkhs, from most of the petty rulers around him, such as those of Kalaichî, Darraband, Marwat, Isâ Khél, and Kâlabâgh. His gross revenue may be about three lakhs of rupees, of which the Sîkhs take one-half. His military retainers are few, but in occasions of need, he calls forth a levy from his country and his neighbours. While I was in the country it became necessary to assemble a force to proceed against Marwat, and I was astonished to see collected on the plain an array of two thousand horsemen, comparatively well mounted and equipped.

The father of the actual nawâb, who was visited by Mr. Elphinstone in 1808, possessed a fertile country east of the river, comprising the rich and populous districts of Bakkar, Líya, and Mankírah,—while on the western side his authority extended to Sang Ghar. He was dispossessed by the Sîkhs, and died shortly after. The conquerors have assigned the son, the present Nawâb Shír Máhomed Khân, a slip of land west of the Indus for the support of himself and family.

Seven cosses north-west of Déra is the small bazar town and detached castle of Kúyah. It has a garrison of fifty men, and is the frontier post on the side of Tákh. Twelve cosses north is the town of Pahárpúr, situated, as its name implies, under

the hills. Besides these there are no other places deserving the appellation of towns, if we except Morad Alí, before-mentioned. The water of the new city is supplied from wells, and is reputed unwholesome. The country about Déra Ismael Khân might be rendered highly productive, were it possible to divert upon its ample and level surface canals from the Indus. The neglected waste would become a garden of cultivation, and the copious returns would speedily repay the outlay. It is said that the nawáb was anxious to have supplied his new city with good water by bringing a canal from the Gomál river, which runs through the Tákh territory, but the chief of that place, whose sanction was necessary, withheld it. There can hardly be said to be jangal in the immediate vicinity of Déra Ismael Khân, the wide open plain being merely occasionally sprinkled with karíta bushes, whose red blossoms have a delightful appearance in the spring season. Near the villages are always a few bér trees, the fruit of which is eaten, and sometimes the palma ricinus, with its tufts of scarlet flowers; but no other trees. Tuberoses are indigenous here, and springing up unheeded in the jangal, they are, when cultivated, the favourite flowers of the parterre.

It may be noted, that the three Déras west of the Indus have an antiquity of nearly three hundred years, superseding necessarily more ancient towns. They were originally Déras, or camps of

chiefs, whose names they now bear, a mention of whom occurs in Ferishta, and is thus stated in Dow's History:—"In 1541, or thereabout, Ismael, Ghází, Fatí, and Billoca Duda, (Doda Baloch?) all governors of various provinces in that part of the country, acknowledged the title of Shír."

The Nawâb Shír Máhoméd Khân is about thirty-five years of age. Although believed to feel keenly his dependent situation on the Síkhs, his chagrin does not prevent him from being corpulent, as becomes a nawâb, or from amusing himself with many childish diversions. Indeed it seems the principal business of those about him to find subjects fit to excite his mirth, and to enable him to wile away his existence. Hence he entertains fiddlers, wrestlers, keepers of bears and of monkeys, and often enjoys the spectacle of ponies fighting in his flower-gardens. When one of the animals gives the other a good shake of the neck the nawâb claps his hands, and cries Wah! wah! His attendants do the same, and the apartments resound with clapping of hands and shouts of Wah! wah! It is wonderful how all seem to delight in the sport. He is fond of hunting, and is very dexterous with his bow. He also prides himself on his strength, and it is asserted can break the horns of an ox from the living animal. Overlooking these foibles, he is kind and good-natured, and pays great attention to his mother. His minister was Sherín Khân, a Dúrání, whose power was so great as to

be irksome to the nawâb. There was great distrust between them; and when the nawâb entertained men, the minister, who lived at Morád Alí, did the same. The latter commanded the force which discomfited the Táak army some time since, and is said to have received one lakh of rupees from Sirwar Khân as a bribe to conclude peace. While I was at Déra, Ranjit Singh ordered the nawâb to repair to Lahore. He accordingly made preparations for the journey, and called upon Sherín Khân for funds to defray the outfit and expenses. The minister alledged inability to meet the demands; whereupon high words arose, and the nawâb determined to institute an inquiry into his accounts. I left before the matter was settled, but learned that Sherín Khân thought fit to retire to Bahâwalpúr.

CHAPTER IV.

Interview with the nawâb. — Sârkis, an Armenian. — Amusements. — Hindú Gosén. — Sîkhs. — Máhá Singh. — The Húli. — The bazar. — Kaisa Ghar. — Departure from Déra Ismael Khân. — Tákh. — The citadel. — Fáquir's prediction. — Fruit. — Bazar. — Revenue. — Military force. — History of Sirwar Khân. — His sons. — Alladád Khân. — Darbarra. — Insalubrity of Tákh. — Beauty of the gardens. — Introduction to Sirwar Khân. — Interview with Alladád Khân. — Carousals of Alladád Khân. — Introduction of Immat Khân, vakil of Sind. — Sîkh party. — Anecdote of Sirwar Khân. — Departure from Tákh.

THE nawâb was soon informed of my arrival, and as soon conveyed his desire to see me. In the interview which followed he was very gracious, and at its close gave particular directions that every attention should be paid to me; while apologizing that the unfinished state of the buildings prevented the assignment of a house for my abode, he ordered tents to be pitched within the citadel in which he resided. I remained some time his guest, saw a good deal of him, and always found him most affable in manners and remarkably free from any affectation of form or state. One day he produced a variety of articles, belonging once, he said, to Sarkis, an Armenian merchant or traveller, who was murdered within his territory by Afghân or

Rohilla servants. Amongst them were Armenian Bibles and Prayer Books, sundry accounts, and many English quack-medicines, the virtues and properties of which the nawâb was very anxious to learn. I explained to him the miracles they professed to perform, according to the labels and papers attached to them, but conjured him to be considerate enough not to employ them, as age had probably impaired their efficiency, if ever they had any. He also introduced a former slave of the unfortunate Armenian, who detailed the mode of assassination of his master.

The nawâb never failed to send for me when any amusements took place; and they were so incessantly repeated, that some little philosophy was requisite to sit patiently during their exhibition. When nothing more unusual was at hand, recourse was had to his musicians and minstrels; and their concerts, although highly charming to him, were of all things the most distasteful to me. He sometimes intimated a wish that I would remain with him, and his people would endeavour to persuade me to engage in his service, but I gave them to understand it was impossible; and the nawâb, perhaps conscious there was little inducement, did not press the matter. As Europeans are considered necessarily expert artillerists, he more than once ordered his guns to be taken on the plain for practice, at a mark. He was himself, however, their sole pointer, and when he made a tolerably good

shot he toddled away, as if deterred by modesty from listening to the plaudits which burst forth.

There was living at Déra a Hindú Gosén of great repute, upon whom I called, as he sent me a message that Elphinstin Sáhib had paid him a similar compliment. However that may have been, the sage of Bráhma was a bland old gentleman. He received me very politely, and sent a tray of sweetmeats home with me on my departure.

Two Síkh retainers of Harí Singh, Máharájá Ranjit Singh's viceroy, on his western frontiers, were also resident at Déra. They occupied a large house in the town, and once or twice I visited them. In one of their apartments was the Granth or sacred book of the Sikhs; and many of the Banyas were accustomed to attend and read it, which they always did aloud. It was preserved with great care, and approached with reverence. I was yet in this town when Máhá Singh one of Harí Singh's officers, arrived, with sixty horsemen, demanding the sum of sixty thousand rupees, and bearing a summons upon the nawáb to attend the Máharájá at Lahore. These men crossed the river, and suddenly one morning entered the citadel, before the nawáb had risen. They talked very loudly, asking what sort of a darbár was that of Déra, there being no one to receive them. The claim could not be evaded or resisted, and Máhá Singh and his party were stationed in the town, and provided sumptuously at the nawáb's charge, until he should be able to pay

the amount called for. By a similar process Hari Singh collects tribute from the petty chiefs west of the Indus; and simultaneously another party, of equal strength, was dispatched on an analogous mission to Sirwar Khân, the nawâb of Tâk. During Máhá Singh's stay the Hindú festival of the Huli occurred. It had not before been publicly celebrated by the Hindús, but this year they had not only permission, but the nawâb gave a largess of two hundred rupees to his own Hindú soldiers to enable them to divert themselves worthily—only enjoining them to refrain from their joyous demonstrations within the precincts of the citadel, in respect to the feelings of his aged mother. Máhá Singh invited me to witness the festivities at his quarters, and was very courteous, although on his arrival he had pronounced me to be an agent of the Company.

It will have been seen, that Déra afforded no lack of amusements,—the bazar, with its large concourse of strangers, was itself perhaps the most interesting spectacle. Here were to be found numerous visitors from the rude tribes of the hills, clad in their felt cloaks and uncouth sandals. Many were gigantic men, and curiosity was powerfully excited to know the lands from which they came, and the races to which they belonged. From Déra, moreover, is seen, to the west, the magnificent hill Khaisa Ghar, or the Takht Súlímân, famed in traditionary lore as the spot on which the ark rested,

and for being the parent seat of the Afghân races. Its habitable parts are occupied by the Shîrânîs, a lawless tribe, who also hold the inferior hills between it and the plains. They have for neighbours, the Mîhrânîs, their colleagues in marauding expeditions, and of equally infamous reputation. The vegetable productions of Khaisa Ghar are much vaunted, and it is remarked that whatever plant or tree may be found in other countries, will be certainly met with here. Firs and olives are abundant on its sides, as generally over the minor hills of the range. The weather beginning to grow sultry, and inactivity becoming irksome, my thoughts turned towards Kâbal and its cool climate. I was scarcely competent to appreciate the information I acquired as to the better mode of reaching it, but finally decided to gain Tâk, and endeavour to find companions on the route followed by the Lohâni merchants. I accordingly took leave of the good nawâb of Dêra and passed on to Kûyah, a small bazar village, with castle, seven cosses distant. I then entered the Tâk territory at Pote, and successively leaving Ottâra and numerous villages behind me, reached the town of that name, computed to be thirty cosses distant from Dêra Ismael Khân. The country from Kuyah to Pote was barren enough, but afterwards it was well cultivated, as water abounds; and in addition to the various kinds of grain, much cotton is produced. I was civilly received at all the villages, and had

no difficulty in procuring entertainment and lodging. The approach to Ták from the east, is distinguished by an avenue of full-grown mimosas, extending perhaps three miles. The town itself is surrounded by a mud wall, of tolerable height and solidity; it has numerous towers, and two or three gates. Within the town is a citadel, where resides the chief; the walls are lofty, and strengthened with a broad and deep trench. It is built of kiln-burnt bricks, and at the four angles are ample towers, provided with twelve or thirteen pieces of artillery. The interior of this fortress is very intricately disposed; and Sirwar Khán, who planned it, appears to have been determined to place it out of the power of his neighbours to drive him out of his nest. It is the most massive piece of defensive erection I have seen in these parts, if Girong be excepted, which I have not seen. Sirwar Khán, the nawáb, is constantly employed in building. No one knows what he does, but every one witnesses the egress and ingress of labourers, laden with bricks and rubbish, from and into the gates of his citadel. It is believed that a fáquíř predicted to him that the duration of his rule and prosperity depended upon his never ceasing to build.

Ták is famed for its fruits, which are plentiful and cheap. Its gardens yield grapes, oranges, pomegranates, citrons, plums, apples, &c. East of the town is an immense grove of sháhtút, or long mulberry trees, which have attained a size superior to

any I have elsewhere observed. The bazar of the town is not extensive, nor do I believe the commerce to be large, or so much so as to allure the residence of wealthy Hindús, as at Kalaichí and at Déra. The revenue of Sirwar Khân is estimated at one and a half lakh of rupees, of which the Síkhs exact a portion, I believe sixty thousand rupees. Being at enmity with his neighbours on the plain, he retains about a thousand men in pay, mostly Rohillas, on small stipends. These, however, in consequence of some misunderstanding, left him while I was in these quarters, and I believe he did not think it worth while to replace them. He is represented as having much wealth in coin and jewels. During the early part of his reign he constituted himself sole proprietor of the lands in his country, and declared the peasants to be his slaves; hence he derived the profit on the whole of their produce.

The history of this chieftain is singular enough to merit notice. He had scarcely seen the light, when his father, who also ruled at Ták, was slain by a traitor, who usurped the authority. To confirm himself therein he put to death the family of his ancient prince, with the exception of Sirwar, who, an infant, was concealed by his nurse in an earthen jar, and carried out of the town on her head. The good woman affirmed at the gates that she was conveying a jar of milk. She gained a place of safety, and brought up the young khân as her own son. When

he arrived at the years of discretion she informed him of the circumstances of his birth. He thereupon presented himself to Ahmed Shâh, the first Dûrání prince, and requested his assistance to recover possession of the lands of his ancestors. It was granted, and Sirwar Khân, in turn, slew the usurper, with his relatives. He then placed their heads in a heap, and sitting on them, summoned the chiefs and elders of the country to his presence. He demanded, whether they were willing to acknowledge him as their ruler. An affirmative reply being given, he announced, that in virtue of his authority, he resumed all lands, and that they were not his subjects but his slaves. I believe that an attempt to infringe upon the liberties of his people, cost the father of Sirwar Khân his life; the son may therefore have felt justified in this energetic vindication of his father's memory. Seated on the masnad, he repaired the town of Ták, and constructed the capacious citadel with a view both to security and pleasure, and seems to have devoted himself to the amassing of treasure, and to the gratification of his sensual appetites. His zenána, or female establishment, contains above two hundred females, and he, with his family, freely indulge in the illicit pleasures of wine, although he prohibits its use to others on the score of morality, and because it is contrary to the precepts of the Korân.

Sirwar Khân is now advanced in years, and has three sons, Alladád, Khodádád, and Sáhibdád. The

eldest, Alladád, is called the vazír, and, ostensibly, has the direction of public business, holding darbárs, and relieving his father from all details. The young man is a drunkard, yet he is beloved in the country for his valour and generosity. In a war with the Nawáb of Déra, some four or five years since, he commanded the Ták troops, about four thousand in number, the greater portion of them Vazírí auxiliaries, or mercenaries. These banditti fled at the commencement of the action, leaving the guns exposed, which were captured. Alladád highly distinguished himself, dismounting, and working one of the guns, after it had been deserted by its attendants. He remained by it until he had received two sword cuts from Sherín Khán, the commander of the hostile forces, who recognized him. Then only was he induced to remount his horse and provide for his safety. Peace was purchased by the payment of one lakh of rupees to Sherín Khán.

Besides Ták, there are other two or three small towns or large villages, and many inferior ones, which have bazars. The fortress of Darbarra is situated at the mouth of a pass into the hills, seven cosses from the capital. There fees are levied from such of the Lohání merchants who select that route. Its walls are said to be very lofty, and had a most singular appearance when seen at a distance; but I am not certain that the miraj, which is constant here, did not produce the effect. In walking from Darraband to Ták I could have almost fancied that I was tra-

velling in fairyland, from the fantastic character of the landscape, owing to this phenomenon. In the immediate vicinity of Ták villages are numerous. About Kúndí, the frontier post on the north, towards Bannú, they occur less frequently, and thence to the hills the space is uninhabited, and broken up by ravines.

Ták is insalubrious, particularly to strangers, the water with which it is supplied being supposed pernicious and impure. The nawâb and his family make use of that derived from a stream about two cosses distant, which is good and wholesome. The insalubrity of Ták may be accounted for by the extreme heat, and by its locality, as well as from the quality of its water. The common fruit-trees, called bér, are spread over the country, and distinguish all the villages.

I had no sooner reached Ták than my presence was reported to the nawâb, and by his orders, or those of his son Alladád, I was accommodated within the citadel, and informed, that during the day I should not be interrupted, but that on the morrow I should have an audience of the nawâb, which I was glad to hear, having been told so much about him, and that he did not generally receive visitors.

Early the next morning I was called to attend upon the old chief, and after being conducted through many gates and passages, was brought into a garden, sufficiently attractive to claim all my atten-

tion, and to fill my mind with astonishment at beholding so perfect a display in so obscure a part of the world. The flowers of a thousand hues, the lakes, whose bosoms reflected the image of the orange and pomegranate-trees, with their glowing fruits waving on their margins, and on whose tranquil waters were floating hundreds of white geese, were objects so unexpected and delightful that I could not but pay homage to the taste of Sirwar Khán; and there needed but the presence of the ripened beauties of the harem to have presented a complete picture of eastern magnificence. In unison with the splendid scene, was the costly decorated apartment of the nawâb, into which I was ushered, and found him seated with his three sons. On the right side were about a dozen attendants, kneeling, with their firelocks in their hands. He was corpulent, and his countenance bore the impress of that energy for which his subjects and neighbours give him credit. To me he was courteous; and, amongst other things, inquired if it were true that London had a bazar three hundred cosses in length, telling his sons that one Máhoméd Khán had told him so. Alladád Khán was by no means well dressed, neither was the second son, but the youngest, Sáhibdád, who was a very handsome youth, and probably therefore the favourite, was superbly attired. Sirwar Khán expressed pleasure at seeing me, and said I was at liberty to continue his guest as long as I pleased. When I rose to leave,

Alladád whispered to a person to lead me to his darbár, and thither I went and waited a short time for him. When he rejoined me, his object proved to be to show me a gun he had lately cast, and a number of gun-carriages in preparation. I discovered that he had acquired the art of casting cannon, and that he was a very good carpenter, for certainly his workshops did him no little credit. He was wonderfully civil, bade me enjoy myself at Ták; and we parted.

I found that my journey to Ták was not likely to increase my chances of making my way to Kâbal, for I could gain no information on which I could act, and when I mentioned the subject to Alladád Khân, he told me, if I stayed a year with him, he would then give me trustworthy companions, and guarantee my arrival at Kândahár. To this proposal I would not consent, but he was in no wise offended at my refusal. One evening he returned home so inebriated that it was necessary to hold him on his horse. He was attended by a numerous cavalcade, and passing my apartments, happened to think of me, and sent for me. He insisted that I should take a cup with him, and called to his people to produce the flagons, which were concealed beneath their cloaks. An objection was started, that it was not right I should use the same cup as the khân, on the plea of my being no Mussulman, but he would not admit it. He then made me accompany him to his quarters; and on the road, as he held my hand, and I

was on foot, I was in no small dread of being trampled on by his horse's hoofs. There was, luckily, not far to go, and when we gained his apartments the crowd was dismissed, and only two or three persons, with his musicians, remained. He was very elate, and much pressed me to remain with him, to make, as he said, shells, and cross the river, and attack the Síkhs. He then produced some pictures, and afterwards sang songs from Hafiz, but for a short time; as his renewed potations disqualified him, and he became insensible. Another evening I was sent for to a fáquí's takkía, or shrine, without the town, where, it seemed, that the khân had a party, but it fortunately happened, before I reached, he had fallen, overpowered, and the riotous assembly had broken up.

While I was a guest here, Immat Khân, a vakíl from the court of Mír Rústam, of Khairpúr in Upper Sind, arrived. It appeared, the object of his mission was of no higher importance than to procure a few hawks and camels, but the ceremony of his introduction gave me an opportunity of witnessing how such matters were arranged, as Alladád Khân invited me to be present. It took place in the darbár room, a spacious apartment, around which were seated files of matchlock-men, with their pieces in their hands. At the upper part the officers and others were duly arranged, and a seat was provided me on the left of the khân, who entered after the

preliminary dispositions had been completed. He was followed by the vakíl, who was embraced by Alladád, and seated on his right hand. A package was deposited in front of the chief, consisting of the presents sent by Mír Rústam. It was opened, and a letter taken therefrom, which was read by Alladád, and drew from him many protestations of respect and friendship for the rulers of Sind. The presents were ordinary shawls, muslins, kimkâbs, pieces of chintz, &c. I was introduced to the vakíl as being a Feringhí, or European. He seemed very astonished, and no doubt marvelled what could have brought me there. During the conference the musicians exercised their skill, and in very good taste, as they did not allow their instruments to drown the conversation. The sháhghâssís, or masters of ceremony, had been busy in arranging the visitors; now, on their departure they were careful to announce, in loud and pompous tones, their names, family, and rank. Alladád Khân was well dressed on this occasion, and his attendants obsequiously fanned him with bunches of peacocks' feathers. He sat with the vakíl until the room was cleared, when they again embraced, and the introduction terminated.

I found at Ták the party of Síkh horsemen deputed by Harí Singh to receive a sum of tribute money from the nawáb. They were in no respect so boisterous as their countrymen at Déra; apparently, in so retired a place and so near the hills, deeming

it prudent to be quiet. Their claim was admitted, and they were entertained by the nawâb, but the townspeople were prohibited to hold communication with them.

The Nawâb Sirwar Khân seldom left his citadel but on hunting excursions, when he would be attended by an escort of about one hundred and fifty horse. When he left, and when he re-entered its walls, a piece of artillery was discharged. He has a great notion of the superiority of agricultural over commercial pursuits, and an anecdote is related of his practical mode of proving his argument, which may be cited. In conversation with a Lohání on his favourite theme, he directed an ear of wheat to be brought, which he rubbed between his hands, and then counted the grains. He observed that the Lohání travelled to Delhí and Juânpúr, amid scorching heat and privations of every kind, and if on his return home he had made one rupee two rupees, he gave his turban an extra hitch, thrust his hands into his ribs, and conceited himself a great man. "I," said Sirwar, "remain quietly at home with my family; for one grain of wheat put into the earth I receive forty—or for one rupee I obtain forty rupees. Is my traffic or yours the better one?"

I was beginning to be weary of my stay at Táak, when I accidentally saw a fáquí, who, learning that I wished to go to Kábal, proffered to put me in

the way of doing so. I liked the appearance of the man, and my acquaintance telling me I might confide in him, I immediately made up my mind to accompany him, and left Ták with him the same evening, hardly knowing whither he would take me, but trusting all was right.

CHAPTER V.

My companion's tale. — Máhoméd Rezza. — Month of Ramazân. — The fáquí's brother. — Incident. — Deputation from Déra. — Cross the Indus. — Bakkar. — Múr Singh. — Lashkar Khân. — Take leave of Múr Singh. — Depart for Kúndí. — Insufficient guide. — Reception at a gharri. — Return. — Meeting with Lohání merchants. — Their inquiries. — Regain Déra. — Departure for Darraband. — Encounter with peasants. — Find a companion. — Reach Gandapúr. — District of Darraband. — The Lohánís. — Town of Darraband. — Departure for Tá'k. — Incident in route. — Kalaichí — Mozafar Khân — his troops &c. — Meeting with Vazírís. — Accompany them to the hills. — Return with them. — Regain Tá'k.

MY strange friend and guide led me over the country, without troubling himself about a path, pleading the privilege and nonchalance of a fáquí; and I was well tired before, late at night, we reached an assemblage of tents, where I was pleased to find my companion well known. We were very well received and entertained, but the people strove to persuade the fáquí that he did wrong to encumber himself with me.

The next morning we again traversed the country, with the same disregard to the mediums of civilization, and at evening gained a village near Kúyah, where we passed the night. My companion had informed me *en route* that he was a hájí, and but

a dependent on a more important personage, the Fáquíř Máhomed Rezza, whom he described as wealthy and influential, being the pír of a large portion of the Lohání tribes. The pír would, in the course of a month, proceed to Khorasân by the Gomal route, and the hâjí felt certain that he would gladly take charge of me throughout the journey. He farther explained, that he had been deputed on a mission to Sirwar Khân, who had promised to send a horse to his master, being willing by such an offering to secure the benefit of his prayers and benedictions.

Leaving the village, a short march of three or four miles brought us to another circle of black tents, where resided the Fáquíř Máhomed Rezza. He was no sooner apprised of my arrival than he came to welcome me, and the cordiality of his reception fully justified the anticipations of the hâjí. He engaged to conduct me to his home at Shilghar, when, after resting his cattle a few days, he would take me to Kâbal, and place my hand in that of Dost Máhomed Khân. Máhomed Rezza was a man of tall stature, and rude in appearance, but of considerable suavity of manner. He was held in unbounded veneration by his countrymen and dependents, who, while they vaunted his wealth, were no less eager to extol his liberality. Generally, in the morning a carpet would be spread for him on the ground without his circle of tents, where he would seat himself, the company being arranged

around him, and write tavézes, breathe on beads, or strings of thread, whose virtues seemed to require frequent renewal. A youth would sometimes be brought forward, who, commencing by sobbing, gradually worked himself into the most hideous convulsions, when the pious man would clasp him in his arms, and the evil spirit, or other exciting cause, would be instantly hushed. Such exhibitions were conducted with perfect solemnity; and, although I managed to preserve gravity, I fancied, as I caught the fáquí's eye directed towards me, that he hardly expected I should be so credulous as the crowd about him.

The month of Rámazân came on, observed rigidly by all good Máhomedans as a fast; and as we were to start for Khorasân after the celebration of the íd, or festival, at its close the fáquí left for some days, to settle business he had in the country, probably the collection of offerings from his disciples. Before going, he sent for me, and calling his younger brother, told me, in his absence to consider him as my slave, and to beat him at discretion. While he was talking, a child from the tents came to say my breakfast was ready. I was not asked to fast, and the brother hastened to bring it. He returned with some very nice cakes and butter, when the fáquí gave him a terrible slap on the cheek, as it proved, because he had not brought sugar. I pitied the young man, but could not help the accident, and received additional authority to use him as a

slave, and to beat and kick him as I pleased. It may be gleaned from this anecdote that the situation of dependent relatives is not very enviable in Máhomedan families; indeed, it is one reproach of their social system that they are treated as menials.

On another day during this month, I had strolled to a neighbouring fixed village, where was a grove of bér-trees. I endeavoured to bring down some of the fruit by casting sticks and stones, when a woman, observing me, pulled a stout stick from a hedge, and without mercy employed it upon me, reviling me as an infidel for breaking my fast. Expostulation seemed but to increase her fury, and I was perplexed how to act, for it was awkward to return violence, when saying, "Why be angry? I am a Feringhí," she dropped her weapon, expressed great sorrow at her mistake, and helped me to bring down the fruit, at which she was much more expert than I had been. We were living within six or seven miles of Déra Ismael Khân, and one day being near the high road, I met the nawâb, who was returning from a hunting excursion. He was civil, and I told him I was going to Khorasân with the fáquí. Whether he mentioned the circumstance I know not, but it became known at Déra that I was residing near at hand, and a deputation came to me, praying me to give up the idea of the penible route by the Gomál river, and to take the easier and safer one of Peshawer, in which my Síkh acquaintance offered to assist me, if I would cross the river, and

go up its eastern bank within their territory. I refused, but my Déra friends returned the following day, and were so earnest in their arguments that I consented, and accompanied them back to the town, where I passed the night at the Síkh quarters.

The next morning I crossed the Indus, attended with a Síkh, Júár Singh, and after passing the sands and marshy land immediately skirting the stream, entered upon a fine rich country, covered with villages and cultivation. This tract, seated between the river and the desert on the east, formerly belonged to the family of the nawâb of Déra Ismael Khân, but its fertility, and the expediency of bringing their frontiers to the Indus, were sufficient motives for its occupation by the Síkhs. Leaving village after village behind us, we reached the larger town of Bakkar with a handsome kiln-burnt brick fortress. There I was introduced to the kil-ládar, a well-dressed Síkh, who regretted we passed so speedily, as he was willing to have given me an entertainment. We finally gained Béla, where I found another Síkh, Múr Singh, the chief of one hundred men, who civilly welcomed me, and I became his guest for a few days. My course, so far from being to the north or towards Pesháwer, had been to the south, or from it, but Júár Singh, my companion, was attached to the party of Múr Singh, who, it was arranged, should send me, in good hands, to Kúndí, the present head-quarters of Sirdár Harí Singh, whence I could easily make my way to

Pesháwer, either by following the course of the river to Atak, or by crossing it to Kâlabâgh. The delay in gaining my object was, perhaps, compensated by the pleasure of surveying a beautiful and luxuriant country, and it was a great satisfaction to escape the heat of the day in the shade of the groves and gardens, which here accompany and embellish the towns and villages. Múr Singh was a venerable aged Síkh, of truly patriarchal aspect. I passed a few days very agreeably with him at Béla, which forms part of his jághír. I was well pleased also with the Síkhs generally, and could grant that in many points they have the advantage over the Máhomedans, particularly in cleanliness, for it was rare indeed to see one of them deficient in this respect, whereas the Máhomedan would seem, from principle, to be careless in his apparel. In this part of the country I became acquainted with Lashkar Khân, formerly of more importance, but now a servant of the Máhárájá Ranjit Singh. He entreated me, as a favour, to write something in his book, that he might show to any other European he might chance to meet.

Múr Singh at length announced that he was prepared to expedite me towards Kúndí, and that he proposed I should accompany Bowání Dâs, a Hindú Díwân of the Sirdá Harí Singh, who was about to return to his master to account for the collection of moneys he had made. The old chief took leave of me very kindly, asked me if I was satisfied with

him, and many times entreated me to accept money, clothes, and anything I needed. I declined his offers, and we parted.

We returned by the same road we had come, re-passing Bakkar. I happened, with my attendant, to miss Bowání Dâs, who stayed at some village where accounts were to be settled, and which perhaps he had not expected. At the village where we had preceded him we had therefore to wait three or four days, until he joined us. When he did so, I found he was very far from having settled his collections, and I intimated my desire to proceed at once; to which he assented, and gave me a person, but an insufficient one, as I afterwards found, to accompany me to Kúndí, which I understood to be forty cosses distant from our position.

We started, however, and made a long march of twenty cosses, much of it over the desert, which was succeeded by a fertile and populous tract, over which were dispersed groves of a species of tree new to me, and resembling aspens. Síkhs were located in most of the villages, and I met with many interruptions from them, from which I had been secured if Bowání Dâs had given me a competent companion. He turned out to be a weaver, and employed by the Díwân contrary to his will—while weavers, it seems, in these parts, for some reason or other, are but little regarded. At night we reached a well-built gharri, surrounded with a trench, but my arrival exceedingly terrified the

killadár, or he affected to be so, and closed his gates, as if he expected attack. About two hours elapsed, when, finding I was very quiet, some Hindústání soldiers ventured to leave the fort and approach me. I explained, that I was proceeding to Harí Singh's camp, and that there was slight cause for alarm, when they returned to the killadár, and presently again came, saying, he wished to provide me with supper; which I refused.

In the morning, considering the nature of my adventures the past day, and the inefficiency of my guide, which would expose me to fresh ones if I proceeded, I decided to retrace my steps while I had the power, and to rejoin Bowání Dâs. I accordingly returned, but not exactly by the same road, in this instance avoiding the desert, or only skirting its edges. At evening we reached a large village, where was a Síkh party, hardly disposed to be civil, but I fell in with two Lohání merchants, who the moment they recognized me to be a Feringhí, invited me to their lodgings, and to be their guest. These men had travelled in India, vending their fruits and horses, and were consequently in some degree cognizant of Europeans. They were loud in their eulogiums of European justice and liberality, and professed themselves happy to be friendly to any one of the nation they met with. They informed me, that they had sold mares to Fatí Singh Alúawâla, that he had given them an order on the village, which is held by him, for the money,

and that they were awaiting its receipt. These men entertained me very bounteously, and were very anxious that I should explain what my countrymen did with dog's heads, as they had observed in India that men killed those animals for the sake of selling their heads to the gentlemen. I could not conceive to what they alluded, and they suggested the heads might be used to make medicine, and silyly asserted they could not be intended for food.

I could neither solve the mystery nor satisfy them that I did not conceal my knowledge from them. On subsequently thinking what fact could have made so great an impression on the imaginations of these Lohánís, I recollected the practice of shooting stray dogs in military stations during certain seasons, under the apprehension they may be mad, or become so. The same men had noticed the practice of firing at military funerals, and gravely asked whether it was not meant as a menace to heaven if the souls of the interred were not received.

The next day I found Bowání Dâs at the village where I had left him, and making over his weaver guide to him, I recrossed the river and regained Déra.

I now determined to proceed straight to the hills, taking a break in them which had been always pointed out to me as denoting the pass of Darra-band as my point of direction. I was in

hopes of again meeting the Fâquír Máhoméd Rezza, although a little more than a month might have elapsed since I had left his tents. I started before sunrise, and the morning was cool and agreeable. I struck over the country, having learned from my friend the Hâjí to despise paths, and walked in high spirits. There is little jangal near Déra, and the few karíta bushes sprinkled over the plain were now laden with their beautiful red flowers. This delightful scenery did not, however, last long, and I came upon a naked surface, with scarcely a plant or shrub to diversify it, while the heat grew intense, as it always does in this country soon after sunrise. Still I did not relax in my pace, and had made considerable way when I was tempted to strike for two or three bushes, larger than usual, where, to my satisfaction I found as I had barely expected but yet wished, a small pool of water. It was very muddy, but palatable. I had walked much farther on, when I descried in the distance two youths, and some camels browsing. I made towards them; and as I neared them they were evidently surprised both at my presence and appearance. The younger was inclined to run, but the elder stayed him, and awaited me. I could not very well understand them, but saw that my colour was the cause of terror. The younger lad seemed to think I was a dév, and would by no means approach me, although assured by the other that I was only a man, and there

was no reason to fear. The latter asked me to extend my arm, and, as I thought he did so with a view of assuring his companion, I complied, when he seized my wrist, and wrenching it round, brought me, without power of resistance, to the ground. He called upon his friend to come and examine the bundle I carried on my back, but no persuasion could remove the fear of the lad, and he kept aloof. The fellow wrenched my wrist more and more, until I roared out that I was the nawâb's núkar, or servant; at which he suddenly relinquished his hold and retired, allowing me to recover my feet. Seeing the mention of the nawâb terrified him, I denounced all vengeance on him, when he pointed to his camels, and asked me if I would drink some milk. I asked whether he had a píála, or bowl, and found that he intended to milk into my hands, which I declined, as I should have placed myself in a position which might have disposed him to take another advantage. I had not gone much farther, when a little jangal occurred, and I presently came to a village, which I had understood I should find on my road, and which was satisfactory, as proving I had not deviated from the right course. I did not halt at it, and again came upon a level surface, which I traversed until evening, without meeting any one, or seeing a vestige of habitation. I was still walking, when I perceived, at a great distance, a man walking, and obviously armed. He was crossing

my route, yet I made towards him, and ultimately approached without his ever having noticed me. I startled him when I accosted him with "Salám Alikám," but he speedily recovered his surprise, and returned my salutation. I found that he was a stranger, and although going to some village, scarcely knew if he was in the road for it; therefore, as we were both in the same predicament, we readily agreed to seek it together. I told him at once that I was a Feringhí, which did not affect his civility. We came upon the nest of some large fowl, in which were two or three eggs. My companion took up one of them, regarded it attentively, uttered some pious exclamations, and then carefully replaced it. On reaching a group of tall trees he ascended one of them, to ascertain if the village he sought was in view, which we did not reach until dark. He had an acquaintance there, at whose house we were both accommodated for the night.

In the morning I accompanied two Lohánís, who were going to Gandapúr, which we reached after a short but difficult march. Here resides Omar Khân, a chief, of Lohání descent. His revenue is about sixty thousand rupees, of which he pays twenty thousand to the nawâb of Déra. The ancient capital of the district is Darraband, romantically situated on the elevated bank of a hill-stream. The villages belonging to Omar Khân are thirteen in number. These would not supply

his revenue, sixty thousand rupees ; but the greater portion is derived from the Lohání tribes, who annually visit, and remain in this part of the country during the cold season. They settle, more or less, along the tract west of the Indus, and between the river and the hills. In Darraband they are particularly numerous, and, as in other places, pay a certain sum for the sufferance of settlement, and for the privilege of grazing their camels. In this district, at the opening of spring, the various tribes assemble ; their traders, who have dispersed over the Panjâb and India, return ; when, in collective bodies, they proceed through the district of Ták, and paying an impost to its chief at the fortress of Darbarra, they enter the hills, and, forcing a passage through the Vazírí hordes infesting them, proceed towards Khorasân. The merchants then spread themselves over the contiguous regions, even to Bokhára, disposing of their merchandize and wares, and purchasing horses, fruits, and dye-stuffs, for the ventures of the ensuing year. Omar Khân retains in pay one hundred and eighty foot soldiers.

The Lohánís conducted me to their khél, or collection of tents, where I was well received, but learned, to my regret, that Máhoméd Rezza had departed some days before. A wealthy merchant, Jehân Khân, took charge of my entertainment, and I remained a few days at Gandapúr ; but finding there was little chance of the speedy

march of the party, as it was awaiting some of its friends from Hindústân, I proceeded to Darraband, about three or four cosses distant, which I was anxious to see. This town has a small bazar, and there are some large old houses, but deserted and in decay, their ancient Hindú owners having fled. The water of the hill rivulet is reputed unwholesome, and the inhabitants supply themselves from a small canal, flowing north of the town. The neighbourhood is agreeable, and the heat, although severe, did not seem to me so oppressive as at Déra. The hills are about two cosses distant, ravines and broken ground filling the intervening space. In the garden of Omar Khân are a few vines and fig-trees, and small inferior apples are produced in some of the adjacent villages. The cultivation, which is principally wheat, is generally remote from the villages; and at the harvest season the inhabitants abandon their dwellings until their crops are collected. At such times there is considerable danger from the Vazírís, which term here seems given to all the hill tribes, who descend and murder as well as plunder. Darraband has been frequently visited by these marauders. During my stay here every one slept on the roofs of the houses, as a precautionary measure, taking care to draw the ladders, by which they ascended, up after them.

Músa Khân, an inhabitant of Darraband, received me at his house, and I sojourned a few days

under his roof; but hearing no tidings of the approach of the Lohání merchants, I resolved again to proceed to Ták, if with no other object, that I might see the intermediate country, having found it was quite practicable to move freely about. My route skirted the hills, and I found villages at four, five, and six cosses distance from each other. I was always welcomed, but at one of them I was told that God must be with me or I could never have reached it, as no man of the place would have ventured to march as I had done, alone, from fear of the Vazírís. The road to this particular village had been very lonely, leading over deep ravines and chasms, covered with long thick grass and jangals. I felt no apprehension from men as I journeyed along it, but sometimes ruminated on the dilemma I should be in if I encountered wild boars, and other ferocious animals, which I knew were numerous enough. At another village I was requested by a young man to give him a charm to secure the affections of a fair maid of whom he was enamoured; or, as he expressed it, to compel her to follow him like a dog. I found it necessary to write something on a paper to satisfy him, with which he was so well pleased, that he was not only very obliging while I stayed, but accompanied me two or three miles on the road when I left.

I at length reached a village dependent on Ka-laichí, a small district situate between the lands

of Darraband and Ták, and governed by a chief, Mozafar Khân. The town of Kalaichí was about six cosses to the north, and I had some desire to have visited it, but circumstances prevented. It is said to be commercial, and to have a large bazar, and that commodities bear more reasonable prices there than at Déra. The revenue of Mozafar Khân is reckoned at eighty thousand rupees, of which twenty thousand are paid to the nawâb of Déra. In an expedition against Marwat, set on foot from Déra, at the instigation of the Síkhs, he attended with a quota of seven hundred men. He can hardly, however, retain in pay so great a number, and probably drew out on the occasion the strength of his country, in which the proprietors of lands hold them on conditions of military service. Moreover, it must be remembered, that the men of these countries consider themselves the servants of their respective princes, and, from their warlike dispositions, are easily assembled. The district of Kalaichí does not include a great number of villages, the eastern portion of it being scantily supplied with water, and the western portion, extending to the hills, consisting of ravines and thick jangal, besides being liable to the incursions of the Vazírí robbers. Wild hogs abound in the jangals, and their chase is the chief pastime of the khân. Melons, common in all these countries, are particularly fine at Kalaichí.

Early one morning I reached a village, where I found a large party of men seated on *chahárpâ-hís*, or cots, and apparently strangers. I joined them, and although I could not understand the dialect they spoke, they invited me to sit down, and handed to me some fragments of cakes, on which they had just made a repast. One of them, who spoke *Hindústání*, addressed me, and took away the fragments of cakes placed before me, telling his companions, as I could comprehend, that such fare was not proper for me, who was a *Feringhí*. The consequence was, that fresh cakes were prepared, and served, with the addition of butter and sugar. Many of the party were disposed to be merry, and made motions as if cutting a man's throat, and shooting with arrows, at which I had only to laugh as they did themselves. The man who spoke *Hindústání* seemed a busy personage amongst them, and was continually on the move; therefore I saw little of him; but when they prepared to depart,—and some of them I could make out, asked me to accompany them,—I desired him to tell me who they were, and where they were going. He replied that they lived in the hills, but would return to the village. I had some inclination to go with them, which increased when I saw their appearance when mounted, for I found all of them had a kind of frock, or surtout of red quilted linen, lined with yellow, and being armed only with lances, swords, and

shields, the effect was far from bad, and I wondered where such people could come from. I mixed in, therefore, with the few people on foot, and we had a most fatiguing march amongst the hills until evening, when we halted at a spot where there was a rivulet. There we remained, most of the party separating, and passed the next day. A *chahárpâhí* had been brought, and placed under a projecting rock for one of them, and excellent cakes and butter were produced, so that habitations were probably near, but I saw none of them. As the sun became perpendicular I complained of the heat, and the person who had the *chahárpâhí* resigned it to me, and I was left alone. The next morning I was beckoned to rise, and I found we were to return, which we did, and regained the village we had started from. I had before noticed how attentive were the villagers to these men, and now they supplied *chahárpâhís* with great alacrity. They were not, however, long needed, for the party making a short halt, started for *Kalaichí*, leaving me to resume my journey towards *Ták*. When they had gone, the villagers told me they were thieves and *Vazírís*, so their civility proceeded from dread. They further informed me, that some days ago, a party of them had endeavoured to intercept *Mozafar Khân* on a hunting excursion, but that the collision had proved unfortunate to them, the *khân* having made two or three of their number prisoners. The men I had seen were on a mission to recover their

companions who were detained at Kalaichí. The villagers inquired, how I, a man of sense, could have accompanied them into the hills, and I told them that my sense instructed me that they would not harm me, and therefore I accompanied them.

I remained the day at this village, and the next morning entered the district dependent on Ták, here I proceeded from village to village and again found myself in the capital of Sirwar Khân, although I did not make my arrival known to him, or to his son Alladád Khân, as I purposed to make no stay.

CHAPTER VI.

Remarks.—Different routes.—Leave Ták.—Reception at village.—Incident.—Attempt at plunder.—Saiyad of Pesháwer.—Kúndí.—The governor.—Alarm.—Hills of Marwat.—Fine view.—The Seféd Koh.—Village of Marwat.—Construction of houses.—Good reception.—Lakkí.—Robbers.—Naggar.—The Malek—his behaviour.—Dispute.—Cordiality of the people.—State of society.—Civility of Malek.—He wishes me to stay.—Fracas.—Mír Kamaradín's agents.—Opportunity lost.—Political relations of Marwat.—Cultivation, &c.—Character of people.—State of authority.—Advantages of Bannú.—Postures.—Costume.—Love of country.—Government.—Adapted to state of society.—Former state of Bannú.—Vestiges of ancient prosperity.—Manufactures.—Máharájá Ranjit Singh.

I HAD now become so completely satisfied that I could freely range amongst the rude tribes and people of this part of the country, that I was careless about seeking for companions. I had, moreover, found that there was no necessity to conceal that I was a Feringhí, but that, on the contrary, the avowal procured me better treatment. The inhabitants of the villages were orderly and peaceable, while they made it a duty to relieve the wants of the stranger and traveller. Amongst them there was no danger to be apprehended, and any little interruption occurring, was from the accidental encounter of individuals on the road. I therefore now made

inquiries at Ták merely as to the several routes by which I might reach Pesháwer; and from what I heard of that of Bannú, I inclined to take it, notwithstanding the dangers pointed out, as I had learned to appreciate them, and had acquired confidence, which alone greatly lessens them.

The usual route from this part of the country to Pesháwer leads along the banks of the Indus to Kâla Bâgh, famous for its salt mountains, and thence by Shahr Darra to Kohât, in Bangash. I had been recommended to follow this route, both that it was considered the safer, and that it was likely I should receive every assistance from Ahmed Khân, the chief of Isá Khél, a town on the road south of Kâla Bâgh, who had so great a predilection for Feringhís, that the fame thereof was bruited throughout the country. As Mr. Elphinstone's mission in 1809 had traversed this route, I decided to follow the unfrequented one of Marwat and Bannú.

Such is the reputation of the Patáns inhabiting these countries, that fáquirs or mendicants are deterred from entering them. Placing my trust in Divine Providence, I resolved to commit myself amongst them, and accordingly one evening I turned my back upon the town of Ták, and, alone, took the road. A northerly course of some five or six miles brought me near a village, when the clouds gathered and threatened rain. I seated myself under a karíta bush while the shower fell, which

continued until the approach of night. I then left my quarters and entered the village to find out a place of shelter and repose. I found a company of individuals, seated in a small hut, or shed. One of them conversed with me, and questioned me as to my country and religion. On being answered, an European and Christian, he informed his companions that Házarat Isá, or our Saviour, was an assíl or genuine Patán. This agreeable communication ensured for me a hearty reception, and excited a little curiosity, to gratify which a fire was kindled that my features might be the better observed. The best entertainment the village afforded was produced, and in such quantities that I was compelled to cry quarter. The assertor of our Saviour's Patán lineage, who proved to be a Saiyad, made himself particularly busy, and provided me with a snug place to sleep in, and plenty of warm clothing.

In the morning, a march of four or five cosses cleared me of the villages of Tá-k, and I moved direct across the country, towards a break in the encircling hills, through which I was given to understand the road led to Marwat.

On reaching a cultivated spot, without habitations, but where some people were engaged in reaping the corn, I inquired of them as to the road. They strongly urged me not to venture alone, for I should infallibly be murdered. Their representations were so forcible, and so earnestly made, that I was in-

duced to take their advice, and turned off in a western direction, with the view of gaining a small town and fort, called Kúndí, which they had designated, and where, as the high road led from it to Marwat, it was possible I might find companions for the journey. In my progress to this place I encountered a man, who drew his sword, and was about to sacrifice me as an infidel SÍkh. I had barely the time to apprise him that I was a Feringhí, when he instantly sheathed his weapon, and, placing his arm around my waist in a friendly mode, conducted me to a village near at hand, where I was hospitably entertained. I here learned that Kúndí was a coss distant, and therefore resumed my route. As I approached it an old man, tending goats, seized a small bundle I carried. I expostulated with him as well as I could, and prayed him not to compel me to employ force to make him let go his hold, assuring him at the same time that I did not intend he should make the bundle booty; but he seemed obstinate in his design. He had merely a stick, and I could easily have vanquished him; but shame deterred me from striking so aged and enfeebled a being. Other persons made their appearance, and obviated the necessity of contest. They asked who I was, and on my replying a Feringhí, they pushed the old man away, and rebuked him for his audacity. He swore on his faith as a Músulmán, that he had not intended robbery, and that he supposed I was a Hindú. I was led into the

village, and regaled with bread and buttermilk. I was here informed, to my great satisfaction, that a party was then in the village that would proceed in the morning by the route I intended to follow; its destination being Pesháwer. I found the party to consist of a Saiyad of Pesháwer, and his attendants, with a múnshí of Sirwar Khân, the chief of Tákh, who had, besides other articles, two fine camels in charge, as presents to Súltân Máhoméd Khân, one of the Pesháwer sirdárs. I had heard of this Saiyad at Tákh, but understood that he was on a mission from Ahmed Sháh, the pretended champion of Islám, in the Yusef Zai country, and that his object was to procure funds from old Sirwar in aid of the good cause. I now became instructed that he was an agent of Súltân Máhoméd Khân, which did not, however, militate against his using his exertions to advance the pugnacious Saiyad's views, although in doing so he was consulting neither the wishes nor advantage of his liege lord and master. The great, in these countries, are but indifferently served.

On paying my respects to the Saiyad, I was most civilly received, and assured of assistance and protection during the journey. I esteemed my fortune great in meeting with this man, as in his society all doubts and misgivings as to the perils of the route vanished. Kúndí had a fort, the residence of Ahmed Khân, the governor, a respectable man, who might be allowed to be, what he himself told

the Saiyad he was, a good Patán, and a faithful vassal of Sirwar Khân. He had a garrison of one hundred men, Kúndí being a frontier post on the Bannú side. We had an opportunity of observing it was necessary; for towards evening the alarm was beat, and the soldiers hastened to the plain, the marauders of Bannú having issued from their hills and approached the place. They, however, retired, and Ahmed Khân, before re-entering his fort, exercised his few mounted attendants in firing their matchlocks, and in practice with their lances. The greater part of his soldiers were on foot, men of small stature, and clothed in black or dark dresses. They were Rohillas, or Afghân mountaineers. We were provided with a repast of fowls in the evening, Ahmed Khân having received the party as guests; and early on the next morning we started, accompanied by a guide, for Marwat.

A march of about seven cosses, the road tolerably good, brought us to the mouth of the pass through the hills; when our guide solicited his dismissal, urging his fear to attend us farther. The passage through these hills, which are of small elevation, was generally wide and convenient. About midway were a number of natural wells, or cavities in the rocks, where numbers of people, men and women, were busy in filling their massaks, or skins, with water. These they transport on asses and bullocks. They had come hither from a distance of five and six cosses, belonging to the villages on

the plain of Marwat. The water may be good and wholesome, but was unpalatable, having been strongly imbued with a flavour from the numerous skins continually plunged into it. A woman recognized me to be a Feringhí from the cap I wore;—the recognition was productive only of a little innocent mirth.

On gaining the ascent of the last hill in this small range of elevations, on which was an extensive burial place, the plains of Marwat and Bannú burst upon the sight. The numerous villages, marked by their several groups of trees, the yellow tints of the ripe corn-fields, and the fantastic forms of the surrounding mountains, presented, in their union and contrast, a splendid scene. In front and to the west, the distant ranges exhibited a glorious spectacle, from their pure whiteness, diversified by streaks of azure, red and pearly grey. These beautiful and commanding features of the landscape were enhanced by the charm of an unclouded sky. I was lost in wonder and rapture on contemplating this serene yet gorgeous display of nature, and awoke from my reverie but to lament that the villany of man should make a hell where the Creator had designed a paradise,—a train of thoughts forced upon my mind when I thought of the lawless tribes who dwell in, or wander over these delightful scenes.

The distant hills, which here appeared to so much advantage, were, I presume, the snowy range of

Seféd Koh, which separates Khúram, or the country of the Jájís and Túris, from the valleys of Jellá-labád, together with the variously coloured hills, which stretch westward from Kâla Bâgh, and in which the salt-mines are found.

Three or four cosses brought us to the first of the villages on the plain, which we passed, and then successively several others. In this part of our route I went to some reapers, at a little distance from the road, to ask for water. On learning that I was a Feringhí, they put themselves to the trouble of fetching some, which was cool, and had been lying in the shade. At length we entered a village, where we found the people in a group, sitting on a prepared mound of earth, raised close to the masjít, or place of prayers, engaged in discourse, and smoking the chillam. Similar mounds are found in all the villages of Marwat, and appropriated to the same social purposes, while they have the same location, viz. near to the masjíts. Our Saiyad explained to the assembly the objects of his journey, which had made him their visitor; and buttermilk was brought for the party. The houses were neatly constructed, principally of reeds, the climate and lack of rain rendering more substantial dwellings unnecessary. In this, as in every other village, were two or three Hindú banyas. A farther march of two cosses, during which we passed a large pond of muddy rain-water, brought us to a village, where we

halted to escape the heat of the day, which had become very oppressive.

I was here well received, and attracted much notice. I was lodged in the masjít by myself, my friends of the party being elsewhere accommodated. This erection was neatly and commodiously built on an elevation; a *chahárpáhi*, or cot, was furnished me to repose upon, and large supplies of bread and milk were brought for my repast. Moreover, the village barber was produced, and cut the nails of my fingers and toes, which were deemed to require an operation; and my friends of the village continued their various attentions, shampooing me against my will, but convinced I must like what they liked themselves, until I signified my wish to take a little rest.

In the afternoon we left this village for Lakkí, a town distant about six cosses, to which the plain gradually descends, the river of *Khúram* flowing in the hollow. A little beyond the village we descended into an enormous ravine, of great depth; in crossing it, so intense was the heat that perspiration was copiously excited. This fracture appeared to extend across the country from east to west. In the evening we arrived at Lakkí; two or three villages, with much cultivation, stretching to the left. This is a town with pretty good bazar, and is seated on the river of *Khúram*, a fine stream. It may be said to be defenceless; the residence of the chief

authority, here called the malek, although styled the killa, or fort, not meriting that appellation.

Our party was entertained by the malek, and we supped on fowls and pillau. In the morning we were allowed a mounted guide, armed with sword and spear, to conduct us to the villages of Bannú. Crossing the river, which at this season of the year (I believe about the month of May) was but knee-deep, we ascended the gentle rise of the opposite plain, on which was seated a village. Our Saiyad did not think prudent to enter it, but the guide went there to obtain some information relative to our route, before we attempted it. The result being, I presume, satisfactory, we started across a barren, uninhabited plain, in extent about ten cosses, and chequered occasionally with small stunted bushes and dwarf trees, mostly mimosas. In one spot were two or three holes, containing muddy water, sufficient to allay the thirst of the casual passenger, but not adequate to supply the wants of large parties. Passing a large burial ground, we neared the villages of Bannú. On reaching a place where we found deposits of muddy rain-water, we fell in with six or seven robbers, armed to the teeth. They did not, however, attack us, although on the look out for spoil, the party being protected by the sanctity of the Saiyad, whose holy character was made known to them. They were also told that I was a Feringhí; and as I was about helping myself to water from the deposit near to which they were

standing, they obligingly pointed out another place, where the water was clearer or less muddy. From this spot the surface of the plain was a little more wooded, but still slightly. On our road we met a man with an axe in his hand, who, on being told of the party we had just left at the water, retraced his steps; he was very thankful for the information, and said that he should have lost his axe. Where the plain ceased, we again crossed the river of Khúram. Its course was here rapid and over a stony bed, but the depth was shallow. We then came upon cultivated ground, and the villages and castles. As we passed by these, the inhabitants, who were generally sitting outside the gates, would rise and pay their respects and salutations, judging, from the demure aspect of the Saiyad, as well as from his white turban, that he was a descendant of the Prophet, or, like one, had saintly pretensions; perhaps also conscious that no strangers but those armed with a sacred character would venture amongst them. We halted at a town called Naggar, of tolerable size, and walled in; but its defences, much injured by time, were neglected. The bazar I did not see, but conclude it was pretty large, from the number of Hindús I noticed. Before we reached Naggar we passed a large encampment of Vazírís, who had come here for the sake of pasture, which was abundant. We were duly provided with lodgings, and the malek came and sat with us, bringing his musicians and falconers—the latter to display his state,

and the former to beguile our tedium. He was a young man, dressed gaily in silks of gaudy colours, and rather trifling in his manners. He directed his attention to me, and, amongst many questions, inquired what I would wish prepared for my evening's meal. He was surprised to find that anything prepared for himself would be agreeable to me. He farther desired me to write him something that he might wear, as a charm, around his neck. Not wishing to take the trade of my companion, the Saiyad, out of his hands, I protested that I possessed no supernatural power or secret. On which the Saiyad scribbled something on a scrap of paper, which was reverentially received by the malek. Conferring charms and antidotes against accidents and diseases is one of the means employed by Saiyads and others to impose upon the credulity of the ignorant, who, however, are very willingly imposed upon.

Matters were going on very amicably, when a soldier recognized in the horse of the Ták múnshí, or vakíl, as he now announced himself, an animal that had been stolen from himself. Much altercation ensued, the Naggar people insisting upon the delivery of the horse, and the múnshí refusing to comply, maintaining that his master, the nawâb, had purchased it. This dispute detained us the next day; nor were we suffered to proceed the following one until papers were given, and it was agreed that some one should go to Ták to receive the value of the horse. A singularity attended this horse, as it

was named by the people the Feringhí horse, being branded with numbers and a cross. It had been, as they asserted, rejected from the cavalry service in India. On this account they often referred to me, and urged, that the marks did not allow them to be mistaken as to the animal.

This affair arranged, we resumed our journey; and in our progress this day over a well-cultivated country, were saluted by nearly every individual we met with a cordial shake of the hand, and the Pashto greeting of "Urkalah rází," or "You are welcome." I knew not how to reconcile this friendly behaviour with the character for ferocity I had heard of these people, and was gratified to discover that, if implacable abroad, they were possessed of urbanity at home. Every house here on the plain, without the towns, where numbers impart a feeling of security, is indeed a castle and fortified; and it would appear that the feuds existing in the community render it imperative that every individual should adopt precautionary measures for his safety. The advocate of anarchy, in contemplating so precarious a state of society, might learn to prize the advantages conferred by a mild and well-regulated government, as he might be induced to concede a little of his natural right, in preference to existing in a state of licentious independence, as the savage inhabitant of Bannú, continually dreading and dreaded.

Near the houses, or castles, were generally small copses of mulberry trees, and occasionally a few

plum-trees, and vines, were intermingled with them. Water was most plentiful, and conducted over the soil in numberless canals. We halted this day at another good-sized town, and were kindly received by the malek. He was very civil to me, and wished me to stay some time with him, and rest myself, pointing out the toils attendant upon the long march through the hills in front, which he said I should not be able to accomplish, as my feet were already blistered. He assured me that I should be paid every attention, and that a goat should be furnished every day for my food. He seemed to think that Feringhis ate voraciously of animal food. In the evening he ordered some of his men to practise firing at a target, for my diversion; and one of his reasons for wishing my stay, I believe, was, that I might teach his men always to hit the mark, which, from what I observed of their dexterity now, they never contrived to do.

This malek was superior to his brother chief of Naggar both in years and wisdom, and he was so frank and courteous, that we were glad to stay a day in the town as his guests. We occupied the principal masjít, in which the effects of the party were lodged—and the camel saddles, which were plentifully garnished with silver ornaments, were covered with linen, the better to elude observation. The men of the party had gone to the malek's house, his family, no doubt, having ample need of many of the Saiyad's charms; leaving a youth, of twelve to fourteen years of age, in charge of the property. I

was also reposing there. The youth closed the doors of the masjid, and fastened them inside, refusing admittance to persons, who, it proved, were weavers of cotton stuffs, and accustomed to lodge their machinery, when their labour was over, in the house of God. They insisted upon being allowed entrance. The youth was stedfast in denial; and we were assailed by stones, ejected through apertures in the walls. They rained in upon us so copiously that the urchin, apprehensive of the result of a siege, became bewildered, and opened the doors, when the assailants poured in; and the covers of the camel-saddles being removed, the silver ornaments were exposed to observation. The youth was smartly beaten by two or three of them; and he, in turn, espying the múnshí's sword, unsheathed it, and compelled his opponents to fly. He pursued them, sword in hand and bursting with rage, into the town. At this stage of the business the Saiyad and his companions returned. One of them was despatched to inform the malek of the outrage; but, it proving that no offence had been intended, the affair terminated. The people were particularly anxious that I, being a stranger, should be convinced that no robbery had been designed, and that the saddles were uncovered merely to satisfy curiosity. The Hindús even seemed so concerned for the good repute of the place that many of them came to me upon the subject, and they assured me, that had I wealth not to be counted it would be

secure in this town. There was an impression here, and I had noted it also at Naggarr, that the property with the party belonged to me: indeed, that my companions were my servants, and that my poverty was assumed the better to pass through the country.

The next morning we were provided with a guide to conduct us through the mountains, and a small horse was presented by the malek to our Saiyad. As we took leave, the malek, with apparent sincerity, again urged me to stay with him some time, and let my feet get well. He pointed to the hills I had to cross, and seemed seriously to think I should break down on the road. We were not far, or more than three or four miles from the skirt of the hill, to which we directed our course. At a village near the town we had just left I was accosted by three or four persons, who told me they were sent by Mír Kammaradín, with his salám and request that I would wait for him, as he would be at the town from which we had started, on the morrow. I asked, who is Mír Kammaradín, and was told a fáquí. I reasoned, what have I to do with a fáquí, or why should I on his account delay my journey. The messengers, while testifying extreme anxiety that I should wait for their master, were unable to advance a better motive for my doing so than the wish of the Mír. I had preceded my companions; when they came up, I inquired of them who Mír Kammaradín was, and they said, slightly, "A fáquí

who has been to Delhí." This answer did not increase my desire to see him, and I dismissed his messengers. Subsequently, when I reached Pesháwer, I found that the Mír was a highly respected pír, who had been very useful to Mr. Moorcroft, and that the Vazírís were his moríds, and looked up to him as their spiritual guide—that on this occasion he was about to make his annual progress amongst them, to receive their offerings and his dues. In conversation with his son at Chamkanni the young man observed truly, that I had lost an excellent opportunity of visiting the Vazírís, under the protection of his father; that I might have seen what no Feringhí had ever seen, and have filled my book with extraordinary things. To obviate the chagrin experienced when I became apprised of the chance I had suffered to slip away, I endeavoured to persuade myself that "whatever is best;" yet I have often felt regret, although aware that the case was one in which regret was useless.

The country of Marwat can scarcely be considered independent, revenue, or tribute, being occasionally exacted from it by the nawâb of Déra, whose supremacy is not, however, acknowledged. None of his officers reside in the country, the inhabitants being left to their own control; and any demands he makes upon them, require to be supported by force.

Wheat appeared to be the only grain cultivated, and goats their principal stock. Horses were few,

as were sheep and horned cattle, while asses were more numerous. The heat was very intense, and the season was more forward than at Pesháwer. The great evil of this country is the want of a due supply of water. For the crops, dependence is placed upon rain; and bands, or mounds, are constructed to collect and to divert upon the lands the bounty of the clouds. It is clear that in dry seasons the agriculturist will be distressed. Water for domestic purposes is brought from long distances; the few pools of rain-water, being judged unfit for such use, are set aside for cattle.

The villages of Marwat have a cleanly appearance, and the inhabitants, if rude, are yet frank and manly in their manners. They are one of the races,—and there are many such amongst the Afghâns, although all are not so,—who have nothing frivolous in their character. If not altogether amiable, they are at least steady and respectable. There is no single authority established in Marwat, the several villages being governed by their own maleks, or rather influenced by them. They are independent of each other, but combine in cases of invasion, or other matters affecting the interests of the community at large.

The country of Bannú has great advantages in a large extent of fertile soil, and in an abundant supply of water, which can be turned with facility upon the lands. Favoured by climate, its capability of yielding a variety of produce is very

great. The good people who hold it are not, however, enterprizing or experimental agriculturists, and besides wheat, rice, múng, and a little sugar-cane, zir-chób, or turmeric, is the only plant, of foreign growth originally, which has been introduced. There is so much pasture-land in Bannú that, without inconvenience to their own cattle, the natives can allow their neighbours, the Vazírís, to graze their flocks and horses upon it. There are many groves of date-trees in one portion of the plain, regarded, perhaps justly, in these countries as evidences of fertility. The reason may be, that they are sure indications of water, it being observed, that without that desideratum being at hand, they cannot thrive. Cattle, of course, are plentiful in Bannú, and in all kinds of rural wealth the inhabitants may be pronounced rich.

On the same plain as Marwat the Bannú people have, besides a difference in their costume, a smaller stature than the inhabitants of the former place. The Marwatí is generally clad in coarse white linen, in much the same manner as the Patáns on the banks of the Indus. The people of Bannú wear dark clothing, and are fond of lúnghís, with ornamental borders. Both in dress and appearance they assimilate with the mountain tribes. They are very brave, and remarkable for entertaining an *esprit de pays*. They are eloquent in eulogiums upon their country, and the exclamation, "My own dear Bannú!" is frequently

uttered by them. The authority is vested in the respective maleks, some of whom, those living in towns, are enabled to retain followers in pay, as they derive a money revenue from the Hindús residing in them. They have, however, little or no power without their towns, every occupant of a fort being his own master, while he neither pays tribute nor acknowledges submission to any one. This state of things, while opposed to the ambition of an individual, is favourable to cherishing that spirit which preserves the independence of the society at large; and the more powerful do not think their interests would be served by altering it. The system of equality, while productive of more or less internal commotion, is admirably effective when circumstances call for mutual exertion; and all parties, laying aside their private animosities, in such cases, heartily unite in defence of the public freedom; in the advantages of which all participate.

It is possible that Bannú may formerly have been much more populous, and that its government was better regulated; for it will be remembered, that three or four centuries ago the high road, followed from Kâbal to India, led through it, as we find in the history of Taimúr's expedition. That this route was open at a much earlier period is evident from the notices of the Máhomedan invasion of the country, the armies of the Caliphs having clearly advanced through

Bannú and Khúram, upon Ghazní, then, it would appear, the capital of the country. Hurreeou, where a great battle is noted to have been fought between the prince of Ghazní and the Mússulmân invaders, is plainly the modern Harí-âb, (the Iryab of some maps,) in Khúram. Of a prior state of prosperity, the actual towns in Bannú may be accepted as testimonies — for it is more natural to consider them as feeble vestiges of the past than as creations of recent days. They even yet carry on a considerable traffic, and nearly engross that with the mountain Vazírís. In every village of Marwat and of Bannú there are weavers of coarse cottons, called karbâs, but in the towns of Bannú are looms employed in the fabric of finer goods, both of cotton and silk, particularly lúnghís. The Hindús in the two towns I visited were too cheerful to allow me to suppose that they were harshly treated, or that they lived in insecurity.

Máhárájá Ranjit Singh once marched with an army of twenty-five thousand men to Lakkí, on the Khúram river. He exacted thirty thousand rupees, but did not judge it prudent or convenient to make a permanent settlement in the country, as, it is said, he had contemplated.

CHAPTER VII.

Vazírí huts. — Vazírís venerate Saiyads. — Kâfr Kot. — Its construction. — Remarks on similar localities. — Entertainment at village. — Incident. — Scenery. — Ahmed Kozah. — Masjîts. — Hângú. — Sadú Khân. — Preceded by Saiyad. — Situation of Hângú. — Orchards. — Character of Sadú Khân. — Approach of Pesháwer army. — Hângú evacuated. — Proceed to Kohât. — Reconnoitring party. — Lo. — Encounter with Faizúlah Khân. — Pír Máhoméd Khân. — His coolness. — Shákur Khân. — Abdúl Wâhab Khân's son. — Village. — Kohât. — Trade and manufactures. — Gardens. — Springs. — Provinces of Kohât and Hângú. — Cultivation. — Minerals. — Coal. — Asbestus. — Fuel. — Climate. — Inhabitants. — Túrís. — Politics. — Leave Kohât. — Mountain pass. — Rencounter. — Bangí Khél. — Detained a guest. — Incident. — An old acquaintance. — Return to Kohât. — Altered behaviour of Pír Máhoméd Khân. — Sâleh Máhoméd. — Messenger from Pesháwer. — Army marches. — Reach Pesháwer. — Country passed. — Elephant.

WE soon arrived at the entrance into the hills, where we found capacious reservoirs of excellent water. The whole of the day was occupied in the ascent and descent of mountains, of great elevation. A few Vazírí huts, of miserable appearance, occurred in some of the water courses. Our people procured fire from the inhabitants; and did not wish me to make myself too conspicuous. We halted awhile at a spot where two or three vines were hanging

over a spring of water, and were joined by several persons, although we did not see their habitations.

I did not consider we were in any particular danger amongst these hills; indeed, so far as I could judge, in none. The Vazírís, although notorious robbers, in common with other lawless tribes, regard the descendants of their Prophet with awe, and a feeling of respectful reverence, and esteem themselves fortunate to receive their benedictions, and other little aids their superstition teaches them to think essential, which they (the Saiyads) liberally bestow, as they cost them little. We had, moreover, the Bannú guide with us, whose protection would probably have availed us more, in case of need, than the hallowed character of the Saiyad; the Vazírís and people of Bannú being on a good understanding, one party would consequently be careful not to invalidate a safe conduct afforded by the other. It was clear also, that the malek, a prudent man, had given us a steady and trustworthy guide. While it was yet daylight we passed around the brow of a hill, opposite to which, and separated by a water-course, was a much higher one, on whose summit were a series of walls, describing the ancient fortress, named in these parts, Kâfr Kót, or the infidel's fortress. Above the path we were following, the rocks were so arranged, that I was doubtful whether the peculiarity of structure was the effect of art or of the sportive hand of nature. They wore the appearance of decayed

buildings, while on the verge of the hill was a parapet, or what so nearly resembled it that, in the cursory view my time permitted me to take, I did not dare make up my mind respecting it, and I would have been very glad, had not the fear of losing my company prevented me from staying, to have satisfied myself.

Kâfr Kót is believed by the natives to have existed before the Máhomedan invasion of India. The stones employed in its construction are represented to be of wonderful dimensions. I have been told by a gentleman who has visited it, that he did not consider it so ancient, as there are embrasures for artillery in the towers. The natives, in reply to this objection, affirm that the embrasures are modern additions. The fortress has long since been abandoned, owing, it is said, to water being distant. This is one of those places which deserved a more rigid inspection. A line of massive wall, wherever found, is styled by the present inhabitants of these regions, Kâfr Kót, or Killa Kâfr, equivalent and general terms, which, in most instances, ill explain the nature of the remains of antiquity on which they are conferred. So far from having been originally places of defence, the greater number of them denote the sepulchral localities of by-gone races. In the remote and sequestered sites in which they are found, it is inconceivable that large towns and fortresses should

have been fixed; the former could not have flourished, and the latter would have been of no utility. Whatever may be the character of Kâfr Kót, it would have afforded me pleasure to have visited it, particularly as, with reference to its adaptation as a fortress in modern times, it has sometimes occurred to me, that it may be the Naggar mentioned by the historians of Amúr Taimír as in the vicinity of Bannú, although it will have been noted that there is a Naggar in the district of Bannú itself.

Night overtook us amongst the hills, and our guide was desirous that we should rest and await the morn; to which the Saiyad would not consent. At length, to our great joy, we cleared them, and traversing for about two cosses a broken and stony plain, where the white pink grew abundantly in a state of nature, we arrived, after the period of the last prayers, at a village, seated on the skirt of another and smaller range of hills. Here we occupied the masjít; and the malek, notwithstanding the late hour, ordered his people to make ready a repast of rice, deeming it incumbent to show attention to the Pír Sáhíb who had honoured him with his company. A távíz, as usual, repaid the hospitality. This march my friends computed at twenty-four cosses of road distance; and from its difficult nature, my feet became exceedingly painful, although I had occasionally been seated on the horses and camels. As we entered this village our guide from Bannú took his

leave, saying, that the people here were his enemies. He hoped that we were satisfied with him, and shook all our hands in turn.

At daybreak next morning we ascended the hills, our route over which was visible from the village. We crossed three successive ranges, of considerable altitude, although very inferior in that respect to the great mountains of the former march. Our route led westernly, until we crossed a small but rapid stream, after which we turned to the north. The hills since leaving Bannú had been tolerably well-wooded, although they produced no timber trees. In these smaller ranges the quantity of wood increased, and pomegranate, with other wild fruit-trees, were abundant. In the valleys and water courses a variety of aloe was constantly seen. We at length came into a valley of considerable extent, and halted during the heat of the day in a small copse, where weavers were occupied with their labours, and close to a village, at the skirt of the hills to the right hand. Our morning's repast was provided by these weavers, who set before us cakes of bread, beautifully white, which I found were prepared from júarí flour. On crossing the stream just mentioned, the party refreshed themselves with the water. A tin vessel was given to me by the Saiyad, who afterwards replenished it, and handed it to one of the Ták camel-drivers. The man refused to drink from it, as I had used it, asserting, that I was

not a Mússulmân. The Saiyad smiled. I had often found that in towns the low and ignorant, especially such as had visited India, would reject any vessel I had touched, alleging that Europeans ate swine, and, moreover, dogs, jackals, &c. Men of sense and condition were not troubled with like scruples, and from them I heard of no such indecent remarks. Europeans have certainly an evil reputation for not being very choice in their food. There is a saying, that a Mússulmân may eat with a Jew, but should never sleep in his house; with a Christian, on the contrary, he should never eat, but may sleep beneath his roof. It is supposed that the Jew rises many times during the night, with the intent to slay his guest.

In the afternoon our party resumed their journey, proceeding up the valley which leads to Hângú and Kohât. The scenery is extremely diversified, and many of the trees were charged with flowers, unknown to me. Beneath the hills, on the opposite side of the valley, were two or three villages with houses built of stones, as the structures here universally are. Small copses of fruit-trees were always seen near the villages, the vine, the plum, and the peach. I was so exhausted this day that I lagged behind the party. The camel drivers also, having discovered that I was not a Mússulmân, declined to allow me to ride their animals, although requested to do so by the Saiyad. I did not re-

member the name of the place where it was intended to pass the night, but I followed the high road until it branched off into two directions. I might have been perplexed, but a shepherd hailed me, and told me to take the road to the right. He had been instructed by my friends to point it out to me. I was soon overtaken by an armed man, but I could understand little of what he said, his dialect being Pashto. I saw, however, that he intended to be very civil. In his company I arrived at a village, where I found the Saiyad and his party, and where we passed the night. The village was called Ahmed Kozah, and had a small bazar.

In the morning, we traced a road skirting the hills to the left, the valley to the right having considerable expansion, with two or three villages, and much cultivation. In the course of our progress we passed many small groves of mulberry and other trees, where masjīts were erected, with dependent and contiguous wells of water, serving at once as places of repose and refreshment to the weary passenger, and for devotion. The union of these objects I judged extremely decorous and commendable, and as reflecting credit on Mússulmân manners and hospitality. I often availed myself of them on this day, for the sad state of my feet did not allow me to keep pace with my friends. I had long descried, on the summit of a lofty hill, a white tomb, arriving parallel to which was the small town of Hângú, in a recess of the hills, with numerous

gardens, or orchards of fruit-trees, in its vicinity. It was said, I believe, to be eight cosses distant from Ahmed Kozah.

I was here conducted to the chief, Sadú Khân, a son of the Nawâb Samad Khân, who resides at Kâbal. He received me courteously, and invited me to stay some days with him; to which I had no difficulty in consenting, as the road was not now so dangerous, and companions could at all times be procured. The Saiyad and his party had, I found, passed on without halting here, the reason for which, although I knew not at the time, became manifest in a few days by the events which developed themselves. I was utterly incapable of keeping up with them, and felt no anxiety for the few effects in charge of the good man, which I was certain to recover whenever I reached Peshâwer.

Hângú comprises perhaps three hundred houses, and has a small bazar, the Hindú houses in which are built of mud. The fort, in which the chief dwelt, was built of stones, and defended by jinjâls. The situation of this little town is very pretty, and it is bounteously provided with water, many fine springs issuing from the adjacent rocks, and forming a rivulet, which winds through the valley in the direction of Kohât. In its numerous orchards were the vine, the apple, the plum, the peach, the common mulberry, and the shâhtút, or royal mulberry, as here called. It may be

noted, that the common mulberry of these countries is not that of Great Britain (the *morus nigra*), the latter being what is called the *shâh-tút*, or royal mulberry, at Kâbal. This term, as at Hângú, and the countries to the south and east, is applied to a very different tree, which is not known at Kâbal, and produces long taper fruit, of colours both red and white. I also observed the bramble, or blackberry-bush, scrambling over the hedges. Sadú Khân had a small flower-garden, which he tended himself. This young chief was far more respectable in appearance and behaviour than the great men I had been, of late, accustomed to see; he was indeed a well-bred Dúrání. He was allowed by his people to be of amiable disposition, and was considered a devout Mússulmân, which meant, I presume, that he was punctual in the observance of prayers and fasting. Yet he had, like most men, his foible—also a common one in the east,—he was addicted to *kímía*, and had expended much time and treasure in the idle search of the great secret, which would, it is believed, enable the discoverer to make gold at discretion.

A few day's after my abode here, intelligence was suddenly received of the approach of a hostile force from Pesháwer. Sadú Khân immediately collected the revenue due to him, and proceeded with his followers to Kohât, where his elder brother, Máhoméd Osmân Khân resided. The brothers, in consultation, concluding it was impossible to repel the

invasion, returned to Hângú; and taking all their property with them, evacuated the country, and retired, by a mountain route, to Kâbal, which I was told they would reach in eight days. With Máhoméd Osmân Khân were two or three elephants, and a numerous zenána. I now understood why the Saiyad had not halted here; he must have heard of the expected movement, and was aware that, as an agent of Sultân Máhoméd Khân, he would have been liable to detention, and that the presents he was conveying would, in all probability, have been taken from him.

I had a good opportunity of passing on to Kâbal, had my feet justified the thought that I could have kept company with the retiring host. Although improved by rest, they were not yet quite well, so I scarcely entertained the idea. I had also a few papers amongst my effects in the Saiyad's charge, to which I attached a value at the time, and did not wish to lose, although it subsequently proved that I was unable to preserve them.

Hângú having been abandoned by its chief, I had no inducement to remain there, and accordingly proceeded up the valley on the road to Kohât. The scenery was extremely beautiful, the valley never very broad, in turn contracting and expanding, but always well filled with trees, generally mulberry-trees, I presume indigenous, whose fruits were now ripe. Villages occasionally occurred, in all of which I was kindly received. Near one of these I met

exaggerated or undeserved. When the darbár closed, he took me with him to his quarters, and we were engaged in conversation and smoking the húhak, which he freely gave to me, until he was summoned to the noon repast in Pír Máhoméd Khân's tent; on which a young man, the son of Abdúl Wáhab Khân, a chief of consequence, took me by the hand, and led me to his quarters, telling me I must be his guest while in the camp. My new acquaintance, I found, had but lately returned from Lúdíána, where he had been in the service of the ex-king Sújah al Múlkh. He there had become, in some degree, familiar with Feringhís, and hence the cause of his civility to me.

On the following morning the troops marched for Hângú, a salute of artillery being first discharged, in honour of the conquest of the country. I bade farewell to my friend, and took the road to Kohât. This place was situated mid-way between the two towns, being six cosses from either. There was a pretty village seated at the foot of an eminence in the midst of the valley, on whose summit was a well-built tomb. After proceeding about three cosses the valley considerably widened, and disclosed a large plain, at the upper end of which was the town of Kohât. The villages in this part were not so numerous.

On reaching Kohât, I was entertained at the house of a mullá, being conducted there by a young man, with whom I had joined company on

the road. The town is seated on and about an eminence, and is walled in. On a superior mound is the citadel, not very formidable in appearance, and much dilapidated. It serves for the abode of the chief, and is furnished with a garrison. The *coup d'œil* of the place is agreeable, and the whole has an aspect of antiquity, which Hângú has not. The bazar is considerable, and the Hindús have a brisk domestic trade. There are some manufactures carried on, and that of rifle barrels is extensive, and of good reputation. There are many gardens in the neighbourhood, where the fruits, although neither very abundant nor particularly esteemed, are those both of cold and warm climates. The fruits of Kâbal are seen mingled with those of India — a mango tree, the only one, indeed, of its species so far north on the western side of the Indus, flourishes and bears fruit, in company with apple and walnut trees. The principal masjít in Kohât is a handsome edifice, comparatively speaking only. It is more distinguished by the baths belonging to it, which are commodious, and filled by springs of water gushing from the rock on which the masjít is built. The water of Kohât is much vaunted for its sanative properties; that of Hângú, although beautifully transparent, is reputed to be unwholesome. Kohât, the capital of a province, is but small; I question whether it contains five hundred houses.

The province of Kohât, of which Hângú is a dependency, belonged to the Nawâb Samad Khân, one of the numerous sons of the celebrated Sarfaráz, or Páhíndar Khân, and therefore half-brother to the present rulers at Pesháwer, Kâbal, and Kândahar. Possessed of great wealth, he resided at Kâbal, and committed the government of Kohât to his sons. The revenue derived by Máhommed Osmân Khân from Kohât, and its annexed lands and villages, was said to be eighty thousand rupees; while that enjoyed by Sadú Khân from Hângú and its vicinity, was asserted to be twenty thousand rupees.

The plain of Kohât and the valley of Hângú are well cultivated and populous. Wheat is grown, but the stony soil in many parts seems more adapted to the culture of maize, or júarí, as here called, the quality of which is excellent, and the returns large, while the flour makes admirable bread, and is the general food of the inhabitants. The great command of water, in many situations, is made available for the irrigation of rice lands, the produce of which is ample and good. There is reason to believe that the mountains of this province contain many curious mineral substances, as well as useful ones. Indifferent coal is found generally on the surface, the country being included in the great coal formation, which, whatever may be its value, evidently extends for some distance west of the Indus in these latitudes. I

fear the mountainous character of the country about Kohât, and thence to the Indus, will scarcely authorize the hope that this useful mineral will ever be found but in veins too thin to repay the labour of extracting it. Perhaps it may be in greater quantity at Kânígoram, where it is found in conjunction with iron, which is constantly worked. But from this place to the Indus the transport would be difficult. I have procured specimens of asbestos, said to occur in veins parallel with the coal strata at Kânígoram; and both are stated to be in a hill. Jet, and other bituminous products, are also brought from the neighbourhood of Kohât, as well as fluid bitumen, or mûmíá. We are told of lapis lazulí, or a stone resembling it, and of indications of copper, to be found in the rocks between Kohât and Hângú. It will have been noted, that the mountains of Bangash are well-wooded, therefore there is abundance of fuel, but there are no large timber trees. The climate appeared to be temperate, and I should have supposed genial; but it is complained that Hângú is unhealthy, the cause whereof is referred to the water. It is, in truth, buried, as it were, in the hills; and the circumstances which contribute to the picturesque effect of its location may impair the salubrity of its atmosphere.

The inhabitants of the villages in the valley leading from Hângú to Kohât I discovered were principally Shías, as are all the tribes of the

Túrís, their neighbours, although not so bigoted as these; or, being under control, they are compelled to conceal their fervour. The Túrís are very particular, and accustomed when they see a stranger, to ask him if he is straight or crooked, putting at the same time the fore-finger to their foreheads, and holding it, first in a perpendicular position, and then in a contorted one. If desirous to be civilly received, the stranger had better reply that he is straight, by which they understand he is a Shía.

As the government of Kohât and Hângú is on all sides surrounded by turbulent and predatory tribes, it is always necessary to have a sufficient body of troops in it, both to ensure internal peace and to collect tribute from the dependent villages, who withhold it, if not enforced. The little village of Ahmed Kozah had been but recently, I was informed, compelled to pay tribute by Sadú Khân.

About this time, or a little previous to my visit, the Sirdárs of Kándahár and Pesháwer, jealous of the prosperity and growing power of their brother Dost Máhommed Khân at Kâbal, had concerted a plan to attack him on either side. In furtherance of this combination, the Pesháwer army was to have marched upon Jelálabád, while that of Kándahár was to advance upon Ghazní. In anticipation of the simultaneous movement, Pír Máhommed Khân had now possessed himself of Kohât,

as the Nawâb Samad Khân, although their brother was, from his residence at Kâbal, considered in the interest of Dost Máhoméd Khân. Whether he was so or not,—and it did not follow that he was,—the opportunity to acquire an accession of territory, so conveniently situated, was too tempting to be neglected. It struck me, that the approach of Pír Máhoméd Khân was entirely unexpected; and Sadú Khân spoke of the whole business as a most flagitious one.

The plain of Kohât appears on all sides surrounded with hills; on the summit of one of which, to the north, is seen a watch-tower, by which the road to Pesháwer leads. The ascent to this is long and difficult, and said to be dangerous, the adjacent hills to the west being inhabited by lawless tribes, who are not Mússulmâns. They may be Shíás, who would not be considered Mússulmâns by the orthodox Súní inhabitants of the town of Kohât. I, however, having little to apprehend, as I had nothing to lose, started alone, and made for the hills. Where the plain ceased, a long and open darra, or valley, commenced, where it was evident the Pesháwer troops had been for some time encamped, prior to the retreat of Máhoméd Osmán Khân from Kohât; and this valley continued to the foot of the kotal, or pass. I ascended the mountain, and safely reached the summit, on which stood the tower, having met no one on the road. The tower was deserted. From this

point a long descent brought me into a valley, where were signs of cultivation. As I followed the road through it, I was overtaken by a man, who said nothing, but walked by my side. He offered me a piece of bread, which, to avoid giving offence, I accepted. He then picked up a blade or two of grass, which he twisted, and still preserving silence, repaired a casualty in one of my shoes. We arrived at a pond of water, which I was passing, when my companion, who I had begun to suspect, was dumb, asked me, if I would not drink. We now parted, his course being different to mine, and I again proceeded alone. I soon arrived at a village seated up the hill to the right, to which I went and rested awhile. The water here is procured from a spring in the rocks above the village, and this spot I also visited.

Beyond this village the valley contracted into a defile, over which a substantial band, or rampart, had once been projected. It is now in ruins and unheeded. Passing this, the defile opens upon a plain of large extent, and a village, distinguished by its towers, is seen under the hills to the left. Leaving the high road, which leads directly across the plain, I struck off for the village, which was named Bangí Khél. I found a Dúrání there, with his servant, who told me that the village on the hill which I had passed belonged to him, that is, that he received the revenue from it. He regretted that he had not met me there, as he could

then have better shown me attention. As it was, he was very civil.

In the morning he followed the road to his village; and I was going to take that for Pesháwer, when the Patáns of the village were so urgent in entreating me to pass the day with them, that I acceded. I was now led to the hûjra, or house set apart for the accommodation of travellers, and where, in the evening, the old and the young assemble, to converse, and smoke the chillam. Here was hung up a musical instrument, for the use of those who were qualified to touch its harmonious strings. The water at this place was excellent, but brought, I think, from some distance. Most of the males went out during the day to the fields, where the harvest was in progress, and they sallied forth, fully armed with matchlock, sword, and shield. I passed here the second night, and the ensuing morning was about to leave, when an idiot—who being unfit for labour, was unasked to perform any, and therefore generally loitered about the hûjra,—asked me for my cap. I could not give it to him, as to walk bare-headed was out of the question, on which account he might as well have asked for my head. But he was not satisfied unless he gained his point, and soon evinced an inclination forcibly to acquire it. I had received two or three slaps on the face, and more buffets, and was at a loss what to do with the fellow, being averse to strike him, if it could

be avoided, when, luckily, some one appeared, and I was enabled to get off before the matter had grown serious, and while I yet retained the cap coveted by the poor man. I speedily regained the high road. The plain was partially cultivated with wheat, and the parties engaged in cutting it had always their arms piled near them. Beyond this space a fresh defile, amongst low hills, led into a much larger valley, under the hills encircling which, both to the right and left, were villages and gardens. I hailed with pleasure these appearances, as a token of my approach to a populous region. As I proceeded along the road two horsemen galloped towards me from a small copse of trees at some distance. I was considering what might be their intention, having no thought but that, at the best, they were soldiers of Pír Máhoméd Khân, and that I should again have my shirt rent, and be searched for papers — when they reached me, and one of them, before I could divine what he was about to do, had dismounted, and embraced my feet. What was my astonishment when I beheld an old acquaintance, Saiyad Máhoméd, a Dúrání of Pesháwer! He had recognized me, or rather I may say, the Feringhí cap, which I had not long before been in danger of losing. He was so anxious that I should return with him for two or three days to Kohât, whither he was going on business, that I was overcome by his entreaties and his tears, although I questioned whether I

might not as well have gone on to Pesháwer. Saiyad Máhoméd took up his attendant behind him on the horse he rode, and I put myself into the vacant saddle. We halted at no place on the road, and by afternoon had reached Kohât, where we put up with some relative of Saiyad Máhoméd's.

Two or three days after my second abode at Kohât Pír Máhoméd Khân returned from Hângú, where he had left Abdúl Wâhab Khân as governor. In the evening, as I was taking a stroll, he also, in course of his evening's ride, came near me. Observing me, he turned his horse from the path, and rode to me. He was now very civil, and asked, moving to and fro his hand, why I had not gone to Kâbal. I told him I had neither horse nor money, and asked, in turn, how I could go to Kâbal. "Oh," he said, "I'll give you horse and money, and you shall go with me to Kâbal." I knew nothing at this time of the politics of the country, and had not before heard of the Sirdár's notion of going to Kâbal; therefore I inquired, when he was going? and he answered, that he should return to Pesháwer in a day or two, and then, as soon as his horses were shod, he should go. I remarked, "Very well;" and he requested Saiyad Máhoméd to bring me to him in the morning. To account for the Sirdár's altered manner, I supposed that he had learned at Hângú that I had no farther connection with Sadú Khân than as a stranger partaking of his hospitality; and

now that he had no suspicion of me, he could afford to be familiar.

Saiyad Máhomed had a brother-in-law, Sâleh Máhomed, the mirákor to the Sirdár, a man in better circumstances than himself, and from his office possessing a little authority. He relieved his relative from the charge of entertaining me, and took me to his quarters, where I soon became at home in the Dúrání camp. The weather was very warm, and we were stationed beneath the shade of mulberry-trees in a garden, placing our cots, on which we reclined and slept, over a canal flowing by us. After the lapse of a few days, an express messenger arrived from Pesháwer, and the news he brought at once threw the camp into bustle and confusion. The horses were immediately ordered to be shod, and the noisy nâlbands became very busy with their hammers and horse-shoes. I learned from Sâleh Máhomed, as soon as he was at leisure to tell me what was the matter, that Saiyad Ahmed Shâh, so renowned or so notorious, had left his retreat in the Yúsef Zai country, and had moved upon Hashtnaggar, a fortress ten or eleven cosses from Pesháwer. It was necessary to march that very day, as the peril was imminent. Before sunset parties had begun to move, which they did without any order, and before night the whole force was on the road to Pesháwer. Pír Máhomed Khân was pleased to assign me a seat on his elephant, so I travelled comfortably; and in the morning we reached the city, having passed

over twenty-four cosses during the night. I was unable, of course, to see much of the country; however on leaving the valley in which I met Saiyad Máhomed, a slight transit over low hills brought us into the great plain of Pesháwer. On our left hand was a ruinous castle, of some size, which my companions were glad when they had passed, it being, as they said, a common resort of robbers. Neither were they quite at ease until they had crossed the barren uninhabited country, extending from the hills we had left to Mittaní; the first village of the cluster, immediately dependent on Pesháwer, a distance of eight or ten miles. The range between Kohât and Pesháwer extends easterly to Atak, while westernly it stretches to Seféd Koh. Other parallel ranges compose the hilly tract inhabited by the Khaibarís and Momands, which separates Pesháwer from Chúra and the Jelálabád valley. At the point where we left the range we had, to the west, minor hills intervening, the Afrédí district of Tírí. At Mittaní we halted awhile for the sake of fire and water. The elephant was extremely docile and manageable. He seemed to have great dread of a horse coming behind him; of which faculty the people with us profited, both to divert themselves, and to make the huge animal accelerate his pace. At Pesháwer we went to the Gúr Katrí, an old fortified Serái, where Saiyad Máhomed, who had preceded us, was ready to receive me, and to conduct me to the house of Sâleh Máhomed, which happened to be quite close.

CHAPTER VIII.

Residence at Pesháwer. — Pír Máhoméd Khân. — Visit Hashtnaggar. — Pesháwer. — Sáhibzâda's Bîbí at Chamkanní. — Village feast. — Sard Khânas. — Cholera. — Simple treatment. — 'Rulers — Their character. — Territory — Revenue — Force. — Inhabitants. — Political relations. — Saiyad Ahmed Shâh — His operations — His presumption. — Defection of Yâr Máhoméd Khân. — Victory of Sîkhs. — Escape of Saiyad Ahmed Shâh. — Ravages of Sîkhs. — Sîkh mode of collecting tribute. — Léla. — M. Ventura outwitted. — Saiyad Ahmed Shâh's successes. — Capture of Pesháwer. — Death of Yâr Máhoméd Khân. — Pesháwer restored. — Saiyad Ahmed Shâh expelled. — Yusaf Zai tribes. — Severely treated by the Sîkhs. — Their gallant resistance. — Provoke the Sîkhs — Passage of the Indus. — Fearful loss. — Panic and slaughter of Yusaf Zais. — Government. — Tendency to change. — Zeal in favour of Saiyad Ahmed Shâh. — Activity of Saiyad Ahmed Shâh — His auxiliaries — His ability — His early life. — Feared by Ranjit Singh. — Conjectures of the vulgar. — Reports of his sanctity — His real character known. — Wadpaggar. — Desire to leave. — Inroad of Saiyad Ahmed Shâh. — Sâdadín.

SALEH MAHOMED did everything in his power to make my residence at Pesháwer as agreeable as possible, and people of all classes were most civil and desirous to oblige. I made a great number of acquaintance; and there seldom occurred any diversion or spectacle that I was not called to witness. The change also from a life of wandering to one of repose was not in itself disagreeable; and every

scene had the charm of novelty to recommend it. The inhabitants, if not so civilized as to have lost their natural virtues, were abundantly more so than the rude but simple tribes I had so long been conversant with; and as a stranger I had only to experience their good qualities. I had ample reason to be satisfied with them.

Pír Máhoméd Khân frequently sent for me, and was profuse in orders that I should be supplied with money, and all needful things, none of which were complied with, which I the less heeded, as the Sirdár sometimes intimated a desire that I would remain with him, which I as constantly declined to do. Also, when I spoke to him of moving on to Kâbal, he would say, as he did at Kohât, that he was going there himself. One day he sent for me, and I found him sitting on a chahârpâhí just within the entrance of his house, having thrown off his upper garments, being covered with perspiration. He was cooling himself with a handkerchief, and telling me he was going to battle, asked if I would accompany him. I replied, that I would. At which he seemed pleased; and the next day sent to me the same elephant on which I had ridden from Kohât. Our destination proved to be Hashtnaggar, eleven cosses from Pesháwer, which was threatened by Saiyad Ahmed Shâh, who had made another advance from the Yusaf Zai districts. Here I was introduced to his brother, Saiyad Máhoméd Khân, who holds Hashtnaggar and its dependencies, and we

stayed some days encamped on the banks of the Kâbal river, until the Sirdárs were assured that the saiyaḍ had retired, when we returned to Peshâwer.

The city, which was represented to have flourished exceedingly under the Dûrání monarchy, has much declined, owing to the vicissitudes of power, and the recent spoliations and devastations of the Síkhs. The Bálla Hissar, once a favourite winter residence of the ancient kings, was entirely in ruins, only the garden remaining, in a neglected condition. The houses, most of them slightly constructed, of which the city is composed, may still number nine or ten thousand, which estimate would give from fifty to sixty thousand inhabitants. The environs are covered with mounds and vestiges of former habitations, not, however, of the present city, but of its remote predecessors. The residences of the sirdárs and of the nobility are, many of them, very respectable, and there are a great number of handsome and spacious gardens, although it is complained that the Síkhs have, in their inroads, cut down many of the best grown trees for fuel.

I succeeded in finding out the saiyaḍ, with whom I had parted at Hângú, and the good mān delivered me my effects, which he had carefully preserved. I visited so many people at Peshâwer, that it would be impossible to enumerate them. Amongst them was a zadú sai shâhzâda, or prince, who had been to Bombay, where he had seen, as he informed the

circle around him, three lakhs of cannon. I had also many friends amongst the múllas, or priests; and they have not only a character for learning, but are distinguished by amenity of manners. I should judge, however, that their scholastic reputation is not now so much merited as formerly it may have been. I was one morning conducted to Chamkanní, three or four miles from the city, where resides the relict of a celebrated saint, herself eminent for her virtues and liberality. My arrival being announced to the lady, she sent a message that Elphinstín Sáhib had paid her a visit, and had presented her with a variety of articles, which she yet preserved, and highly prized. An apology was made that the usual hour of repast had gone by; still it was urged that I should partake of a dinner, which was immediately brought in, and comprised so many delicacies, and was so admirably prepared, that I was surprised. The old lady, moreover, excused herself for not seeing me, by a message, that she had seen no male since the death of her husband. The holy family at Chamkanní was formerly very wealthy, and were always famous for costly hospitality. I had a proof that in the decline of fortune they were anxious to preserve their ancient reputation. The attendant múllas showed me over the tombs of the departed saints, the masjíts, and other buildings; and regretted, as I did, that they had been desecrated by the Síkhs. On another occasion I was invited

to a village feast, some two or three miles from the city, and found a large concourse of people assembled. The entertainment consisted of rice and roghan, but it was so bitter, that I was obliged to declare I could not eat it. Sâleh Máhoméd, who was with me, instructed me that the unpalatable taste had been caused by certain twigs, which, according to him, were employed when it is intended to moderate the appetites of guests; and it proved that this feast was, in great measure, a compulsive one, wherefore the person, at whose charge it was made, not feeling at liberty to evade it, had taken this plan of making it as little expensive to himself as possible. I was amused to witness the wry faces of the company, who, nevertheless, persisted in eating, especially as Sâleh Máhoméd had busied himself to procure me a dish in which the twigs had not been inserted, and to which I was able to do justice.

The gardens of the city afforded at all times pleasant walks, and, whether public or private, they were open to visitors. In many of them were wells, into which, during winter, water is placed; they are then closed, and reopened in summer, when the fluid is drawn up delightfully cool, a great object, as ice is not to be procured, or only by sirdárs, at great trouble and expense. The climate was very sultry; to obviate which the better houses have sardkhânas, or apartments under ground. Some of these have many stages and flights of

steps, but the lower ones, where the temperature most decreases, are dangerous from the presence of snakes. I found these places of refuge from heat to be very unpleasant, as they caused a cold perspiration, and I hardly suppose they can be healthy, although they are not the less used.

Pesháwer this year had a fearful visitant in the cholera; which commencing, I believe, at Jaipúr, in Rájpútána, had passed on to Amratsir, and thence following the line of the great commercial route, had crossed the Indus. It was computed that five thousand deaths had been occasioned by it; and it was no less lamentable to reflect on the destruction, than on the slight remedies employed to cope with the fatal disease. It may be judged how unable were the physicians of Pesháwer to contend with so powerful a foe, when sugar-candy became the favourite medicine. Many people who seemed to have survived the attack of the cholera, were suffered, as I thought, to die from inanition, and some of my neighbours, I believe, were lost in this manner; nor could my entreaties induce their relatives to give them food. It was urged, that the sufferers had a distaste for it. Máhomedans have a commendable resignation to disease, as to the other accidents of life, but it is distressing to behold their apathy under circumstances, when a little exertion would afford relief. Amongst the inhabitants of rank who perished, was Shakúr Khân Bárák Zaí, whom I met between Hângú

and Kohât, reputed the bravest officer attached to the interests of the chiefs of Pesháwer. This epidemic, it may be remarked, had travelled also from Jaipúr to the Bikkanír frontier, where it manifested itself at the first village. The Rájá Súrat Singh ordered the place to be burned,—and saved his kingdom from desolation.

Pesháwer was now governed by the Sirdárs Yár Máhomed Khân, Súltân Máhomed Khân, Saiyad Máhomed Khân, and Pír Máhomed Khân,—four brothers, sons of Páhindah Khân, and by the same mother. They appeared to preserve a good understanding with each other, and assembled daily at a common darbár, or council, at their mother's house. Each, of course, had a separate darbár to transact ordinary business with his own dependents.

The Sirdár Yár Máhomed Khân, the eldest, was nominally the chief, and in fact possessed the larger proportion of revenue, but Pír Máhomed Khân, the youngest, was perhaps the most powerful, from the greater number of troops he retained, besides being considered of an active, indeed, rather daring spirit. Súltân Máhomed Khân was not supposed to want capacity, and was held to be milder and more amiable than his brothers; but his excessive love of finery exposed him to ridicule, and the pleasures of the háram seemed to occupy more of his attention than public affairs. Saiyad Máhomed Khân was in intellect much inferior to the others, and looked upon as a cypher in all matters of

consultation and government. Súltân Máhoméd Khân was, moreover, distinguished for his enmity to Dost Máhoméd Khân of Kâbal, and for his extraordinary affection for his half-brother, Ráham Dil, Khân of Kândahár. He was also of the Sirdárs the one who paid most attention to Europeans who passed through the country,—in this respect vieing with the Nawâb Jabár Khân at Kâbal.

The territory held by the Sirdárs is of very limited extent, comprising only the city of Pesháwer, with the adjacent country, which might be included within a circle drawn from the city, as a centre, with a radius of twenty-five miles ; but then, it is uncommonly fertile, and well cultivated ; the command of water being so abundant from the rivers Bára and Jelálabád, which traverse it. The gross revenue of the city and lands was estimated at ten lákhs of rupees, to which one lách has been added by the acquisition of Kohát and Hângú ; which places have also afforded an increase of territory. The military retainers of the Sirdárs, probably, do not exceed three thousand men, if so many ; but they could call out, if they had funds to subsist them, a numerous militia. Their artillery numbers ten or twelve pieces.

The inhabitants of the city of Pesháwer are a strange medley of mixed races, of Tájiks, Hindkís, Panjábís, Káshmírís, &c. and they are proverbially roguish and litigious ; but the cultivators and residents in the country are Afghâns of the Momand,

Khalíl, and Kogíání families, and a very healthy population, ardently attached to their country and religion, and deserving better rulers than the ones they have.

The Sirdárs of Pesháwer cannot be called independent, as they hold their country entirely at the pleasure of Ranjit Singh—a natural consequence of the advance of his frontier to the Indus. Still the Síkh Rájá has not yet ventured to assume the full authority, and they are left in power, remitting him tribute, and placing their sons in his hands as hostages. They are impatient under the yoke, but every manifestation of contumacy only tends to confirm their subjection, and to aggravate the annoyances inflicted upon them.

But a year or two since Saiyad Ahmed Sháh appeared in these parts; and in the Yúsaf Zai country, succeeding in arousing the fanatic Máhomedan population, collected, it is said, above one hundred thousand men. If this number be exaggerated, it is yet certain that he had a prodigious host assembled, for he was joined by adventurers and crusaders from all parts of Afghânistân, and even from India. He gave out that he had a divine commission to take possession of the Panjâb, Hindostân, and China, and swore that he would compel Ranjit Singh to turn Mússúlmân, or cut off his head. The Saiyad marched to Noshára, on the Kábal river, and crossed it, intending to commence his operations by the capture of Atak, on this side the key to the Panjâb.

The Pesháwer Sirdárs united themselves with the Saiyad, and joined his camp with their troops and guns. The Síkhs prepared to meet the crisis; and Harí Singh, at the head of thirty thousand men, was to keep them from crossing the Indus, until the Máharájá should arrive with a large army, including all his regulars, from Lahore. In the Mússúl-mân camp all was hope and exultation,—numbers, and the presumed favour of heaven, permitted none to doubt of success,—and a distribution was already made of the Síkh towns and villages. The soul of the Saiyad dilated; and in his pride of feeling, he used expressions implying that he considered himself the master of Pesháwer, and the Sirdárs as his vassals. They became suspicious; and their final defection, if not owing to this circumstance entirely, is by some palliated on account of it. The one half of Harí Singh's force, under an old warrior, Búdh Singh, had crossed the Indus, and marched near to the village of Saiyadwâla, where they threw up a sangar, or field-work. The Saiyad established himself at Saiyadwâla, and his host surrounded Búdh Singh's force within the sangar. The Síkhs were in great distress for some days; and Búdh Singh at length lost patience, and determined to extricate himself or to perish. In the meantime he had communicated with the Dúrání chiefs of Pesháwer, assuring them, that if they took no part against him in action, he would excuse their conduct, in having joined the Saiyad,

to the Sirkár, or to Ranjit Singh. He reminded them of the immense army on the road, under the orders of the Sirkár, and pointed out that, the destruction of himself and troops would not influence the issue of the contest, and they must know the Sirkár was “zúráwar,” or all powerful. These arguments decided the Sirdárs; and on the morning of battle, they who, with their cavalry and guns, were stationed in front, at once passed to the rear, Yár Máhomed Khán commanding, setting the example, and crying “Shikas! shikas!” or “Defeat! defeat!” Búdh Singh, who had three guns, discharged them, invoked his Gúru, and charged the Mússulmán host. Resistance was very trifling: the happy temerity of Búdh Singh was crowned by deserved success; and the Síkhs boast, that each Singh on that famous day slew fifteen or twenty of his enemies; admitting, however, that they did not fight, but threw themselves on the ground. The Saiyad, who had assured his men that he had charmed the Síkh guns and matchlocks, became insensible. His friends say, that he had been drugged, by the artifice of the Sirdárs. They pretend that he was struck with panic. However this may be, he was nearly captured in the village of Saiyadwála, and the desperate resistance of his Hindústání followers alone prevented the accident, and gave time to his elephant to be swam across the river. Ranjit Singh arriving soon after this victory, the whole army

marched to Pesháwer; and their presence produced the greatest misery to the city and country. It is probable that Pesháwer was at this time very flourishing, but now a sad reverse was to befall it. Part of the town, and the Bálla Hissár, so long the favourite residence of Shâh Sújáh, were destroyed, and a number of the gardens were cut down to supply the camp with fuel. The houses of the great were involved in ruin, the masjíts were desecrated, and the whole country ravaged. The Máhárájá suffered the Sirdárs to retain their territory, as had been promised by Búdh Singh, but he increased the amount of tribute, to be paid him in horses, swords, jewels, and the celebrated Bára rice, while he carried away with him, as hostage, the son of Yár Mâhommed Khân. The occasion of Ranjit Singh's first visit to Pesháwer, was when he defeated the attempt made by the Sirdár Máhommed Azem Khân to recover Káshmir, and the provinces west of the Indus, when the Máhárájá gallantly anticipated the attack by crossing the Indus, encountering and dispersing his host at Nos-hára, and marching on to Pesháwer.

From that period Pesháwer became tributary to him, and the Sirdárs were, to all intents and purposes, his vassals. He has established a system of sending annually large bodies of troops to the country, avowedly to receive his tributary offerings, but also, no doubt, to prevent it from reviving, and gaining its former consequence. This

works so oppressively that Yár Máhoméd Khân, in 1828, remonstrated, and submitted, that if it were the Sirkár's pleasure that he should continue at Pesháwer, these annual visitations must cease ; if otherwise, he should retire to his brother at Kâ-bal. Ranjit Singh replied, that he might remain, (aware that he had no idea of going,) and, to mortify him, directed that a horse, named Léla, to which a great name attached, should be sent to Lahore. Yár Máhoméd Khân affirmed that he would as soon surrender one of his wives as the horse. Monsieur Ventura, an Italian officer, was sent to Pesháwer, with a force, to compel the delivery of the animal. The owner, Súltán Máhoméd Khân, swore on the Korân that it was dead ; and M. Ventura not being so interested in Léla as his royal master, believed the Sirdár, or affected to do so, and returned to Lahore. A short time afterwards Ranjit Singh was informed that Léla was alive, and the Italian was again sent off, in the midst of the rains, to bring Léla or Súltán Máhoméd Khân to Lahore, in this instance without troops, or but with very few of them. Just at this period it occurred that Múlla Shakúr, envoy from Shâh Sújah al Múlkh, reached Lahore from Lúdíána, wishing to arrange for the recovery of Pesháwer and Kâbal for his master, who proposed to pay an immediate sum of three lakhs of rupees in cash and jewels, and hereafter an annual tribute. The Máharájá refused to

listen to these terms, but took care to inform Yár Máhoméd Khân of them, and threatened him, that if the annual presents were not doubled, and the horse Léla produced, he would send the king with an army to recover his states. The Italian officer had reached Pesháwer, on the mission for Léla, when the Saiyad Ahmed Shâh unexpectedly made a dash at Hashtnaggar, defeated the Sirdár Saiyad Máhoméd Khân, and took the fortress. He then possessed himself of Killa Hind, a fort in the direction of Atak; and success increasing his confidence, and swelling the number of his followers, he again promised to become formidable. I had left Lahore, and was at Haidarabád in Sind, when the tidings of the Saiyad's victory reached there, and it was quite a holiday for the good people, who were expecting to be themselves invaded by a Síkh army, for Ranjit Singh had at this time seriously contemplated the subjection of Sind, and was making the necessary preparations. The first good news was followed by more, and it was known that the Saiyad had entered Pesháwer, and that the Sirdár Yár Máhoméd Khân was slain; but the accounts varied in the detail of the mode in which these events were brought about. It afterwards proved that the Sirdár had marched to eject the Saiyad from Hind, and had been surprised by night and slain, and that the Saiyad had entered Pesháwer, the remaining three Sirdárs being compelled to evacuate it by the defection of Faizúlah Khân

Házárxhâní, but that he did not think prudent to retain it, and restored it to the Sirdárs on their agreeing to pay him one lákh of rupees, which a certain Molaví was left behind to receive. The Saiyad had scarcely retired when the Sirdárs slew the Molaví and Faizúláh Khân. Assistance was received both from Lahore and Kâbal; and finally the Saiyad's garrison at Hind was captured, and he was again driven within the limits of the Yúsaf Zai districts.

The train of events necessarily made the surviving Sirdárs more than ever dependent upon the mercy of Ranjit Singh, and it is needless to add, that the much coveted Léla was soon on his journey to Lahore, as was a son of Súltân Máhoméd Khân, to replace as a hostage the son of his deceased brother.

The Yúsaf Zai tribes hold the country north of the course of the great Kâbal river, and have the river Indus for their eastern boundary, while on the west, they are neighbours of the Otman Zai Momands and of the tribes of Bájor. Immediately north of the first river are the Kamâl Zai, Amân Zai, and Rezzar tribes, holding the tract forming the north-eastern portion of the great plain of Pesháwer. To their west are the Bai Zais, a lawless tribe, and north of them the valleys of Sawât and Banír, with Pánchtáh; still farther north are the districts of Shamla, Dír, &c.; the whole being

a very fine country, productive in grain, and abounding in pasture, while it swarms with an intrepid race of men, distinguished not only for the spirit with which they defend their own country and freedom, but for the alacrity with which they enter into any contest in support or honour of their faith.

The level country between the Kâbal river and the hills to the north, has been overrun by Mâhârâjâ Ranjit Singh, and a tribute fixed on the inhabitants of four rupees on every house, with a certain number of horses. No people have been more severely treated by that conqueror, yet his vengeance was brought down upon them by their own folly, but for which they might possibly have preserved independence. The first collision between the Sîkhs and these rude but warlike people was in the disastrous expedition of the Sirdâr Mâhommed Azem Khân, when a levy of them was encountered by the Mâhârâjâ himself on an eminence north of the river, and opposite to the Dû-râni camp. The Yûsaf Zais were vanquished, and extinguished; but the gallantry of their defence made a serious impression on their victors, who perhaps would not willingly have sought again to involve themselves with a people from whom so little was to be gained, and victory so dearly purchased. The defeat of these Ghâzîs, or champions of the faith, is always considered by Ranjit Singh as

one of his most memorable exploits. Subsequently, the course of operations against the Patáns of Ganghar led the Máhárájá to the eastern bank of the Indus, and the Yúsaf Zais on the opposite bank slaughtered cows, and insulted the Síkhs in the most aggravated manner. Ranjit Singh had not intended to cross the river, and probably the Yúsaf Zais imagined that he could not, owing to the rapidity of the current; but at length unable to control his anger he stroked his beard, and called upon his Síkhs to avenge the insults offered to their Gúrú. Monsieur Allard, present with his regiment of cavalry, not long before raised, strove to dissuade the Máhárájá from the attempt, but ineffectually, and was ordered himself to cross the river. The Síkhs gallantly obeyed the call of their prince, and precipitated themselves into the stream, but such was the violence of the current, that it is said the fearful number of twelve hundred were swept away. M. Allard mounted his elephant, and at the sound of his bugle the disciplined cavalry passed into the river, but in entire ranks, and the regularity and union of their movement enabled the regiment to cross with only three casualties. Ranjit Singh at once observed the advantages conferred by discipline, and in his delight commanded, on the spot, new levies. The Yúsaf Zais were panic-struck at the audacity of their once despised assailants, and fled without contesting the bank. An indiscriminate slaughter of man, woman, and child was

continued for some days. The miserable hunted wretches threw themselves on the ground, and placing a blade or tuft of grass in their mouths, cried out, "I am your cow." This act and exclamation, which would have saved them from an orthodox Hindú, had no effect with the infuriated Síkhs. A spectator of these exciting scenes described to me the general astonishment of the Síkhs at finding a fertile country covered with populous villages, and gave it as his opinion that had the Máhárájá profited by the consternation, which the passage of the river had caused throughout the country, he might have marched unopposed to Kábal.

Of all the Afghân tribes the Yúsaf Zais possess, in greater perfection than any other, the peculiar patriarchal form of government; which, suitable for small and infant communities, is certainly inadequate for large and full-grown ones. While no people are more tenacious of their liberty and individual rights, the insufficiency of their institutions, under existing circumstances, operates so detrimentally upon their general interests that there is a strong tendency amongst them towards a change; a fact which must strike any one who has attentively watched their proceedings of late years. With the view of defending their liberties, they have been known to invite people of consideration to reside amongst them, proffering to make common cause with them, and to assign them a

tithe of the revenue of the country. It is clear that they were unconsciously anxious to surrender the liberty they so much prized, and to place themselves under the control of a single master. Such offers have been made to Sadú Zai princes, and Dost Máhoméd Khân has been invited to send a son amongst them, under whom they would arm. To their feeling in this respect, as well as their religious enthusiasm, may be ascribed the fervour with which they have received Saiyad Ahmed Shâh, and the zeal they have demonstrated in his cause; which, besides being deemed that of Islâm, is considered by them as that of their own freedom. To him they have yielded a tithe of the revenue, for the support of himself and followers, and have manifestly put him in the way of becoming their master, if he may not be considered so already. This Saiyad, after his signal defeat by the Síkhs, being no longer able to attempt any thing against them, directed his hostilities against the Dúrání Sirdárs of Pesháwer, whom he denounced as infidels, and as traitors to the cause of Islâm. Upon Yár Máhoméd Khân he conferred the name of Yárú Singh, and ordered that he should be so called in his camp. Whenever his means enabled him, he put the Khaibarís and other tribes in motion; while, from the Yúsaf-Zai plains, he threatened Hashtnaggar. By such a mode of warfare, although achieving little of consequence, he kept his enemies in constant un-

certainty and alarm. He paid his troops in Company's rupees; hence many supposed him an agent of the British Government. How and where he obtained his occasional supplies of money were equally inexplicable. He had with him a strong body of Hindústání Molavís and followers, who were his principal strength; and as auxiliaries, Báram Khân and Júma Khân, expatriated Khalíl arbábs of Pesháwer. They were both brave men, and Báram Khân had a high reputation, but were both very inimical to the Dúrání Sirdárs. Few men have created a greater sensation in their day than Saiyad Ahmed; and, setting aside his imposture or fanaticism, the talent must be considerable which has produced effects so wonderful, and which contrives to induce confidence in his mission after the reverses he has met with. Amongst the Patáns of Dáman and the countries east of the Indus, he is constantly prayed for, and fervent exclamations are uttered that God will be pleased to grant victory to Saiyad Ahmed. He also figures greatly in their songs. It is generally believed that he is a native of Bareilly in Upper Hindostân; and it appears certain that, for some years, he officiated as a múlla, or priest, in the camp of the notorious adventurer Amír Khân, respected for his learning and correct behaviour. At that time he made no pretensions to inspiration, and was only regarded in the light of an unassuming, inoffensive

person. He has now emissaries spread over all parts, and many Máhomedan princes and chiefs are said to furnish him with aid in money. Ranjit Singh has a very great dread of him; and I have heard it remarked, that he would readily give a large sum if he would take himself off; and it is also asserted that the Máhárájá cannot exactly penetrate the mystery with which the holy Saiyad enshrouds himself. I first heard of him at Baháwalpúr, and was told of the large numbers who had passed through that city from Hindostân to join him. It was suspected that he was sent by the Sáhib loghs, by the vulgar, and I was often questioned on the point, but of course was unable to reply, for I could not conceive who the Saiyad was, or could be. As I proceeded up the banks of the Indus, parties, large and small, were continually passing me on the road, and I found that the name of Ahmed Shâh Ghází was in the mouth of every one. At Pesháwer the public opinion was universally in his favour, and I had a great desire to have passed over to the Yúsaf Zai country to have witnessed what was passing there; but the tales related of his sanctity and austerities deterred me, and I distrusted to place myself in the power of a host of Máhomedan bigots and fanatics. Afterwards, at Kândahár, I heard it broadly asserted that he was an impostor; and I found that well-informed persons were very

generally cognizant of the value to be attached to his pretensions.

My friend Sâleh Máhomed held a village, called Wadpaggar, about four miles from Pesháwer, on the road to Hashtnaggar. As the harvest was over, the presence of his men was necessary to receive their master's share of the produce; and, as some of them were stationed there, I also went and resided at the village, being glad to change the scene a little, and to escape from the pestilence raging in the city. I had often mentioned to Sâleh Máhomed my wishes to continue my journey; and he had entreated me to remain a little, on the plea of finding good company, and that the season of the simúm might pass over. While at Wadpaggar I was visited by a Patán of one of the neighbouring villages, who proffered to accompany me, even if I passed by the route of Khaibar, and I thought seriously of leaving so soon as I could see, and take leave of my host.

It chanced that the indefatigable Ahmed Shâh made another demonstration against Hashtnaggar, the third since I had been in these parts, and the Sirdár, Pír Máhomed Khân, with his troops, set off helter-skelter to oppose it. Sâleh Máhomed, of course, accompanied his master; but, as I was at the village, I had not been asked to go, and therefore remained. The Patán came nearly every day to call upon me; and I decided, at length, to

depart for Kâbal, and to run the chances of a journey through the pass of Khaibar.

I therefore left Wadpaggar for the village in which the Patán resided, as there also dwelt the family of Mír Kamaradín, whose people I had seen in Bannú. I was courteously received by Sádadín, the son of the Mír, and became his guest for the evening. He informed me, that his father, on account of the services he had rendered to Mr. Moorcroft, was greatly suspected by the sirdárs of Pesháwer, and was universally, but unjustly, supposed to be in receipt of a stipend from the British Government. He would have been pleased that I should have stayed with him some days, and very much wished me to accept assistance, both in money and garments, but I excused myself, as I had experienced I could do without the first, and as to the last, I had purposely abandoned what I had, to save the Khaibarís the trouble of taking them.

CHAPTER IX.

Routes.—Departure from Pesháwer.—Tope.—Jám.—Alí Masjít.
 Reception.—Diseases and remedies.—Entertainment.—Progress.
 —New patient.—Gharri Lâla Bay.—Towers.—Civil welcome.
 —On what account.—Grave consultation.—Prescription.—Re-
 past.—Alladád Khân.—His sister.—Obstinate Khaibarí.—
 Tope.—Robbers.—Rifled by them.—Their strict search.—
 Farther progress.—Haftcháhí—Dáka.—Ancient remains.—
 Tribes of Khaibar.—Tírah and Chúra.—Khân Bahâdar Khân.
 —Nánáwâtis.—Ancient allowances.—Numbers.—Shâh Rasúl
 Shâh.—Inundation of Ranjit Singh's camp.

FROM Pesháwer to the valley of Jelálabád there are three distinct kâfíla routes, all of them leading through the great hill ranges separating the two countries, viz. those of Khaibar, Abkhâna and Karapa. The former is decidedly the preferable, from its level character and directness, but the most dangerous, owing to the lawless disposition of the predatory tribes inhabiting it. It is therefore seldom frequented, and only by fáquírs, or large bodies of troops; kâfilas of traders, and others, passing by the more difficult and tedious, but at the same time the more secure routes of Abkhâna and Karapa.

With my Patán companion I started before day-break, taking with me, besides my mean apparel, nothing but a small book and a few pais, or half-

pence, which, the better to elude observation, were put into a small earthen water vessel. My Patán carried with him two or three cakes of bread, to be provided in case of inhospitable reception, hardly to be expected, and a knife, which he tied in the band of his peyjámas, or trowsers.

Our course led due west, and four or five cosses brought us to Tákkâl, the last village in this direction belonging to Pesháwer, and where the cultivated lands cease. We halted but for a few minutes, and entered upon a barren, stony plain, extending to the hills. To our right was a large artificial mound, called the Pádshâh's Tope, near which the last battle was fought between Shâh Sújah and Azem Khân, brother of the Vazír Fatí Khân, when the former being defeated, fled to Khaibar. In crossing the plain, about mid-way we came upon a Dúrání chokí, or guard station, where were some half dozen horsemen on the look out. Nearing the hills, we approached the small village of Jám, at the entrance of the pass, surrounded by a low wall of stones, cemented with mud. It may contain fifty or sixty houses, but has no bazár or resident Hindú. We did not deem it prudent to enter the village, and halted during the heat of the day at an enclosed zíarat, or shrine of a saiyad, or other saintly character, which lies a little to the right. Here was a masjít, a grateful shade from a few trees, and a well of indifferent water.

When the fervour of the sun had abated, we con-

tinued our journey, but avoiding the high road to our left, which is practicable for artillery, we entered the hills, taking a foot-path. After passing for some time over a succession of small rounded hills, covered with many novel plants and shrubs, and particularly with sorrel, we descended into a deep, but spacious water-course, down which flowed a fine clear rivulet from the west, and there we fell in with the high road which led up it. In this distance we had passed a scanty spring of water, over which numerous wasps were buzzing. They good-naturedly allowed us to drink without annoyance. Hitherto we had neither met nor seen any person. Proceeding up the water-course we at length reached a spot where the water supplying the rivulet gushes in a large volume from the rocks to the left. I slaked my thirst in the living spring, and drank to repletion of the delightfully cool and transparent waters. This locality is called Alí Masjít, and is connected, by tradition, with Házrat Alí, who, it is believed, repeated prayers here, besides performing more wonderful feats. Over the spot where the Házrat stood in the act of devotion a masjít is erected, whence the appellation of the place.

Immediately adjacent hereto were some twenty men assembled, sitting in the shade of the rocks; most of them were elderly, and of respectable venerable aspect. Our salutations were acknowledged; and after replying to their queries, as to

who we were, where we were going, and on what business, they invited us to pass the night with them, telling us that we should indeed find a village a little further on, but nearly bare of inhabitants, who had come hither with their flocks, as is their custom, at a certain period of the year. To this village they themselves belonged. We willingly accepted the invitation, and sitting down with them, I became an object of much curiosity, and, as I had conjectured, on leaving Pesháwer, my European birth did not prove to my disadvantage. They spoke nothing but Pashto, and were amused that I was unable to speak it as well as themselves. My conversation was maintained with them through the medium of my Patán interpreter. The news of the arrival of a Farang, or European soon spread, and many persons came, afflicted with disorders and wounds.

I could not forbear regretting that I had no knowledge of medicinal remedies, as I should have been gratified to have administered to the wants of these poor people, whose reception of me had so fully belied the reports of their neighbours. I asserted my ignorance of the art of healing, but was not credited; and finding it impossible to avoid prescribing, or to be considered unkind, I took upon myself to recommend such simple appliances as might be useful, while they could do no harm. I particularly enjoined cleanliness, which in all their maladies seemed to be neglected from principle.

For an affection of the eye I contrived a shade, which was much admired, and prized as a singular effort of ingenuity. There were three or four cases of sword wounds; in which I advised the removal of the unseemly applications placed on them, to keep them clean, and thereby to allow nature to take her course. Their plasters were made of mud and salt, a mixture which may or may not be judicious, but which I afterwards found was very generally used in all cases of wounds. I presume it to be, if not hurtful in the first instance, of doubtful benefit after a certain time, for nothing is more common than to see wounds continue open after any danger from them is over, apparently owing to the repulsive agency of the dirt crammed into them.

I received many thanks for my prescriptions, and sat with the company until the approach of night, smoking the chillam, and listening to their conversation, at which I appeared to be much pleased, although I understood but little of it. They pointed to an eminence, on which they told me Shâh Sújah had passed the night after his defeat at Tákkâl.

We now ascended the hills, and on the tabular summit of one of them found the inhabitants of the village in a bivouac. There were but three khâts, or couches of these countries, amongst them, yet one was abandoned to me, it being urged that I was a Farang, and had prescribed medicines. My

companion received a mat. As night advanced, a supper was brought of wheaten cakes, roghan, and milk. The chillam also was furnished, and three or four young men came and sat with me, around my khât, until I felt disposed to sleep, and on being dismissed, they asked me, if during the night they should bring the chillam.

Such was the attention I received from these savages; and I am pleased to record it, as affording an opportunity of doing justice to hospitality and kindness, and as it opposes an agreeable contrast to the treatment I have experienced amongst other barbarous tribes. In the morning my eyes opened upon my friends of the preceding evening, who, anxious to anticipate my wants, were ready with the eternal chillam and a bowl of buttermilk. My departure that day was unwillingly consented to.

Proceeding through the darra, or valley, which now widened, and was plentifully garnished with stunted trees, we met two men of the wildest appearance, running in great haste, with the matches of their firelocks kindled, and without covering to their heads. They said they were in search of their enemies, who had paid them a visit in the night. We passed each other, and soon after beheld a man running after us. He was also armed with a matchlock. We were at first dubious as to his intentions, but on his overtaking us, it proved that he had no other motive than to persuade me to

look at a sister, who was lying sick in the village, to which we were now near.

I could not but consent, and found a miserable being in the last stage of declining nature. I was told that she had been three years in so deplorable a state. All I could do was to recommend attention to her regimen, and obedience to her wishes whatever they might be, that the few remaining days of her earthly sojourn might pass as serenely as possible under the circumstances of her case.

This village, called Gharí Lâla Beg, contained perhaps eighty to one hundred houses, composed of mud and stones, and had a substantially constructed búrj, or tower.

Leaving Gharí Lâla Beg, we entered a plain of perhaps two miles in circumference, on which I counted twenty-four circular and rather lofty towers; to each of them was attached one or more family residences. Such is the nature of society here, that the inhabitants, oppressed with mutual feuds, frequently carry on hostilities from tower to tower, most of which are within musket-shot of each other. These erections also serve them to secure their properties, in case of an inroad upon them, or on the march of troops through their country, as they are sufficient against cavalry, or any arm but artillery. On our road we were accosted by two youths, who begged us to proceed to a house

to the left of our path. We were civilly received by a sturdy young man, who instantly produced a cake of bread, and, as usual, the chillam. He had heard of my arrival in Khaibar, and was overjoyed that I had come to his house, hoping, it turned out, to profit by my medical skill. The skin of my new client was plentifully sprinkled with eruptive blotches or pimples. He appeared extremely anxious for my advice, yet showed a delicacy in asking it, as if fearful I might not confer upon him so much favour. On telling him that I thought something might be done for him he was almost frantic with joy, and expressed his gratitude with much earnestness and eloquence. His father now arrived, a man of respectable appearance and benign features. He was glad to see me, and asked what I considered to be the nature of his son's complaint; adding, and pointing at the same time to his stores piled around the apartment in carpet bags, that he would give all he possessed were his son's disorder removed. I informed him, that I supposed the blotches were occasioned by heat and impurity of blood, and that they would gradually disappear if his son took medicine. The old man seized my hand, and asked me if I was certain of his son's disease; I replied nearly so. He was delighted, and told me, that it was believed in the valley that his son had the Bád Farang, or venereal affection, that he was shunned by his neighbours as unclean, and that

his wife, the daughter of one of them, had been taken from him on that account, and now lived with her father. I assured them I had no idea that the disorder was the one suspected, and recommended the use of such remedies as could be easily procured. I thought it possible the eruption might be the itch, or something analogous ; and my Patán prepared a mixture of roghan and sulphur, with which he undertook to anoint the patient. He did so, and rather roughly, for he first tore down the skin with his nails until blood appeared, and then rubbed in the ointment. The young man said, that when he ran about his face became flushed and intolerably red, and every one pointed at him. I directed him not to run about, to keep himself quiet, and take simple medicines, and gave him the hope he would speedily be better.

We were treated with kindness by the old man, whose name was Khair Máhoméd, and he would not allow us to depart until we had partaken of a repast of cakes and butter. His wives prepared the food, set it before us, and attended upon us. He wished us to stay the day, but we decided to go on.

We had scarcely regained the high road when we were hailed by some people sitting beneath one of the towers. On going to them, I was asked to advise for one of them, who had a pain in his belly. I directed the employment of the seeds of panírband, (a plant growing abundantly in the

hills,) which are much prized in many countries for their salutary virtues, and which I had found serviceable in a similar affliction. A man was despatched to procure some, and soon returned with a quantity of them, which, having identified to be the genuine thing, I departed. We again followed the road, and approached the last house in the plain, enclosed within square walls, but without a tower. Observing three or four persons seated at the gateway, we went towards them, deeming it advisable, that it might not be supposed we were clandestinely passing. We saluted with the ordinary "Salám Alíkam," and received the invariable responsive gratulation of "Alíkam Salám." We found the house to be the abode of Alladád Khân, one of the most influential men in the valley, and known, both in and out of it, by the name of Alladád Khân Chirssi, being a great smoker of chirs, a deleterious composition of hemp-resin. He said, he recognized me to be a Farang in the distance, by my step; and, asserting that some day his country would be under European authority, begged me to remember him if it should so happen in his time or mine. I had here to personate a physician for the last time, my patient being either the wife or the sister of Alladád Khân. She was in the last stage of atrophy, or decline. I was asked if I thought it probable she would recover; I replied in the negative, as the disorder had grown superior to earthly remedies, and that God

only could effect a cure. My host, who was a man of sense, agreed with me ; and, after smoking the chillam, I departed.

Not far from this house we were met by a man, who, observing the water-vessel carried by my companion, asked for water. It will be remembered that in this vessel were the pais, or copper money we had with us. The Patán told him that his people were near, and that we had far to go, and might not find water ; but the savage insisted that he would drink. Other reasons were urged in vain, and finally, the one that the vessel and water belonged to me, who was not a Mússulmân. The man then swore he would drink if it killed him. The Patán, finding him obstinate, desired him to place his hand under his mouth, into which he poured the water, and so dexterously that the pais were not discovered ; the fellow drank, and went satisfied away. I know not, however, how the fluid, in which thirty or forty pais had been soaking for as many hours, may have afterwards agreed with his stomach or digestive powers.

In this small plain is another of those monuments, called the Pádshâh's Topes. It is in good preservation, and consists of a massive rectangular basement, on which rests a cylindrical body, terminating in a dome or cupola ; it is erected on the summit of an eminence. I have noted the existence of another in the plain of Pesháwer, and I have heard of others in the Panjâb. The inha-

bitants of these parts refer these structures to former Pádshâhs, or kings, sometimes to Ahmed Shâh, but I judge their antiquity to be remote. The stones employed in the Khaibar monument are of very large dimensions, and the whole has a grand and striking aspect.

At the western extremity of the plain is a burial ground, and the surface of the soil is a little broken. Making a slight turn in the hills, we entered another plain, of much the same extent, inhabited by Shínwâris. The people who had so much need of medicine, were Afrédís. The houses here were enclosed in walls of roughly cemented stones, such erections being substituted for the circular towers of their neighbours. We left these houses to the right, and had traversed the extent of the plain, and were about to descend from it into the valley or defile beneath, by a small pass called Landí Khâna, when two men, with kârd, or long knives, in their hands, rushed upon us from the rocks, and stopped our progress. Neither of us had before seen these fellows, who pounced upon us as if from the clouds. One of them, with a peculiarly evil countenance, proceeded to rifle my companion, and the other, milder favoured, examined me. The pocket knife of the Patán was soon wrenched from the band of his trowsers, and my cháddar, a long piece of cloth I wore loosely thrown over my shoulder, was taken. In one corner of this was my book, which, as well as I could, I signified to my

despoiler, and told him it was *múlla-kí-kítáb*, a *múlla's*, or a pious book. He untied it, and returned it to me. I thereupon shook his hand; on which he was also willing to have returned my *cháddar*, but his fiercer colleague would not permit him. This fellow fancying I had been too leniently examined, left the *Patán* and came to me, and very severely scrutinized me. He found nothing, but clearly did not know what to make of me, my colour probably perplexing him. At the onset my *Patán* had put the water-vessel containing the *pais* on the ground. This did not escape the vigilance of the sharper of the ruffians, who took out a tuft of grass inserted in its mouth as a stopper, very carefully observed it, and then replaced it, but not thinking of taking up the vessel, he missed the copper money. He also made the *Patán* untie the package containing the cakes of bread, and on finding what they were, he shook his head, implying that he did not rob bread. A comb, taken from one of us, was also returned. At the close of the affair a youth joined, alike armed with a long knife. About to leave, my companion expressing his anger rather too honestly for the occasion, and comparing our treatment with that we had met with from the *Afrédís*, knives were brandished, and many threatenings uttered. I desired my *Patán* to forbear useless reproaches, and the milder of the robbers deprecating violence, we departed. I was surprised at this adventure, inasmuch as I had been given to

understand that if I could pass unmolested through the Afrédís, there was less to be dreaded from the Shínwâris, who from their commercial pursuits are not so savage. These people breed numbers of mules, and are engaged in the carrying-trade.

We had not gained the valley, when we were hailed by other armed men, tending flocks of goats on the hills, and had we not been plundered before, we must have resisted, or submitted to it here. As it was, they did not come to us, my Patán holding up his packet and hallooing Dáodí, or bread, and I showing my book, and shouting out Múlla-kí-kítáb. In our passage along the valley we were ordered to halt by fellows on the ridges of the hills, but they were too distant to cause us apprehension, or to induce us to comply, so we allowed them to bawl away unheeded. We at length reached a spot where a rivulet crossed our track. The water was excellent, and there was a small plot of rice. Here an armed man presented himself. He looked very suspicious, and undecided whether to interfere with us or not, but let us go in peace. From this place the valley widened, and we passed the ruins of rather an extensive fort, constructed on an eminence or mound in the midst of it. Near it are a series of wells, of small depth, in two or three of which only we found a very little water. The fortress is called Haftcháhí, or the seven wells, and is probably one of the old Chághatai castles, so numerous erected in these countries for the protection

of the roads. It is said to be a dangerous spot in the season of hot winds, which rage here with fatal fury.

From Haftcháhí, the valley, much more open, became sandy, and so continued until we reached Dáka, a small fort and village dependent on Jelálabád. Evening had overtaken us before we cleared the darra, and it was night when we reached Dáka. We still found the people seated in a circle near the masjít, and although it was too late for a regular repast to be prepared, barley cakes were brought us, which were so disagreeable that I could not eat them.

Throughout the whole extent of the pass, or darra of Khaibar, on the crest of hills, there are the remains of ancient forts and buildings, whose extent, neatness, and solidity of structure, evince that their founders must have been much more enlightened and opulent than the present inhabitants of these countries. The usual reply to any question as to their origin is, that they were built by infidels or by demons. There are some of them of remarkable extent, and they must have been once most important works. I much regretted the impossibility of closely inspecting them. There are also amongst these hills a great number of artificial caves.

I missed my cháddar at night, for its employment was to cover me when I slept, yet, on the whole, I was pleased with my passage through Khaibar. My companion had instructed me on all occasions to

appear pleased and cheerful, a salutary counsel, and one which stood me in good stead, as did the indication of perfect tranquillity, and most implicit confidence in the good faith of those I fell in with.

KHAIBARI TRIBES.

Of the Khaibar tribes there are three great divisions, the Afrédís, the Shínwâris, and the Orak Zais. Of these, the Afrédís, in their present locality, are the more numerous; the Shínwâris, more disposed to the arts of traffic; and the Orak Zais, the more orderly, if amongst such people any can be so pronounced. The Afrédís occupy the eastern parts of the hills, nearest Pesháwer; and the Shínwâris the western parts, looking upon the valley of Jelálabád. The Orak Zais reside in Tírah, intermingled with the Afrédís, and some of them are found in the hills south-west of Pesháwer. It was a malek of this tribe who conducted Nádir Sháh, and a force of cavalry, by the route of Chúra and Tírah, to Pesháwer, when the principal road through the hills was defended against him. The Shínwâris, besides their portion of the hills, have the lands immediately west of them, and some of the valleys of the Saféd Koh range. More westernly still, under the same hill range, they are found south of Jelálabád, and are there neighbours of the Khogánís. These are in the condition of unruly subjects. There are also some of them in Ghorband, and they dwell in great numbers bordering on

Bájer to the north-west, where they are independent, and engaged in constant hostilities with the tribes of Bájer and of Káfristân.

Tírah and Chúra are said to be fertile and well-peopled valleys, enjoying a cool climate, in comparison with that of Pesháwer; and it is not unusual for the sirdárs, and others, who have an understanding with the inhabitants, to pass the warm weather in the former of these places; which has also frequently become a place of refuge to the distressed. At Chúra resides Khân Bahádar Khân, Afrédí, who attained eminence amongst his tribe from the circumstance of his attendance at court during the sway of the Sadú Zais. Shâh Sújah married one of his daughters, and has, on more than one occasion, found an asylum with him. The Khaibarís, like other rude Afghân tribes, have their maleks, or chiefs, but the authority of these is very limited; and as every individual has a voice on public affairs, it is impossible to describe the confusion that exists amongst them. Of course, unanimity is out of the question, and it generally happens that a nánáwâtí, or deliberation on any business, terminates not by bringing it to a conclusion, but in strife amongst themselves. The portions of the Afrédí and Shínwári tribes who inhabit the defiles of Khaibar, through which the road leads from Pesháwer to the Jelálabád valley, are but inconsiderable as to numbers, but they are extremely infamous on account of their ferocity, and their long-indulged habits of rapine. Under the

Sadú Zai princes they received an annual allowance of twelve thousand rupees on condition of keeping the road through their country open, and abstaining from plunder. They called themselves, therefore, the Núkarân, or servants of the king. It would appear, from every statement, that they were in those days little scrupulous. Still, kâfilas followed their road,—so manifestly the better and nearer one,—submitting to their exactions and annoyances, and satisfied with being not wholly rifled. Their stipend being discontinued by the Bárak Zai Sirdárs,—to whom the attachment they evinced to Shâh Sújah has rendered them very suspicious,—they have thrown off all restraint, and the consequence has been that the Khaibar road is closed to the traders of Pesháwer and Kâbal.

They are, in the mass, very numerous, and it is boasted that the Afrédí tribe can muster forty thousand fighting-men,—of course an improbable number,—or one which might be presumed to include every man, woman, and child amongst them. On various occasions, when their strength has been exhibited, from two to five thousand men have assembled. At Jám, a little village at the entrance of the pass on the Pesháwer side, resides, generally, Shâh Rasúl Shâh, a nephew, as he pretends to be, of the notorious Saiyad Ahmed Shâh; and in quality of his agent. At the time of my visit he, as well as many of the village people, had fled into the hills, apprehensive of an attack from the Sirdárs of

Pesháwer. When Saiyad Ahmed Shâh has funds, he can always command the services of two or three thousand Khaibarís, the most desperate and needy of the tribes. Upon Ranjít Singh's excursion to Pesháwer, the Khaibarís opened the bands, or barriers, of the Bára river, and inundated his camp by night. They were on the alert, and profited by the consequent confusion to carry off much spoil and many horses. The Máhárájá was chagrined, and in the morning summoned the Pesháwer Sirdárs, who asserted that it was not their deed; and then he precipitately left for Lahore, having made only a stay of three days.

CHAPTER X.

Dáka.—Hazár Noh.—Bassowal.—Albino.—Caves.—Ancient vestiges.—Ambhár Khâna.—Goshter.—Báttí Kot.—Koh Sang Súrákh.—Tope.—Ghirdí Kach.—Kámeh.—Alí Bâghân.—Júí Shâhí.—Khalíl Khân.—His attentions.—Síáposh Kâfrs.—Abdúl Ganní Khân.—Durání lady.—Khalíl Khân a politician.—Political movements.—Abdúl Ganní Khân's measures.—Parting with Khalíl Khân.—Jelálabád.—Máhomed Zemân Khân.—His character.—Revenue and force.—His political bias.—Province of Jelálabád.—Nawâb Jabár Khân.—Audience of him.—His civility.—Molávi and Bráhmañ.—Their profession.—Leave Jelálabád.—Plain of Jelálabád.—Rivers.—Bálla Bâgh.—Súrkh Rúd.—Valley.—Adínápúr.—Intended robbery.—Súrkh Púl.—Hávízângâní.—Malek of Fattíabád.—Mulberries.—Advice requested.—Change in climate and scenery.—Book lost.—Kotal Karkacha.—Tézi.—Haft Kotal.—Tchakrí.—Fossil shells.—Khúrd Kábal.—Killah Mohsan.—Bíní Sár.

I HAVE noted my arrival at Dáka. This village, situated about half a mile from the great river of Jelálabád, is also at the western entrance of the pass of Khaibar. The Ab-khâna route, to and from Pesháwer, alike commences and terminates at it. From its position, it is therefore a constant kâfila stage, and is the station of a guard of Momands, who levy transit fees on passengers and merchandize. There are two villages of the name, Kalân and Khúrd, or the great and little. The last is passed

on the Ab-khâna route. We had halted at the former.

We left Dáka at daybreak, and for some time passed over a well cultivated plain, until we made the small village of Ghirdí, seated immediately on the river. Hence the road led through low, bare hills to Hazár Noh, (the thousand canals,) a large straggling village, placed on the brink of small eminences, which fringe the plain stretching from them to the river. Hazár Noh is considered equidistant from Dáka and Bassowal, and four cosses from each. The high road skirts the plain to the south, extending beneath the eminences on which the village stands, but we followed a path intermediate between it and the river, and intersecting the plain, which together with marshes, has a great proportion of meadow, and land cultivated with rice. This plain, throughout its whole extent, is most copiously provided with water, gurgling from innumerable springs, at the line where the eminences to the left blend with it. At Bassowal we found an enclosed village, and two or three agricultural castles. We were hospitably entertained at the village; and the people brought a young female Albino that I might see her, jocosely remarking that she must be a Feringhí, and in the same mood recommending me to take her with me.

Opposite to Bassowal, which is close upon the river, very high steep hills confine the stream, and at their eastern extremity are a series of caves, with

triangular entrances. The spot is called Chakanúr, and there are, besides, many other vestiges of antiquity there. Bassowal appears to occupy an ancient site, and has some venerable tamarisk trees, the remains of its antique groves. The same kind of memorials also distinguish the vicinity of Ghirdí. Between Bassowal and Már Koh (the snake hill), which occurs about three miles west of it, the soil is strewn with fragments of potters ware, and similar indications are seen all round the southern termination of the hill, even so far as Báttí Kot, a distance perhaps of five miles.

We left Bassowal in the evening, but instead of following the high road, which passes by Báttí Kot, and thence by Súrkh Dewâl to Alí Bâghân and Jelâlabâd, we took a pleasanter, and possibly a shorter one, tracing chiefly the river bank. Beyond Bassowal we crossed a marsh full of reeds, and then, by a short and open passage through the hill Már Koh, we arrived at Ambhâr Khâna, a small village on the river. Hence we traversed the plain of Chahâr Déh (the four villages) for four or five miles, and again approached hills, which, like Már Koh, close upon the river. Opposite to Chahâr Déh, across the stream, is the small and bare looking district of Goshter, into which the Karapa road from Pesháwer conducts. A few naked castles are sprinkled over the plain ascending to the hills; and there resides Fattûlah Khân Momand, a chief of less consequence than Sâdat Khân of Lâlpúra, and less respected.

South of the plain of Chahár Déh is the village of Báttí Kot, famed for the zíarat of Akhúnd Músa, in virtue of whose holy benediction the snakes, numerous found on Mar Koh,—which derives its name from the circumstance,—are believed to have been rendered harmless. I might have noticed, that at Ghirdí is a celebrated zíarat of a saint, who was as much in his element when in the water as a fish, for it is credited that he would dive into the river at Ghirdí and re-appear at Atak.

The path from Chahár Déh winds around the hills, overlooking the fine stream. Practicable to footmen, it is difficult to horsemen, who in some places are compelled to dismount. At one spot there is a súrâkh, or aperture, for some distance through the rock, whence the whole of the hills are often called Koh Sang Súrâkh (the hill of the perforated rock), and the same name is applied to the path. We came opposite to another of those monuments called Topes, seated on an eminence. It was very picturesque, and the scenery was so agreeable that my Patán companion asked me if there were any spots so charming in my country. A little beyond, or north of this Tope, a branch from the hills bounding Goshter terminates in a point, which from the white colour of the rock is called Saféd Bíní (the white nose, that is, projection). The hill itself yields steatite, to which its colour is due. About a mile hence we came to a village called Ghirdí Kach, located pleasantly in a small amphitheatrical recess of the

hills, which in the neighbourhood produce asbestos. We passed the night here in a masjít. The people supplied us with food, but did not seem to be well pleased that I was not a Mússulmán.

The next morning we continued our route, still leading along the river bank. On the opposite side was the district of Kámeh, which had commenced from Saféd Bíní. It is abundantly garnished with castles, villages, and gardens, and has a good deal of cultivation. It is much more extensive than Goshter, and to the west is described by the river of Khonar and Chitrâl, called here the Kámeh, which divides it from Bísút. Clearing at length the hills named indifferently Kôh Sang Súrâkh, or Kôh Alí Bâghân, we reached the village of the latter name, seated on rising ground, and about a mile from the river. Here we halted during mid-day in a tamarisk grove, where some weavers of lúnghís were engaged in their business. At this village, called also Sammah Khél, is a shrine, to which lunatics are brought, it being believed that in virtue of the benediction of the saint interred here, they recover their reason.

In the evening we started, intending to reach Jelálabád, some eight or nine miles distant. We chose a path between the high road and the course of the river, which led through a low tract overspread with marshes full of flags, and with pasture land. We had passed the point where the Kámeh river falls into the river of Jelálabád, and

had the district of Bísút on the opposite side of the river, when reaching a small village, Júi Shâhí, (the royal canal,) we were invited by a party sitting under the shade of some trees, to rest awhile. The chief man proved to be Khalíl Khân, a Baiyát, and farmer of the customs of Jelálabád under the Nawâb Máhomed Zemân Khân. He told me that he lived in Bísút, and was so urgent that I should spend two or three days with him that I consented. In the evening we were ferried across the stream in a boat, and I found the Khân's castle, a very neat and commodious one, seated amid the most luxuriant fields of sugar-cane and lucerne, and with good gardens, and fine groves of trees attached. In the immediate neighbourhood were many other handsome castles, and the country around seemed quite a garden. The heat was the only drawback, which, although oppressive, did not appear to produce sickness, nor did it absolutely prevent a person from moving about freely during the day. Khalíl Khân and his family were most kind and civil. In the day-time they would sit with me under the shade of the mulberry-trees, and in the evening the youths of the contiguous hamlets would exhibit their rural sports and games, which were manly enough, but rough withal. I wished to make inquiries about the Síáposh Kâfrs; and various people, Hindú and Máhomedan, were brought, who pretended to have some knowledge of them. I heard their wonderful and incongruous accounts, but

benefited little by what I heard. As so great an interest, however, is entertained respecting these races, the succeeding chapter will be devoted to set forth such information as I have since acquired with reference to them.

I had remained two or three days at Khalíl Khân's castle, when a messenger from Abdúl Ganní Khân, one of his neighbours, came and entreated that I would step over to his castle. I did so; and found that the Khân's object was to procure my advice for his young son, who had recently become deaf. I explained that I knew nothing of diseases, but was scarcely credited. They much wished to put something into the ears, and protesting that I did not dare to interfere with so tender an organ, I besought them to employ no violent remedies. The mother of Abdúl Ganní Khân, a most respectable Dúráni lady, gave me an interview. She was unveiled, and held an ivory-mounted cane in her hand. She expressed much solicitude that her grandson should recover his hearing. I suggested that benefit might arise from warmth, and protecting the parts from air, but I suspect it was little conceived that remedies so simple could be of use. At this meeting I was regaled with a profusion of grapes and melons, and I was not allowed to return to Khalíl Khân's castle for a day or two, being detained as a guest. Abdúl Ganní Khân, who was a Bárák Zai, and relative of the ruling sirdárs in Afghânistân, had a handsome seignorial castle, with

all necessary appurtenances, as became a man of his rank and condition.

My friend Khalíl Khân was a violent politician, and indulged frequently in severe diatribes against the Nawâb Máhoméd Zemân Khân, whom he represented as an incapable ruler, and as little better than an old woman. Abdúl Ganní Khân had also while I resided with him an opportunity of displaying his political bias, and I was surprised to discover that within three miles of Jelálabád, he was not only inimical to the Nawâb, whose relative he was, and whose subject I should have considered him to be, but that he was in the interest of the Pesháwer Sirdárs. I have in other places mentioned the coalition of the Sirdárs of Pesháwer and Kândahár with the object of humbling Dost Máhoméd Khân, and that the Pesháwer army was to move upon Jelálabád. Sufficient reasons had prevented its march, but the idea was not abandoned. Now it seemed the Kândahár army had moved, or was about to move upon Ghazni and Kâbal. Dost Máhoméd Khân had summoned Máhoméd Zemân Khân to attend him. His absence leaving the Jelálabád province bare of troops, the Nawâb Jabár Khân, governor of the Ghiljís between Kâbal and Jelálabád, was appointed to protect it from invasion on the side of Pesháwer; and tidings were at this time brought to Abdúl Ganní Khân that he had arrived with his troops at Jelálabád. The khân immediately ordered the ferry-boats to be secured, avow-

ing, that he would not allow Jabár Khân's soldiery to cross the river, and pillage his raiyats. Some persons asked the khân, whether he was not acting precipitately, and he replied that the Pesháwer army would arrive in a day or two, strong in cavalry and guns, and that there was nothing to fear. He then went into the country to concert measures; and I found that he had two other brothers in Bísút, holding their jaghírs under the Nawâb, but no more friendly to him than was Abdúl Ganní Khân.

While the latter was absent I returned to Khalíl Khân, but could not cross the river, as a guard was stationed over the ferry-boats. I was not then aware that by passing higher up on the same side of the stream, there were other ferries beyond the Bísút district. After a farther stay with Khalíl Khân, he having himself business which required him to cross the river, it was arranged to make a jâla, or float, of inflated skins; and on it we passed. I took farewell of the friendly Khân, who strove to induce me to accept clothes, money and horses, but I forbore to trespass on his bounty. I was sorry to have learned during my abode with him, that his affairs were embarrassed; and that his anger with Máhoméd Zemân Khân was principally owing to the latter being apt to require, as Khalíl Khân thought, unreasonably, an adjustment of his long unsettled accounts.

We soon reached Jelálabád, which we entered

by the eastern gate, after having passed the decayed, yet very obvious ramparts, of two former towns, whose site is now occupied by the present town, the smallest of the three. Enclosed within mud walls, it has but an indifferent appearance, yet its bazar now exhibited much activity, being filled with the soldiery of the Nawâb Jabâr Khân.

The fine and productive province of Jelâlabâd is held by the Nawâb Mâhomed Zemân Khân, son of the Nawâb Assad Khân, who died in the government of Déra Ghâzí Khân, in which he was succeeded by his son, who thence acquired the title of Nawâb. He is, consequently, a nephew to Dost Mâhomed Khân, and the Sirdárs of Kândahâr and Peshâwer. He was expelled from Déra Ghâzí Khân by Samandar Khân, Popal Zai, who took possession of the place in the name of Shâh Mâhmûd; and Mâhomed Zemân Khân then joined Shâh Sújâh al Mûlkh, who was at that time advancing from Bahâwalpûr, having been invited from Lúdí-ána by the Sirdâr Mâhomed Azem Khân. Samandar Khân was with some difficulty driven from Déra Ghâzí Khân, and Mâhomed Zemân Khân followed the Shâh to Peshâwer, where quarrelling with the Sirdâr Mâhomed Azem Khân, the monarch fought a battle, was defeated, and presently became a fugitive.

I know not exactly in what manner he acquired the government of Jelâlabâd, but conjecture that

he held it during the authority of Máhomed Azemí Khân at Kâbal, as in the Sirdár's expedition against the Síkhs he was despatched to raise levies in the Yúsaf Zai country. His interest, however, in the family was always considerable, and the Vazír Fattí Khân united his daughter to him. He is said to be very wealthy, but is by no means generally respected for ability. He appears to be deficient in firmness, and rules with too lax a hand. Placed over restless and turbulent subjects, he has no energy to control them; and it would seem his averseness to cruelty prevents him from repressing disorders or punishing the guilty. It is unfortunate that the qualities which are amiable in the private individual, should be errors in the ruler, but they do so operate in Máhomed Zemân Khân's case, and his authority is despised because it is not feared.

The revenue of Jelálabád, including that from the Tájik villages and lands of Lúghmân, amounts, it is said, to above three lakhs of rupees, and might be largely increased. The Sirdár keeps up but a limited military establishment, and, in case of need, generally employs the íljárí, or militia of the country, which he can assemble to the extent of two or three thousand men. He can also call upon the services of the petty saiyađ chiefs of Khonar, and of Sâdat Khân, the Momand chief of Lâlpúr. He has six pieces of artillery, not in very good order.

Although an ally of Dost Máhomed Khân, he is

supposed to have a bias towards the Sirdárs of Pesháwer; and the connection, it is thought, will become closer. He provides for many members of the Bárak Zai family, by giving them lands and villages, and Jelálábád affords an asylum to some whose political misdemeanours have made it necessary for them to abandon Kâbal.

The province of Jelálábád extends from the Kotal of Jigdillak to Dáka, in a line from west to east. To the south, the great range of Saféd Koh divides it from Khúram, and to the north a series of hills, of nearly equal elevation, separates it from Kâfristán and Bájor. Dáka, the eastern point, is at the entrance of the celebrated pass of Khaibar, which leads through the hills of the Khaibar tribes to Pesháwer. The beautiful valley of Jelálábád is extremely well watered, and besides the Súrkh Rúd and Kârasú, with a number of rivulets which flow from the Saféd Koh, the great river of Kâbal glides through it, receiving in its course the united river of Lúghmân, composed of the streams of Alíshang and Alingár, and lower down the fine river of Kámeah, Khonar and Chitrál. These rivers flow from the north, and have their sources remote from this part of the country. The climate of Jelálábád is remarkably diversified. The winter season is particularly delightful, although subject to violent wind storms; and in the summer, while in the centre of the valley, or along the course of the river, the heat is excessive, the skirts of the Saféd

Koh contain a number of cool and agreeable spots to which the inhabitants may retire.

I was no sooner recognized at Jelálabád to be a Feringhí than many hastened to inform the nawâb of my arrival, that popular chief being notorious for his good feelings towards Europeans. In a short time his people were with me, requesting me to wait upon him. I was not then particularly acquainted with his history, but had heard it frequently remarked at Pesháwer, that there, Súltân Máhoméd Khân was the Feringhí's friend; and at Kâbal, the Nawâb Jabár Khân. I was not in the best trim to appear before the good nawâb, or before any other person, yet I had discovered that Afghâns are not particular as to trifles, and that I was just as well received in rags as I should have been had I been more sumptuously arrayed.

I therefore accompanied his emissaries to a garden house without the town, where the chief had established his quarters. He was in the upper apartments, which were choked up with his subordinate officers, attendants, and soldiery. He saluted me civilly, and said that I must stay with him, to which I replied, no, and that I intended to go on. He then observed, that I must stay two or three days with him, and I again replied, no; on which he said that I must at least spend the day with him; to which I answered I had no objection. The people about wondered how I had

got through Khaibar, and the nawâb remarked for me, that I had nothing to lose. He informed me that he would provide a man to conduct me in safety to Kâbal; to which I did not object, and thanked him. He then inquired if I needed any thing, and I replied negatively. The nawâb directed that I should be taken every care of, and I took my leave of him. I was now conducted to a house, which I was told to consider mine as long as I pleased to occupy it, and to give myself no anxiety about anything, as all my wants would be attended to by the nawâb's orders.

I was soon visited by two singular characters, the one a Molaví from Lahore, the other a Bráhmân from Laknow. They stated, that they had each set out on a tour for some years, and accidentally meeting, had become companions. Chance had brought them into contact with the nâwab, and they were now sojourners with him. They much praised his good qualities. In manners and conversation they were extremely refined and intelligent, and had mirth and spirituality, which I had never before witnessed in a Mâhomedân or Hindú. They seemed independent in circumstances, and their apparel, equipage, &c. all bore the marks of affluence. Both made me offers of clothing, money, &c. and apparently with sincerity. I had indeed some difficulty to decline a horse, which was urged upon me by the Molaví, who could not imagine a person could travel,

without pain, on foot. I accepted their invitation to pass the day with them, and leaving the house, accompanied them to their quarters. I knew not their names, but heard the Bráhmaṇ merrily addressed as Múlla Mall. I afterwards learned that they were versed, or reputed to be, in the occult secrets of kímíá, or gold making, which at once accounted for their companionship, and for the high favour they were held in by the nawâb, who is one of the most ardent votaries of the mysterious science to be met with in Afghânistân.

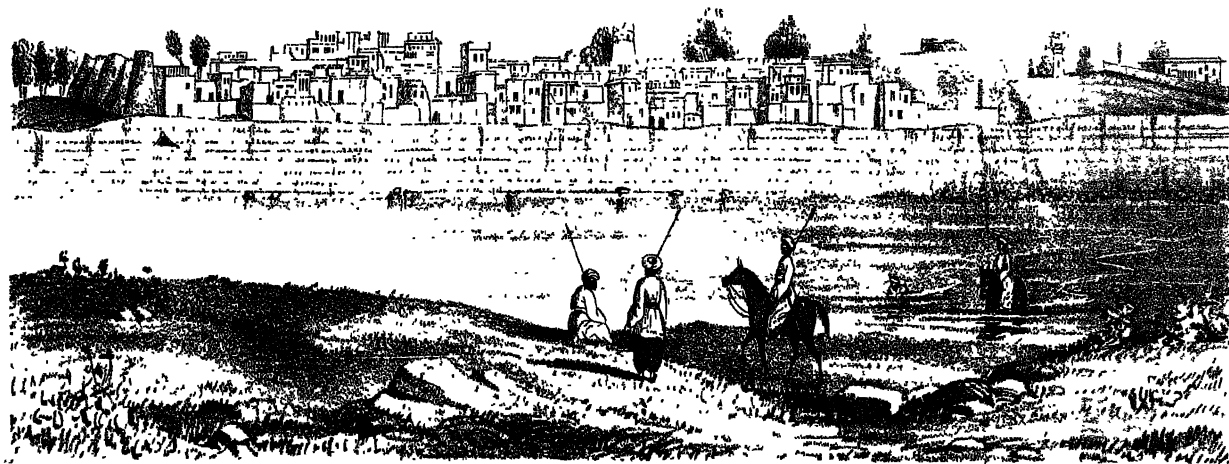
Early the next morning we started from Jelálabád, the nawâb having given a very good man to accompany us to Kâbal. He had also provided a horse for me to ride on, and occasionally, or when inclined, I made use of the animal. Leaving the choice of road to our new attendant, we were led the high one, skirting the border of the cultivated plain on our right, and generally winding around the base of a series of conglomerate elevations to the left, which extend for fifteen or twenty miles to the great mountain range Saféd Koh (the white hill), which noble barrier defines the limits of the Jelálabád valley to the south, and divides it from Bangash. The plain of Jelálabád is cultivated to a high degree, and in this part of it, with an average breadth of three or four miles, has a length from Jelálabád to Bálla Bâgh of twelve or thirteen miles. Its entire length being estimated from the hill of Koh

Sang Súrâkh, and carried beyond Bálla Bâgh, would be double this distance, but the portion east of the town is by no means so abundantly cultivated, or so populous as that to the west. This tract is covered with a profusion of castles, villages and gardens, while to the north it is defined by the course of the Kâbal river, flowing beneath sandstone elevations, stretching to the skirts of the high ranges occupying the space between Khonar and Lúghmân. Behind, or north of these ranges, is the region of the Síáposh Kâfrs. Besides the Kâbal river, the plain is copiously irrigated by other streams, and notably by the Súrkh Rúd (the red river), which enters it from the west, and falls into the main river at Darúnta; by the Kara-sú (the black river), which east of Bálla Bâgh unites with the Súrkh Rúd; and by the numerous and beautiful springs of Súltânpúr, which form a rivulet flowing through the centre of the plain by Chahár Bâgh. Few countries can possess more attractive scenery, or can exhibit so many grand features in its surrounding landscape. In every direction the eye wanders on huge mountain ranges.

We passed successively to our right the larger villages of the plain, Chahár Bâgh, distinguished for its royal garden, and for being the abode of a venerated Hindú Gúrú; Súltânpúr, famous for its orchards and springs, and the reputed shrine of Bábbá Nának; Shamsípúr and Wattípúr; until

we reached the small enclosed town of Bálla Bágh, seated on the southern bank of the Súrkh Rúd, and the representative of the ancient Adínápúr, whose slender vestiges are on the opposite bank. This place is more commercial than Jelálabád, has many Hindú traders, and a few bankers resident at it. The site being more elevated, the climate is less sultry. To the west, there is a large royal garden, and the environs to the east are highly cultivated, particularly with sugar-cane. To the south and west, a bleak stony plain extends. We found here six pieces of artillery, belonging to the Nawáb Máhoméd Zemân Khân, lying without the town-gate to the south; and halted during the day at a takía, or Máhomedan shrine.

In the evening, complying with the wishes of our guide, we left the high road leading to Nimla and Gandamak, and descended into the valley of the Súrkh Rúd, which flows at the base of a mountain range, the Síá Koh (black hill), separating the Jelálabád country from Lúghmân. This range stretches from Darúnta to Jigdillak, with a length of about twenty-five miles. We proceeded up the valley, passing a few Afghân hamlets and fortlets, and occasionally crossing the minor rivulets, which flow into the Súrkh Rúd, having their rise in the Saféd Koh range. The valley was everywhere cultivated, so far as the scantiness of the soil permitted, but the surface was rocky and unfavourable to the farmer. The



The Strike Library from a sketch by C. Masson, Esq.

VIEW of BALLABAGH from the NORTH near JELALABAD.

London Richard Bentley, New Burlington Street 1842

houses were alike mean in appearance and structure, and it was evident that their tenants, rude Ghiljís, were not very affluent. On the hills behind Bálla Bâgh, under which are the ruins attributed to Adínápúr, we had noticed a great variety of ruined parapets and walls, also a few caves with triangular entrances. At a spot in this valley, called Kang Karak, where a large rivulet joins the river, and where a road over the plain of Bámak strikes off to Nimla, there were a more considerable number of caves, and the locality was agreeably picturesque. At length we halted at a hamlet, and passed the night on the roof of one of the houses. We had little to lose, but a robber this night intended to have taken that little. He had crept, in pursuance of his plan, upon the roof, but chancing to awaken my companions, he was compelled to fly.

The next day, still tracing the course of the river, now gliding through hills on either side, we came upon the high road, at a locality called Súrkh Púl (the red bridge), from a dilapidated structure of one arch thrown over the stream, according to a Persian inscription on a rock near it, by Alí Merdân Khân. The river is fordable, I suspect at all seasons, unless when increased by sudden swells. The road led hence to Jigdillak; but, implicitly obedient to our guide, we again struck across the country to the south; and leaving the Ghiljí district of Hissárák on our left, turned

westernly, and ultimately reached Hávízângâní, a spot where we found a dwelling, with a few vines near it, a flour-mill, a tandúr, or baker's oven, an assemblage of Afghân tents, two lines of fine standard mulberry-trees laden with ripe purple fruit, and a spring of delicious water. Beneath the shade of the mulberry-trees were sitting some eight or ten persons. We discovered that they were in some degree strangers as well as ourselves. The greater number of them were the party of a malek of Fattiábâd, a village three or four miles south of Bálla Bágh, whom business had brought here; and the others, a Sáhibzâda of Loghar, with his attendants. In the last we had a companion for our onward journey; and we soon became familiar with the whole of the party, and sat with them. The mulberry-trees were shaken, and an enormous heap of the fruit was placed before me. I had eaten the mulberries of Kohât, Hângú, and Pesháwer, but had never before seen or tasted fruit comparable to the present. I needed not encouragement to enjoy the treat. In the course of the day the malek observed to me, that he had ten wives, and wished me, from my Feringhí knowledge, to communicate some specific to strengthen him. I asserted my inability to oblige him, and he wished me to look into my book. I said that the book was on very different matter, and did not look into it. He was exceedingly persisting that I should consult the book, and I unwisely did not humour him, it

not occurring to me that he might be merely curious to see what was in it, or whether there was any Persian writing which he might understand.

Since leaving Bálla Bâgh, although the weather was still warm, we had by no means experienced the heats prevailing in the plain of Jelálábád, and in the country to the east. We were quite conscious by our feelings that we were travelling into a purer and cooler atmosphere. At this place, however, the change was extremely sensible, and I was in high spirits at the certainty of having reached the cold country. Neither was I less delighted at the novelties shown in the aspect of the country, and in its vegetable productions. Here I first met with the common but fragrant plant, *terk*, and cannot express my joy when I inhaled the breeze perfumed with its odour. I was never tired of roving about the low hills in our neighbourhood, and found everything new and pleasing, but I was unusually glad, and a strange presentiment arose in my mind, which I could not banish, that some present evil would befall me. In the evening I was the guest of some one, I knew not of whom, but a stewed fowl was brought to me from the Afghân tents, where the females prepared the repast for the whole party. I ate a portion of it, and was told to tie up the remainder for the morning. I did so, and placed it near my book, and as night came on, went to sleep. In the morning my book was

missing. I was chagrined to lose so simply what the Khaibar robbers had respected, and returned to me. Ineffectual search was made over the neighbourhood, and I was compelled to leave without recovering it. My companions suspected the malek of Fattíabâd might have taken it, but there was the probability that some dog, or other animal, had carried it off with the fowl, which had also disappeared. My regret made me use high language, but I was cautioned to be moderate, as the inhabitants, Ghiljís, were bad people.

We left Hávízângâní, to me a disastrous spot; and our small party was augmented by that of the Loghar Sáhibzâda, a respectable and agreeable person. We made this day the passage of the Kotâl, or pass of Karkacha, the most southernly of the routes leading from Jelálabâd to Kâbal; the other is that of Jigdillak; and both lead to Tézí. I cannot call to mind that the Kotâl was anywhere difficult, but I dismounted during the greater portion of it, rather from consideration for my horse than from necessity. The hills are not abrupt, and many of them have a surface of dark red soil. They cover the space between the Jelálabâd valley and Amân Koh, the western continuation of Saféd Koh, where the Súrkh Rúd rises; and from the river washing away their particles in its course, it acquires, in certain seasons, a deep red tinge; whence its name. The pass afforded some delightful scenery, and the hills, overspread with pine-fir, and holly-trees, were

peculiarly interesting. We descended into the valley of Tézi, where we halted at a collection of pastoral Afghân tents, the people receiving us as guests, being happy, it appeared, to entertain a Sáhibzáda's party. Tézi was a picturesque valley, with a castle, and much cultivation, on a rivulet, near which we halted. At its southern extremity, in the high hills confining it, were visible the castles and gardens of various Ghiljí chiefs, who own the valley. The rivulet of Tézi flows, with a marked descent, by Séh Bába, and falls into the Kábal river near Súrbí. We found at Tézi in the garden attached to the castle, the troops of Sadú Khân, the chief whose expulsion from Hângú I have noted. They were under the orders of a Náib, and *en route* to reinforce the Nawáb Jabár Khân at Jelálabád. I chanced to stroll near them, and narrowly escaped having a scuffle with some of them, who wished to treat me as a Ghiljí rogue; others recognized me, and in lieu of maltreatment I was overwhelmed with goodness. I sat some time with the leader, and was regaled with apricots, sent for from the Tézi Malek's private garden. Readiness was professed to recover my book, and the náib said he would do his best, when in a day or two, he should be at Hávízângâni. We remained the night at Tézi.

The next morning we crossed the succession of passes, called the Haft-kotâl, (seven passes,) the road tolerably good, and reached the table lands,

extending to Khúrd Kâbal (Little Kâbal). At their commencement was the grave of Jabár, the progenitor of the great Ghiljí family of that name, and beyond it the remains of a Chághatai fortress. The plain to the south has for boundary a well-marked hill range, under which we see the castle and gardens of Tchakrí, where resides Walí, a Karoh Khél Ghiljí, and notorious freebooter. As we approached Khúrd Kâbal we passed the remains of another Chághatai fortress, constructed of a white argillaceous stone, containing fossil fresh water shells, which abound in the formation of the plains hereabouts. Beyond the fortress a short tanghí, or defile, through which flows a rivulet, conducted into the plain of Khúrd Kâbal, of fair extent, comprising some cultivated lands, a good deal of pasture, and a fine rivulet, which coming from Músáhí passes through defiles to Bhút Khák, and thence into the river of Kâbal. The village of Khúrd Kâbal was seated on the opposite side of the stream, at some distance, under the hills. Neither did we visit it, although it is a common halting-place. We had heard that the cholera, which had been so destructive at Pesháwer, had travelled on to Kâbal, and was raging with great violence. The Sáhíbzâda was afraid to venture to the city, and as the direct way to Loghar leads from Khúrd Kâbal, we now separated. He would have been pleased that I should have accompanied

him, and have remained in Loghar until the pestilence had ceased; but I declined his polite proposal, as I did not purpose to linger at Kâbal, and hoped to pass unharmed the one or two days I might stay in its vicinity. We crossed the hills separating the plain of Khúrd Kâbal from that of the great city, by a by-path, and descended upon Killa Mohsan, where we halted, and had bread prepared. Towards evening we started anew, and crossing the meadows of Bégrám, and the river of Loghar, we reached by sunset the castle of Agá Lâla at Bîni Sár (the nose of the city), about three miles south of the Bálla Hissár of Kâbal. This castle belonged to a family, many of whose members resided at Pesháwer; and I had been directed to repair to it, and to make it my home.

I found that the mother of Agá Lâla was dwelling at it. She sent a message of welcome to me, and informed me that she was going into the city that night, where some one dear to her was indisposed, but would return in the morning, and every attention should be paid to me. The good lady went; and I was told in the morning, she was no more. The cholera had added her to the number of its victims.

The city, I learned, was in charge of Máhomed Akbár Khân, second son of Dost Máhomed Khân, who, with his army, was encamped at Ghazní, awaiting the arrival of his hostile brothers from

Kândahár. I determined to lose no time in proceeding to the Sirdár's camp, being as curious to witness the proceedings of an Afghân army as desirous to escape from the baleful influence of contagion and disease.

CHAPTER XI.

Múlla Najíb's account.—His sources of information.—Difficulty to procure trustworthy information.—Misapplication of information.—Interest as to the Síáposh.—Speculations.—Traditions.—Absence of records.—Hindú sovereignty.—Wars of Ghaznavide princes.—Amír Taimúr's conquests.—His march against the Síáposh.—Attacks them.—Records his victory.—Taimúr's pillar.—Taimúr Hissár.—Síáposh era.—Defeat of Amír Taimúr's detachment.—Crusades against the Síáposh.—Baber's notices.—His incursions upon the Síáposh.—His mission to the Síáposh.—Marco Polo's silence.—Account by Benedict Goetz.—Chances of obtaining correct information.—Nimchas.—Rivers of Kâfristân.—The Kow.—The Nadjíl.—the Kámeh.—Route from Jelálabád to Chitrál.—Boundaries of the Síáposh.—View from Koh Karinj.—Coup d'œil.—Cultivation.—Diet.—Cattle.—Vegetable productions.—Gold.—Villages.—Their position.—Nijrow.—Nadjíl.—Chághanserai.—Baber's slaughter at Bájor.—Language of the Síáposh—of their neighbours.—The Perâncheh.—The Pashai.—The Lúghmâní.—The Kohistâni.—The Pashai race.—The Perânchehs.—The Tájiks of Nijrow.—Hishpí.—The Sáfis.—The Yeghânís.—Treatment of the dead.—Gebers formerly in these countries.—Pyrethræ.—Regulations as to females.—Religion.—Excessive hospitality.—Ceremony at marriages.—Houses.—Indulgence in conviviality.—Peculiar customs.—Shave their heads.—War and peace.—Arms.—Crusades.—Trade.—Karaj.—Shâhríar of Yezd is murdered.—Malek Mannír's account.—Practicability of opening communication with the Síáposh.—Deputation to Amír Máhoméd Khán.

THE Honourable Mr. Elphinstone, in the Appendix to his admirable work on Afghânistân, has included

an account, as given by one of his agents, Múlla Najíb, of the singular and secluded people known to their Máhomedan neighbours as the Síáposh Káfirs, or black-clad infidels, and who inhabit the mountainous regions north of Lúghmân and Khonar, and between the courses of the Nadjíl and Kámeh rivers.

It is pretty certain that Múlla Najíb, who is still alive, never ventured into the Síáposh country, as I believe he pretended; still his account is the only tolerable one which has appeared of the customs and usages of the mysterious race. At the period of the Kâbal mission in 1809 it was easy for him to learn all that he has recorded, by actual communication with the numerous individuals of their nation, who were wont to visit the towns and villages of Peshatt and Khonar, under protection of Saiyad Najím, then the ruler of those districts, who preserved an understanding with his Síáposh neighbours.

No subsequent accounts have contributed much additional information, being merely hearsay statements, given and received at random: and a little reflection will teach that trustworthy information is scarcely to be expected from casual sources. The Máhomedâns bordering on the Síáposh frontiers are incompetent to speak accurately of the manners, habits, history, or traditions of tribes with whom they have no friendly intercourse.

They repeat, therefore, the wondrous tales they

have heard from persons as ignorant as themselves, whence their variance with all probability, and with each other. It also happens, that the few SÍáposh who are seen in the adjacent countries are such as have been kidnapped, and generally children or shepherd boys, amongst the rudest and less informed of their own countrymen; and consequently unqualified to give testimony on the topics concerning which European curiosity desires to be satisfied. The six or seven Kâfr youths I have seen were obviously in this predicament, and incapable of replying clearly to questions on subjects which they did not comprehend.

For these reasons, we can obtain but vague and defective information as to the SÍáposh races from their neighbours; and even this has been in many cases misunderstood by careless inquirers, who have been therefore led to ascribe to the objects of their researches a descent from the Arabs, from the Korésh, or from other equally improbable stocks.

There can be no doubt but that great interest attaches to a people on all sides environed by hostile neighbours of a different faith, but whose valour, assisted by the strength and intricacy of their mountainous abodes, has enabled them, to this day, to maintain independence, and to baffle the attempts of all invaders to subdue them. To us, this interest is considerably augmented by the knowledge that these indomitable tribes have an unusual fairness of complexion, and a regularity of features, which would seem

to identify them with the European family of nations. We are not permitted to account for these physiological distinctions by referring them to the influences of climate or of situation, as such influences do not similarly affect their neighbours, in like manner exposed to them. We cannot behold the fair and regular countenance of the Síáposh, his variously coloured eye, and shaded hair, and suppose for a moment that he is of the same family as the Tájik, or the Hazára, the Uzbek, or the Kirghiz. In proportion as we find it impossible to affiliate him with any of his neighbours, our anxiety increases to ascertain his origin, and to verify the causes which have enshrouded him with mystery, and isolated him, under the shelter of his inaccessible retreats, from the rest of mankind.

When no one knows, all may conjecture,—but with regard to the Síáposh community, the Asiatic and the European would probably apply very different speculations. The latter might fondly fall back upon the remote period when the son of Philip led his victorious arms into the regions of central Asia, and call to mind the various colonies he planted in them to promote the security and permanent retention of his acquisitions. He might remember the Macedonian colonies of Alexandria ad Caucasem, of Arigæum and Bazira;—the garrisons of Nysa, Ora, Massaga, Peuceleotis and Aornos. He might also recollect, that a number of sovereigns, of Greek descent, subsequently ruled in these countries, until

they were overrun by the Getic hordes of Scythia. He would not fail to discover that the region now inhabited by the Síáposh is surrounded by the very countries in which the Greek sovereignty prevailed, and that it is encircled by the colonies, posts, and garrisons, known to have been established in them;—while it is naturally that into which the expatriated princes and their subjects would have been driven, or into which they would have retired to escape the fury of their fierce and barbarous invaders. He might farther be pleased to find, that the conclusions which such recollections would tend to suggest were sanctioned by the recorded traditions existing in these quarters, and that they are strengthened by the fact, that many petty princes and chiefs, some of whom, now Máhomedans, but originally Síáposh, claim descent from the Macedonian hero; and have preserved vague accounts referrible either to their reputed ancestor's marriage with the fair Roxana, or to his amour with the captive queen of Mássaga.

But while, if we were enabled positively to pronounce the Síáposh tribe to be descendants of the Greek colonists and subjects, we might plausibly account for their location, and rationally enough for their physical and physiological distinctions and peculiarities, it is scarcely allowable, on our scanty knowledge of them, to draw so bold and welcome an inference.

From the period of Getic ascendancy to that of

the appearance of Máhomedan armies in the countries bordering on the Indus, we have no extant records to apply to for any information on the history of the times. The discovery of a multitude of coins, which may be classed into many well defined and distinct series, and which were undeniably current in these countries, yield abundant testimony that not only did they undergo a number of political convulsions, and experience considerable alternations in the authority of various dynasties, but that divers religions were introduced, and patronized by the monarchs of the day. Such testimony is, moreover, confirmed by slight notices, acquired through foreign and indirect channels.

In the absence of positive historical evidence we need not expect to derive any intimation applicable to the Síáposh tribes, but we may reasonably suppose that, if then located in their present seats, their manners, usages, habits, religious belief, and opinions, may have been more or less changed and modified by their intercourse with the several races of people, who, of various origin and creed, dominated in the countries adjacent to them: for it is possible that, until the intolerant and persecuting Máhomedân established his sway, they were in communication with the inhabitants of the plains; as they would not have had the same reasons for jealous distrust and hostility.

We know little of the government of these countries under the viceroys of the Caliphs, or how long

they continued to exercise it, yet it must have been for a considerable period, if we accept as evidence the large number of their coins found. It is still certain that the Hindú princes, east of the Indus, recovered the regions west of the river by the expulsion of the early Máhomedan governors, as we find them in possession, when Sabakhtaghin, of the Ghaznavide line of princes, found himself strong enough to undertake their conquest, and to carry his arms to the Indus. His son, the celebrated Máhmúd, distinguished himself in these campaigns, and, if we credit tradition, Jelálabád, or the province of Ningrahár, was the scene of severe contest, while the district of Lúghmân, in particular, immediately to the south of the Síáposh region, became the theatre of a most sanguinary and obstinate warfare between the Mússulmân armies and the infidels.

From this epoch we have, I believe, tolerably authentic accounts preserved by Máhomedan historians. Their works relating to the exploits of Sabakhtaghin and his son, merit examination for the purpose of eliciting who these infidels were, who so bravely defended their country, and whether they had any connexion with the Síáposh. It will strike any one, that if previously there had been no enmity between the natives of the hills and the inhabitants of the plains, there was now ample occasion to have given rise to it. May it be, that from this date exists that hostility which has endured unabated for so many centuries?

Sabakhtaghin died 997, A. D. It was somewhat before that time, therefore, that these events took place. Yet it is not until more than four centuries afterwards that we find the Síáposh mentioned by name, and as occupying the country they now hold. The conquests of Amír Taimúr brought these people to his notice, and he made an expedition against them, which is rather circumstantially detailed by his historian, Sherífadín, and contains a few particulars worthy of note.

In 1399, A. D. that conqueror being at Anderáb, the inhabitants complained to him that they were grievously oppressed by the idolaters of Ketuer, and by the Síáposh. It would appear, that the general name of the northern parts of the region of Kâfris-tân was Ketuer, or Katáwar. The princes of Chitrâl, who in the time of Taimúr were no doubt infidels, and who are among those claiming descent from Alexander, being still stiled Shâh Katáwar, or the kings of Katáwar. Chitrâl is also called, in the countries to the south, Kâshghâr-í-khúrd, or the little Kâshghâr. It was asserted by the complainants that the Síáposh extorted excessive sums of money from them, calling it tribute and karaj, (a term in use at this day,) and in default of payment, killed their men and carried off their women and children. Taimúr selecting nearly a third part of his army, (or three out of every ten soldiers,) marched against the Síáposh. He reached Perjân, said to be a town of Bâdakshân, two days from Anderáb,

whence he detached a large force to the left, or north, while he proceeded himself to Kavuk, where finding a demolished fortress, he ordered it to be rebuilt. Neither of these localities are perhaps exactly known, but it may be inferred that Kavuk was in the valley of Panjshír. From Kavuk, Taimúr made the ascent of the mountains of Ketuer. These were the range dividing the courses of the Panjshír and Nadjíl rivers; and this notice substantiates the fact that the country to the east of Panjshír was called Katáwar, and that the term was a general one applied to that part of Káfristán. The passage was difficult, from snow, but when the army had surmounted it, they descended upon a river, (that of Nadjíl,) where was a fortress on the western bank. This was abandoned by the Síáposh, who crossed the river, and occupied the summit of a high hill.

The infidels are described as “strong men, and as large as the giants of Aad. They go all naked; their kings are named Oda and Odashooh. They have a particular language, which is neither Persian, nor Turkish, nor Indian, and know no other than this.” Taimúr passed the river, and attacked the Síáposh position, which, defended with singular obstinacy, was at length carried. The males of the infidels, whose souls are said to have been more black than their garments, were put to the sword, their women and children were carried away.

“Taimúr ordered the history of this action to be

engraved upon marble. It happened in the month Ramadan, in the year of the Hejra 800, (June 1398,) and he added the particular epocha which this people used, that their posterity might have some knowledge of the famous pillar of the ever victorious Taimúr. This pillar, so inscribed, gave the greater pleasure to the emperor, in that these people had never been conquered by any prince in the world, not even by Alexander the Great."

This quotation comprises interesting details. First, the erection of the marble pillar. Secondly, the recorded fact that the Síáposh had a peculiar epocha. And thirdly, the allusion to their valour and long independence, and to Alexander.

As regards the pillar, it would be satisfactory to ascertain whether it be still in existence. I may note, that the extracts from Sherífadín are taken from the English version of the French translation by Petit La Croix. The French author, it^{*} is to be feared, has in some instances taken liberty with his original, and the English author may have treated the French one with as little ceremony. Whether a pillar was erected or not,—a work requiring some time and labour,—there is little reason to doubt but that some inscription recorded the triumph of Taimúr. To the north of Nadjíl, a district dependent on Lúghmân, and through which the river named after it flows, and which river we suppose to be the one to which Taimúr had arrived, is a structure, or some other monument,

known by the name of Taimúr Hissár. In the ordinary acceptation of the term Hissár in these countries, it would imply a superior fortress, but as the place is, in the Síáposh country, it is not visited by people from without, and all that can be ascertained is, that there exists some token of the conqueror's visit, bearing his name, and which is admitted, by tradition, to relate to him. It might not be inconsistent with probability to believe, that by Taimur Hissár may be known the remains of the fortress on the river, abandoned by the Síáposh, and dismantled by Taimúr. Near it would be, of course, the inscription which it would be so desirable to recover. The malek, or petty chief of Nadjíl, also claims descent from Amír Taimúr, to whom is ascribed an amour, precisely of the same nature as the one attributed to Alexander.

The fact that the Síáposh had, at that period, a particular era, is also important, because it may be hoped that they have preserved it, and that people who have certain ideas on chronology, may not be altogether without them on other subjects.

The allusion to the long independence of the Síáposh proves that their establishment in their mountain seats was not considered of recent date, and the notice of Alexander shows that the emperor and his historian were acquainted with his progress in these countries; and it is certain, that although the romances of the poets have superseded, with the vulgar, the rational history of the

Macedonian conqueror, still there are persons more correctly informed.

The large detachment sent by Taimúr to the left, met with signal disgrace and discomfiture. It is pretended that a reinforcement partly retrieved it, but it is clear that the success of the emperor himself was rather equivocal; and, without attempting to maintain a position in the country of the warlike infidels, he hastily returned to Anderáb, and rejoined the rest of his army.

From this time it appears to have been the practice of the Máhomedan princes of Túrkestán occasionally to make inroads upon the Síáposh, not so much with the view of reducing them as of gaining for themselves a reputation, and of meriting the illustrious title of Ghází, or champion of the faith. History notes many such crusades as that of Súltán Máhomed Mirza of Bokhára, in 1453, A. D. who won the honourable title, whatever may have been the fortune of his arms. It has, however, occurred, that combinations of Máhomedan princes have been made against the independence of the Síáposh, and that armies from different quarters have entered their country. But these have been invariably repulsed, unable to overcome its natural obstacles, and the gallantry of the mountaineers who defended it.

The celebrated Baber, in his Memoirs, repeatedly mentions the Síáposh under the designation of Kâfrs, yet, as his notices are incidental, they im-

part no light upon their history, religion, or other important points, connected with them;—still they are extremely interesting, both as concerns them on minor details, and the neighbouring countries and people to the south; the activity of the observant prince having led him to make frequent excursions amongst the latter. In the sequel we shall have occasion to refer to many of his intimations. In this place, it may suffice to note, that the lapse of a century and a quarter had brought about no change in the nature of the relations between the Síáposh and the people of Panjhír and Anderáb, whose ancestors had claimed Amir Taimúr's protection. Baber, describing Panjhír, notes, that "It lies upon the road, and is in the immediate vicinity of Kâfristân. The thoroughfare and inroads of the robbers of Kâfristân are through Panjhír. In consequence of their vicinity to the Kâfrs, the inhabitants of this district are happy to pay them a fixed contribution. Since I last invaded Hindustân and subdued it (in 1527), the Kâfrs have descended into Panjhír, and returned, after slaying a great number of people, and committing extensive damages."

Baber had previously noted, that in 1514 A. D., the year in which he took Cheghânserei on the Kámeh river, "The Kafrs of Pich came to their assistance;" and adds: "so prevalent is the use of wine among them that every Kâfr has a khig, or leathern bottle of wine about his neck. They

drink wine instead of water." At an earlier period, in 1507, A. D. he had led a plundering expedition against their rice-fields in the valley of Birain, which he thus describes:—"Some persons who were thoroughly acquainted with every part of the country, informed us, that up the river of the Tumân of Alishend, the Kâfrs sow great quantities of rice, and that probably the troops might there be able to lay in their winter's corn. Leaving the dale of Nangenhar, therefore, and pushing speedily forwards, we passed Saigal, and advanced up to the valley of Birain. The troops seized a great quantity of rice. The rice-fields were at the bottom of the hills. The inhabitants in general fled and, escaped, but a few Kâfrs were killed. They had posted some men in a breastwork on a commanding eminence in the valley of Birain. When the Kâfrs fled this party descended rapidly from the hill, and began to annoy us with arrows. We stayed one night in the Kâfrs' rice-fields, where we took a great quantity of grain, and then returned to the camp." Here is the cool narration of a cool exploit; yet Baber nowhere speaks of the Kâfrs with particular ill-feeling, or discovers the slightest ambition to win, at their expense, the title of Ghâzî, of which Amîr Taimûr had been so proud. Their jovial habits, so much in keeping with his own, may have somewhat prepossessed him in their favour. In 1520, A. D. he mentions having sent from Bédrav, (in the pre-

sent Taghow,) one Haidar Alemdar to the Káfrs. This man on his return met him below the pass of Bâdij, (the present Bâd Pash,) and was “accompanied by some of their chiefs, who brought with them a few skins of wine.” The present probably explains the nature of the mission.

It is singular that Marco Polo, who, if the statement transmitted to us in the twenty-fifth chapter of his First Book, as given by Marsden, be implicitly credited, resided for a year in Balashan, or Bâdakshân, should not have particularly noticed so interesting a people as the Síáposh. His account of the inhabitants of Bascia in the following chapter, is scarcely applicable to them, as he instances, that they are of a dark complexion, which, assuredly, the Síáposh are not.

In 1603, A.D. Benedict Goetz, a Jesuit, crossed the Hindú Kosh by the pass of Perwân, to Anderáb. He heard of the Síáposh tribes; and being told they were not Máhomedans, and that they drank wine, and arrayed themselves in black, inferred that they were Christians. The fanciful notions of the zealous missionary are not more ludicrous than those of later Europeans, who have imagined them to be Arabs.

The reports of Goetz must have excited considerable interest and curiosity respecting these tribes throughout Europe; but nothing was done to increase our knowledge of them until the mission of the Honourable Mr. Elphinstone in 1809, when

the report of Múlla Najíb gave as much information respecting their manners and usages as a native could be expected to acquire. It also furnished a vocabulary of their language, I doubt not as perfect as could be composed by a native, recollecting that he heard with the ear of a native of Pesháwer, and that his orthography may be questionable, because peculiar.

Attaching every value to the report of Múlla Najíb, it must be still conceded that we have no information of the Síáposh race, which does not require confirmation; neither are we likely to obtain a sufficient acquaintance with this interesting people, until some intelligent and adventurous European shall penetrate into their sequestered valleys; and by the results of his own observation, and of direct intercourse with the best informed of themselves, enable us to form accurate notions of their present and past state of society, of their religion, language, and other matters relating to them. Until we have such testimony, we must be satisfied with the dubious accounts of natives; but we, as Europeans, can never from them acquire the knowledge we wish to possess of the Síáposh.

The boundaries of the country they occupy are well known, and their limits have been considerably contracted since the period when they were first brought to notice; both by the encroachments of Máhomedan tribes, and by the defalcation of their

own people at exposed and accessible frontier villages; who, to preserve themselves and their possessions, have professed themselves to be converts to Islâm. Such people preserve their original customs and manners in a great degree; and their religion is so equivocal that they are termed *Nimcha*, or half *Mússulmâns*. They communicate with *Máhomedans* and *Síáposh*, and are, therefore, in some degree useful; but their sympathies are supposed to side with the friends from whom they have unwillingly, and but nominally, seceded.

Three large rivers flow through *Kâfristân* from north to south, and augment with their waters the river of *Kâbal* and *Jelálabád*, which ultimately falls into the *Indus*. The two westernly ones unite at *Tírgarí* of *Lúghmân*; and the joint stream, after a short course of eight or ten miles, falls into the *Kâbal* river at *Kergah*, in the same district, about a mile to the east of *Mandaráwar*. The easternly river, known as that of *Kámeh*, falls into the *Kâbal* river east of *Jelálabád*, and at a distance of about twenty-five miles from *Kergah*. The *Kámeh* flows through *Chitrâl*, and its source is more remote. On the east, it may be considered the boundary of the *Síáposh* territory, as the river of *Nadjíl* and *Alíshang* forms the boundary on the west. The sources of the *Nadjíl* river are said to be not very distant, and it is the smallest of the three rivers. The central river, which joins that of *Nadjíl*, is more considerable, and is said to have

a far longer course. It is the only one which has a peculiar name, or one independent of the localities through which it passes, and is called Kow, pronounced exactly as the English word cow. It must not be mistaken for the Cow-mull of Rennell, which is the Gomal, a river rising near the pass of Péhwâr, at the head of Bangash, and with a course from west to east, flowing through the Súlímânî range, west of the Indus, into which it falls a few miles south of Déra Ismael Khân. The river of Nadjíl we have supposed to be that at which Amír Taimúr arrived; and this need scarcely be doubted, as Baber, in noting that there are three passes over the Hindú Kosh from Panjhír, calls the uppermost, or the one farthest to the east, by the name of Khewák, clearly the Kavuk of Sherífadín. This river is, therefore, so far known to history. Of the river Kow nothing is known, beyond the fact of its junction with the former at Tírgarí, having traversed the eastern part of the valley of Lúghmân, named Alingár.

With the river of Kámeh we are better acquainted, there being a route along its course, by which kâfilas sometimes, but not often, pass from the valley of Jelálabád to Chitrál. The route leads through Bísút, and by Shéghí, Bazarak, Kallatak, Shéwah, and Killah Pádshâh, to Islámpúr, at the head of the valley of Búdíáli, leading to Bar-kot, Daminj, and the Dára Núr. From Islámpúr, where the valley of Khonar also commences, constantly

tracing the river bank, the road passes Kandí and Nurgal to Pattán, where the stream is crossed, and then tracing the opposite bank, conducts, by Khonar and Kulígrám, to Peshatt; thence to Dunáhi, lately taken from the Peshatt chief by Mír Alam Khán of Bálor, who keeps a garrison there, as it is at the foot of the pass of Shammatak, by which the great mountain range, stretching from Khonar to Chitrâl, is crossed to Bálor. From Dunáhi the road leads to Sirkaní, and Hindú Ráj—dependent on the Bálor chief; beyond them are Shígal and Asmár, inhabited by Shínwáris; and again beyond them, are Siáposh villages, which passed, the valley of Chitrâl is entered. Above Asmár is a large cataract, and the river above Peshatt is, in some places, narrow enough to be bridged;—from Peshatt jálas, or floats of inflated skins, pass freely down it. From Pattan, where it is usual to cross the river, as is done for convenience, and a regard to safety, there is still a road along the western bank, which passes many villages, as Niázi, Shâhkhútí, Kúlmâní, Kotgáhi opposite to Peshatt, Noreng Páyán opposite to Dúnáhi, Noreng Bálla opposite to Sirkanní, and Téshar opposite to Hindú Ráj. There are also many small rivers or rivulets, which fall into the Kámeh, from the west, in this part of its course. They generally flow down valleys, inhabited by Máhomedans or Nimchas, who are immediate neighbours of the Siáposh, and with whom, as the case may be, they are in hostility, or on amicable terms. Of these the daras, or valleys,

of Mazár, Péch, Shínághâm, and Chághanserái, are the most remarkable. The SÍáposh, in this route, between the Shínwâris and Chitrâl, exact karaj, or a tax, from kâfilas, but do not otherwise molest them, although the traders are glad to get through them. Owing to this distrust, or that the road is penible, as it is said to be, and probably that the Shínwâris, a lawless tribe, are more to be dreaded than the Kâfrs, this route is not much used, and kâfilas generally prefer crossing the hills at Dúnáhi to Bágor, whence they proceed northernly to Dír, beyond which they have to recross the same range, descending into the valley of Chitrâl.

To the north, the limits of the SÍáposh are defined by the line of road leading from Chitrâl to Faizabád, of Bâdakshân. This appears to extend from east to west, and crosses a high mountain range, probably the true Hindú Kosh, the third or fourth march from Chitrâl. From the valley of Panjshír they are separated by a lofty range, the principal peak of which is called Koh Kohwand, and on the south, it has been gleaned, that they border on the districts of Nijrow, Taghow, Nadjíl, Lúghmân, and Shéwah. From Lúghmân they are separated by a high mountain, Koh Karinj, and from Shéwah by that of Núrgal.

From the summit of Koh Karinj a most extensive and commanding view is obtained of the region inhabited by the SÍáposh. The eye wanders over an immense space of low rounded hills, with few

prominent ranges, or any particular mountains of great elevation.

The impression derived from the *coup d'œil* coincides with the understood nature of the tract. It being represented as hilly, and traversed by innumerable narrow and rugged valleys and defiles, the roads chiefly leading along the banks of precipices, and frightful chasms, while it is amply supplied with rivers, rivulets, and torrents, but the abundance of water is unfortunately unaccompanied by any extent of cultivable soil. The table spaces, which seem to prevail, may be presumed alike unavailable to agriculture, whether from the rocky character of the surface, or from the absence of moisture. It is allowed that no practicable spot is neglected, and that júárí mekháhí, or Indian maize, is the grain usually cultivated, and frequently on terraces artificially constructed.

The unfitness of the country for the purposes of tillage is so evident that the principal attention of the inhabitants is directed to their orchards, which yield them amazing quantities of fruits; found also, in the wild state, in the greatest profusion over their hills. It is known that they have vines and walnut-trees, and it may be presumed peach, almond, and pistachio-trees, which abound in the hills of their neighbours. They do not, however, procure grain from the adjacent tracts, which is accounted for by the fact that their diet consists principally of meat, cheese, curds and fruits,

both fresh and dried. The quantity of cheese made and consumed by them is said to be surprising. The natives of the Kohistân of Kâbal, and of the dependent valleys of Sir Auleng, Panjshír, Nijrow, &c., subsist much in the same way, and although they can obtain more easily grain, they have a remarkable predilection for cheese and dried fruits. Kâbal is supplied with cheese from those parts, and the people of Nijrow are very expert in its manufacture. Dried túts, or mulberries, which are no doubt abundant with the Síáposh, are a favourite food of the Kohistânís, and much used by them in lieu of bread. They devour them by handfuls, washing them down with water, and travel with bags of them, as regularly as the Síáposh do with khigs of wine.

Horned cattle are said to be scarce among the Síáposh, as are sheep, but they have numerous flocks of goats. These, besides supplying them with food, furnish them with clothing; and from the circumstance of wearing the prepared skins with the hair outside, they have gained the name of Síáposh, or black-clad.

Little is known of the vegetable productions of the country. The river Kow, when swollen by the melting of snows or by rains, brings down to Lúgh-mân branches of an odoriferous wood, supposed to be sandal, but which is, likely, the juniper cedar. The Síáposh hills are popularly thought the locale of the meher ghíya, or plant of affection, the pos-

session of which is said to secure the love of any one to its fortunate owner. As so valuable a plant would be in high request, it is ingeniously assigned to an inaccessible region.

It is also universally believed that gold is found in large quantities in this country, and it is fancied that it grows with the grain. The metal is pale coloured, and called *Tilla Kâhí*, or straw-coloured gold, of the same quality as, I believe, Chinese gold generally is. The rivers flowing through *Kâfristân* undoubtedly bring down gold with them. There are constantly numbers of gold-washers employed near *Peshatt* on the river of *Chitrâl* and *Kámeh*. The metal is also found in the rivers of *Lúghmân*, and in the river of *Kâbal*, into which they fall, and is sometimes collected near *Kergah* and *Chahâr Bâgh* of *Lúghmân*, and again near *Jelâlabâd*. On the joint river of the *Kohistân* of *Kâbal*, before it enters the *Sáfí* hills, there is a spot preserving the name of *Zir Shuí*, though now unfrequented, and it is certain that all, or nearly all the rivers flowing from the north have auriferous sands, as quantities of the metal are procured in the *Yúsaf Zai* districts. It may be worthy of note, that the people who search for the gold are not of the countries, but of the *Panjâb*; many are natives of *Jélam*, on the river of that name. It is not improbable that the rivers of *Kâfristân*, when increased in volume, may pass over soils enriched with gold and carry down the precious particles with them. At such times they

necessarily flood the narrow valleys through which they pass, and the little patches or plots in them, sown with maize or other grain. On their subsidence, it is possible, that grains of the metal may be found adhering to the roots of the plants, which have arrested their progress; whence the fiction of the growth of gold with the grain of the country.

As regards the division of the Síáposh into tribes no one knows, or pretends to know any thing about them. Nearly as little can be ascertained of their towns and villages. On the Khonar frontier, where they have more intercourse with their neighbours than on any other, the nearest of their villages are, Kattár, Gambír, and Déh Uz, said to be near to each other, and on the crest of a table-land. There are also in that quarter Arans, Tshúmía, Amísúz, Pandít, and Waigal; and all of these are said to be on the ridges of table-lands, at the extremities of valleys. The three first villages are said to have one thousand houses each, and maleks, or principals, with the names of Udúr, Erakân, Kerim Bâtúr, and Kodála. The two last belonging to Déh Uz. Arans is said to have three thousand houses, Tshúmía, Amísúz, and Pandít, one thousand houses each, while Waigal is supposed to have six thousand houses, and to be the largest town in these parts. It may be reasonably suspected that these calculations are above the truth; still, when it is known that there are large and populous villages in a country, it is difficult to reconcile the fact with

so complete a state of barbarism as is imputed to the Síáposh, or to avoid the impression that, men assembled in such communities must have a certain kind of order prevalent amongst them, and be subject to some of the influences inseparable to society. It may be remarked, that they appear to have condensed themselves at the heads of the valleys which they have lost, and by taking up a position on the edges of their table-lands, strive to oppose the farther progress of the Máhomedan. Saiyad Najím of Khonar strove to force this barrier, but ineffectually. In the time of Baber they still held the valleys, as he notices that of Pích (now called Péch, or the tortuous). The natives of Péch now call themselves Sáfís, and are independent, but avow themselves to be Máhomedans. It is strange that their neighbours of Dara Núr, and the remoter inhabitants of Taghow, who are expressly stated by Baber to have been, in his time, Kâfrs, alike call themselves Sáfís, which may be a Síáposh appellation; and there is a village called Sáví, still belonging to them, at the head of Dara Níází, leading from Lúghmân. Baber unfortunately gives few items of intelligence respecting Kâfristân. Describing the boundaries of Kâbal, he says, "In the hill country to the north-east lies Kâfristân, such as Kattor and Gebrek." Kattor may be either the Ketuer of Amír Taimúr, or Kattár, which we have noted as one of the villages west of the valley of Khonar. In the latter case, Gebrek might be Gambír.

easily transformed to Gaber-ak; if otherwise, the name is singular. In describing Nijrow he states, that "Behind it, in the hill country, all the inhabitants are Kâfrs, and the country is Kâfristân." The inhabitants of Nijrow would seem to have been in the transition state, for Baber, after noting that they boil their wine in making it, and fatten cows in the winter season, goes on to say, that they "are wine-bibbers, never pray, fear neither God nor man, and are heathenish in their usages." A good Máhomedan would now make exactly the same remarks of the Sáfís of Dara Núr, who have continued for above three centuries in the same state, as Baber notes, that during his time only they discontinued the practice of eating hogs.

In speaking of Alísheng, he informs us, that the part of Kâfristân nearest to it "is called Meil," and "that the river of Alísheng comes down from Meil." It has been already seen that he has mentioned a foray from Alísheng upon the valley of Birain. Neither it nor Meil can be exactly identified, but Nadjíl is about twelve miles north of Alísheng, and I believe there is no place of the least note between them. Again, in speaking of Alingár, the eastern Tumân of Lúghmán, he notes, that "The part of Kâfristân that is nearest to Alingar is Gewár, and the river of Alingár comes down from Gewár." I can offer no illustration of Gewár. No boundaries to the Dara Núr are mentioned, but we are told that "Kúner and Núrgil

form another Tumân. It is situated in the midst of Kâfristân, which forms its boundary." Báber correctly states, that "Núrgil lies on the west, and Kúner on the east of the river;" and a little farther on that "the lower part of this Tumân is called Milteh-Kendí, below which the country belongs to the Dereh Núr, and Ater." His succeeding description of Chághanserái is entirely applicable to the place at this day. "Another Balúk is Chághanserai, which contains one village only, and is of limited extent, lying in the very jaws or entrance of Kâfristân. As its inhabitants, although Mússulmâns, are mingled with the Kâfrs, they live according to the customs of that race." Three centuries have in this instance produced no difference in the relative condition of this place; it is now, as formerly, the boundary between the Mússulmân and Kâfr, and its inhabitants, under the rule of Bájor, are compelled to live on a good footing with their formidable infidel neighbours. They call themselves Tájiks, and trace their origin to the Kaiân heroes. In the year 1519, A. D. Baber took by assault the citadel and town of Bajor, and massacred the ruling chief, or sultân, with the greater part of his family, and about three thousand of his ill-fated subjects. This wanton sacrifice of human life, in conformity with the barbarous spirit of the age, and intended as a severe military example, seemed to require extenuation; and in showing the reasons which actuated him, Baber plainly intimates that the de-

voted people were what would now be called Nimcha Máhomedans. He says: "As the men of Bájour were rebels to the followers of Islám, and as, beside their rebellion and hostility, they followed the customs and usages of the infidels, while even the name of Islám was extirpated from among them, they were all put to the sword, and their wives and families made prisoners. Perhaps upwards of three thousand were killed." This slaughter occurred on the 7th January, and on the 12th January, Baber records that, "The Kâfrs in the neighbourhood of Bájour, had brought down wine in a number of skins. The wines and fruits of Bájour are wholly from that part of Kâfristân which lies about Bájour." This notice, exemplifying the familiar intercourse of the Síáposh with the invader's camp, points out likewise that the country north of Bájor, and east of the great mountain range of Chitrâl and Khonar, was then possessed by them; that the Shínwâris had not then intruded themselves, and that the natives of Dír were not then converted. There is nothing more evident from all Baber's details than the fact, that the countries of Kâbal, Nangenhâr, Lúghmân, &c. were in his days infinitely less populous than they are at present; and we find him constrained to remedy the loss he had inflicted upon the population of Bájor by the location in it of the people of Bísút. On the 30th January he dispatched "Yusef Ali Bekawel to collect them, and remove them to Bájour;" and he

prefaces this announcement by informing us that "the people of Bísút are connected with those of Bajour;" in itself a fact of some consequence.

As regards the language, or dialect spoken by the Síáposh, there can be no doubt but that they have one, which, as Sherífadín has recorded, is neither exactly Persian, nor Turkí, nor Hindí. It is remarkable that on the south western, and southern borders of the Síáposh country, or in those points where it connects with the actual limits of the Kâbal and Jelálabád territories, there are four distinct dialects spoken, independently of the more prevailing ones of Persian, Afghání, Túrki, and Hindí. The dialects in question are called Perânceh, Pashai, Lúghmâní, and Kohistâní. The Perânceh is spoken by a few families of the same name, resident in or near Panjshír; the Pashai, by a few families, also of the same designation, occupying some half dozen villages in the hills east of Nijrow; by the inhabitants of Nijrow generally; and by those of Panjshír. The two latter people are, however, acquainted with Persian, which the few Pashai families are not. The Lúghmâní is spoken by the Tâjik inhabitants of Lúghmân, who also speak Persian. The Kohistâní is spoken by the Sáfí inhabitants of Dara Núr, Dara Mazár, Dara Péch, &c.; who know no other dialect. It is said, and with every appearance of probability, that these several people are able to hold converse with the Síáposh. On a comparison of their dialects, although they by no means coincide,

there is sufficient similarity to authorize the assumption of their affinity, and the conjecture that they are the remains of some old language, once general in this country, before the introduction of Persian, Arabic, and Túrki, and that they have a close resemblance to that spoken by the Síáposh. Of these four dialects, the Kohistâní most nearly approaches to Hindí; and, on listening to people conversing therein, I was able, without comprehending the whole of what was said, to understand the general purport of their discourse.

There are also other dialects spoken by various people in the valleys of Kâbal and Jelâlabâd, descended from the same original stock; and the natives of Dír and Chitrâl have alike dialects unintelligible to their neighbours, but which it may be presumed are understood by the Síáposh. Máhomédans conversant in Arabic have recognized in the dialect of Chitrâl many Arabic terms, and they, as well as Persian terms, are to be found in the other dialects I have mentioned; which is no subject of wonder, considering that for a long period the Caliphs dominated in these countries, and that the Arabic language and literature must have been very generally introduced. The language of the Síáposh will be more or less blended with Arabic terms, as their settlement in their present abodes may have happened before or after the first Máhomédân invaders; and this test may be advantageously applied both to determine that period

and the antiquity of the several dialects ; of which the one most free from foreign terms may reasonably be concluded to be the most ancient, and that most resembling the original language. It will be observed, that the names Lúghmâní and Kohistâní merely refer to the localities in which certain dialects are spoken ; and I notice this to suggest, that of these several dialects spoken on the Síáposh borders the Pashai may be the more original. We are enabled to trace a people of this name, although now obscure and nearly forgotten, throughout the whole country from Panjshír to Chitrâl. In Nijrow are still a few Pashai families ; in Lúghmân, a village at the foot of Koh Karinj, preserves the appellation of Pashai ; in Khonar, the actual town of Peshatt, retains a nominal memento of the Pashai race, as in Bájor does the village of Pash-grám. The inhabitants of Panjshír and Nijrow, speaking the Pashai dialect, although now calling themselves Tâjiks, may not unreasonably be supposed to be of Pashai descent ; and the same remark may apply to the Sáfís of Taghow, the Dara Núr, &c. and to the inhabitants of Lúghmân. The testimony of Baber is positive that these several people, as well as those of Bájor, &c. were in his time either Kâfrs, as he styles the Síáposh, or Nimcha Máhomedâns in a state of transition, which some of them continue to be to this day.

The Perânchehs, besides the few families at Panjshír who preserve their ancient dialect, are

found over a large tract of country, and it is well known that their conversion to Islám is of comparatively recent date. At the city of Kâbal some of the more eminent merchants are Perâncelh̄s. They occupy a considerable village in Kâmeḥ; they also inhabit Makkad on the Indus, and again are found at Atak, and the towns between it and the Jélam river. In all situations they are a commercial people.

The natives of Nijrow, who have assumed the name of Tájik, have become better Máhomedans than they were in the time of Baber, and their valour, and difficult country, have been sufficient generally to preserve their independence. They are numerous and well armed, having all muskets. The Pashai families in the vicinity of Nijrow are a distinct community, but on a good understanding with their neighbours. Their largest village is Hishpí, and they are represented as extremely hospitable. Their females wear rú-bands, or veils of horse-hair, covering merely their faces. Belonging to Hishpí are numerous orchards, well stocked with walnut, mulberry, pomegranate trees, and vines. Their mountains are covered with the jelgozeh pine, and the balút, or holly trees.

The Sáfis, or people so called, are widely spread. It has been noted that they inhabit Taghow. They now speak the Afghân dialect, but I am not certain that they do not also speak Pashai. Baber distinctly notes that the people of Taghow were in

his time Kâfrs. Under their present name, they became known to Nâdir, who cultivated a friendship with them. They then inhabited a larger tract of country, and were in hostility with the Ghiljís, who had previously expelled them from the lands to the south of Taghow, and between Kâbal and Jelâlabâd. On this account Nâdir regarded them favourably. The inhabitants of Dara Núr, Dara Mazár, Dara Péch, and of all the valleys opening upon the Khonar river, who, originally Kâfrs, have, for security or convenience, professed themselves Máhomedans, are in like manner called Sáfís: these speak a dialect called Kohistâní, and no other. Their situation enables them to maintain independence, and prevents much intercourse with them; whence they preserve nearly all their ancient manners and usages. In the hills, south of Bágor, in a district called Súrkh Kambar, we again find Sáfís, who are most likely converted infidels; and south of them, at Báhí, are a people called Yeghâní, who consider themselves Afghâns, but speak a peculiar dialect, which no Afghân can comprehend. At Báhí are many caves and ancient vestiges. It is the first march from Goshter, on the Jelâlabâd river, towards Bágor. I have intimated that Sáfí may be a Síáposh appellation; it however occurs to me—seeing it borne by people in all instances seceders from the Síáposh community—that it may have been conferred upon them in consequence of that secession, for Sáf signifies pure; and in sepa-

rating themselves from the impure idolaters, they would have merited from Máhomedans the distinguishing name of Sáfí, or the pure people.

It is agreed that the Síáposh place their corpses in deal boxes, and, without interring them, expose them on the summits of hills; but it is not explained whether this is a final disposition. There can be no doubt but that the usages of a people with regard to their dead are important evidences of the faith professed by them; or, if not clearly indicating it, that they may show what faith is not professed. Thus, we are not permitted to consider a race that does not burn its dead of Hindú faith; and the rule of semi-exposure, adopted by the Síáposh, has contributed, probably, to their being suspected to be a remnant of the Gebers, or followers of the reformer Zerdeshst. I had, at one time, this opinion, but could not conscientiously adhere to it; for, in no account did I ever hear the least mention of fire-worship amongst them. There is the certainty, that within the three last centuries there were people called Gebers in the Kâbal countries, particularly in Lúghmân and Bájor; also, that in the days of Baber there was a dialect called Geberí. We are also told that one of the divisions of Kâfristân was named Gebrek. But it does not follow that the people called Gebers then professed the worship of fire; they may have merely preserved the name given to their ancestors, who did so. The dialect

called Geberí is at present unknown, nor can it be decisively assigned to any one of the various dialects still spoken, although possibly due to one of them. Baber enumerates, "Arabic, Persian, Túrki, Mogolí, Hindí, Afghâní, Pashai, Paráchí, Geberí, Berekí, and Lamghâní." This list would still stand good, substituting for Geberí, Kohistâní; while it might be augmented by adding the various dialects spoken in the hill-countries encircling Bágor. Of ancient dialects or languages, known by name to the well-informed natives of Central Asia, are, it may be noted, Húnání (Greek), Híbráíní (Hebrew), Súríaní (Syriac), and Páhlaví (Páli). That in former time fire-worship existed to a certain, if limited extent in Afghânistân, is evidenced by the pyrethræ, or altars, still crowning the crests of hills at Gard-déz, at Bámíân at Séghân, and at other places. Near Bámíân is also a cavern, containing enormous quantities of human bones, apparently a common receptacle of the remains of Geber corpses. At Múrkí Khél, in the valley of Jelálabád, and under the Saféd Koh, human bones are so abundant on the soil that walls are made of them. There is every reason to suppose it a sepulchral locality of the ancient Gebers; and, as if to leave no doubt of it, coins, found in some number there, are invariably of a Geber line of princes, and have the distinguishing fire-altar on them.

It is farther agreed, that amongst the Síáposh

the females are separated from the community, and located in a house set apart for them during the periods of childbirth and menstruation. In the former event, a seclusion of forty days is considered necessary. It is possible that these observances may be in force with Gebers; but they are also adopted by certain classes of Hindús, and by other people, and are not, therefore, to be accepted as testimony to a particular faith.

On the primary subject of religion, reports and opinions are too vague and various to admit even a plausible conjecture to be made. The furious Máhomedan will not concede that they have any; while the less zealous pretend that they reverence trees, and other inanimate objects. The Hindú believes them to cherish, in their retreats, his own anomalous creed, and that they perform púja, on altars. From the testimony, however, of the Síáposh whose fate has made them captives, it is clear that they have some kind of worship, and that their deity is named Dágon. The topic is one on which they dislike to be questioned, either that they are incompetent to reply, or that amongst Máhomedans they feel delicacy in expressing their sentiments. It may be supposed that a strange medley of rites and superstitions prevails among them. While as tenacious of their religion, whatever it may be, as of their liberty in their mountain fastnesses, the Síáposh captive, without hesitation, becomes a Máhomedan, and manifests no

aversion to abandon his old faith. It need not be remarked how different would be the conduct of the most wretched Hindú on such an occasion.

It is generally supposed that chastity is not an accomplishment of the Síáposh ladies, or that a deviation from it is lightly regarded, and easily compensated. Máhomedans also insist, that their high notions of hospitality, and of the attentions due to their guests, induce the Síáposh to resign their wives to those who reside under their roofs. It is, moreover, affirmed, that marriage ceremonies are extremely simple, consisting merely of procuring two twigs, or rods, of the respective heights of the bride and bridegroom, and tying them together. They are then presented to the couple, who preserve them with much care, as long as they find it agreeable or convenient to live together. If desirous to separate, the twigs are broken, and the marriage is dissolved. Whatever degree of truth may attach to such stories, there is some reason to believe that the Síáposh, in this respect no worse than Máhomedans, do not allow their females an equal rank with themselves in society, and it is commonly credited that the weaker and fairer part of the community undergo many unusual labours, and carry on even all the duties of agriculture. Married women are distinguished from virgins by wearing a ring in the right ear.

The Síáposh are affirmed to build their houses of wood, of several stories in height; it is also said that

they are much embellished with carving. These accounts are trustworthy, as we witness that the Sáfis of Káziabád in the hills west of Lúghmân, and who have been converted, actually reside in such dwellings, and we observe a great taste for carving in the present inhabitants of Lúghmân, who always elaborately decorate the wooden framework at the entrances of their dwellings and castles. From some of the hills of Lúghmân the tall houses of the Síáposh may be distinguished on a clear day. While they are skilful as joiners and carvers, they are equally so as smiths, and are regular customers for the raw iron smelted from the sand ores of Bájor. Whenever mention is made of their drinking-cups and bowls, it is always added, that they are ornamented and embossed in a costly manner.

The testimony of Baber and of Benedict Goetz, that they are a social race, and indulge freely in wine, is amply confirmed by the general reports of the present day, and by the fact that their wine is easily procurable. All that I have seen of it was brought in skins, and so sour as to be undrinkable. It is said, however, that they have good wine, and that the better classes, in default of jars, preserve it in cisterns, hewn in the rock. Their neighbours the Nimchas, and Sáfis of Dara Núr, also make wine, and large quantities of vinegar, the latter being an article of traffic, and prized. These people also hive bees, and have many peculiar customs, which are, probably, those of the Síáposh. The natives of

Nadjîl fatten capons, which, it may be gleaned from Baber, the people of Nijrow did in his time.

Amongst the singularities imputed by the Máhomedans to the Síáposh, is their objection to sit on the ground, or to take their repasts on it, and the custom they have of using chairs or stools. That such conveniences are in vogue seems sanctioned by the presence of a low chair in the houses of the poor throughout Lúghmân, and likewise in the houses of the Kogíánís, an old tribe dwelling about Gandamak, and thence to the Saféd Koh, and once more extensively spread over the country. It is possible the custom of sitting in chairs was formerly general in the valleys of Lúghmân and Jelálabád.

They are said to shave the hair of their heads, allowing only a tuft to remain on the crown. In this they assimilate, indeed, to Hindús; but there are also many Máhomedan tribes that do the same. Chiefs, and sons of chiefs, insert their tufts in leathern rings, a token by which, it is believed, they may be distinguished.

War is said to be determined upon in a general council of the chiefs and elders, when a cow is sacrificed, and the meat distributed to all present. The ratification of a truce, or treaty, is signalized by kissing the nipples of their antagonists, and, as usual in all matters of ceremony, is solemnized by a feast. They are said to eat raw meat, or rather meat slightly cooked. The Máhomedan, whose viands must

be overcooked, considers it a proof of barbarism. If true, it would be only a matter of taste in cookery.

The arms of the Síáposh are bows and arrows—the latter thought to be poisoned,—with long knives and daggers. With the bow they are very expert. Those contiguous to the Máhomedans are gradually providing themselves with fire-arms, and procuring coarse cotton cloths and lúnghís, are assimilating also in dress to their neighbours.

The Máhomedans in their wars and forays are glad to secure the persons of the Síáposh; the latter are said almost invariably to slaughter the Máhomedans. In these days the múllas, or priests of Lúghmân, occasionally preach a crusade against the infidels, and in small bands venture on the limits of their lands. Success does not usually tempt a frequent renewal of such expeditions; while they are not generally countenanced, as they lead to severe retaliation. With the Shínwâris of Shígal on the river of Khonar, and with the Sáfís of Dara Péch, the Síáposh are on very hostile terms; with the Tâjiks of Chághanserái they are on a good understanding, exacting karaj, or tribute, but granting in return, perfect security. The Tâjiks, on their part, if they have notice of an intended foray by the Shínwâris, will inform the Síáposh, whether actuated by fear or inclination. With the natives of Chitrâl, it is believed, they are on a friendly footing; and it is related, that they respect heralds and car-

riers of letters, who pass unmolested through them, having their letters in a bag suspended from the top of a pole, with a wreath of flowers attached to it.

If they have no direct trade with their neighbours on the plains, they have an indirect and trifling one through the medium of the neutral Nimchas, by which they supply themselves with salt, coarse lúnhís, and cotton fabrics, knives, needles, fire-arms, gunpowder, &c., giving in exchange dried fruits, honey, vinegar, wine, &c. From such of their neighbours, who from weakness are compelled to give them karaj, they exact some of the above articles, with earthen jars, which are desirable to them. They formerly collected karaj from many of the towns and villages of Lúghmân, and even now have not entirely desisted. They choose the time when the rivers are swollen, and when the inhabitants of one part cannot cross to the assistance of those in another. They then descend in large bodies; and it is usual to comply with their demands, which are not very serious, to get rid of them. They regulate their conduct according to their reception, and if unopposed employ no violence. Chahár Bâgh of Lúghmân was constantly exposed to their visits, until it was given to Hâjí Khân, as a portion of his jághír. He deemed it disgraceful to permit such exactions, and by locating in the town a competent garrison prevented them.

Some few years since a Geber of Yezd, named

Shâhriâr, visited Kâbal, and went in pilgrimage to Lâlander, where, agreeably to tradition, Rústam is believed to have been slain. He thence proceeded to Kâfristân, under the conviction that the Kâfrs were Gebers. Malek Osmân, the chief of Nadjíl, to whom he carried letters from Kâbal, expedited him into the country, and enjoined him, for some reason, to return by the same route as that by which he entered. Shâhriâr neglected this advice, and coming back was intercepted, and slain by a Máhomedan party from Káziábád. Previous to this affair, there had been a feud of old standing between the Tájiks of Nadjíl and the Sáfís of Káziábád, which for some time had been suffered to lie dormant. On this occasion the Sáfís fancied that if they could contrive to kill this Geber, the guest of Malek Osmân, the odium would fall upon the malek's head. They succeeded only in part. The malek indignantly resented the murder of Shâhriâr: the old feud was revived, and continues in full force.

Amongst the many people I have discoursed with who pretended to have had intercourse with, or to have visited the Síáposh, I know but one to whose narrative I felt inclined to give any confidence. This was one Malek Mannír, who had been in the employ of Akram Khân, a son of the Sirdár Máhomed Azem Khân, and was stationed in Khonar, after the seizure, by the Sirdár of the famous Saiyad Najím. Malek Mannír's

account I have heard repeated at intervals of two and three years between, without variation. It does not contain so much exaggeration as we usually hear, and as his statements on other matters connected with that part of the country I have always found to be correct, it may be worthy of a place here. The malek, a sensible and observant, was not a literate person, and I give his narration in the unconnected manner in which I received it. "In company with Malek Sir Ballend of Chághansaráí, I went to the Kâfirtown of Kattár. Kâfrs call Máhomedans Odâl, and say they have driven them to the hills, usurping the plains, and eating their rice. The men wear tufts of long hair on the crowns of their shaven heads. Married women wear a ring in the right ear. Corpses are placed in deal boxes, and exposed on a hill. Poles are placed on the boxes, and smaller sticks are made to cross them, if the deceased have slain Máhomedans; the number of cross sticks denoting that of Máhomedans slain by the parties when living. The houses of the Kâfrs are five or six stories in height, and the men are fond of sitting on the tops of them, singing and drinking wine. Adjacent to the town of Kattár was a house set apart for the accommodation of their females during menstruation and childbirth, who under such circumstances are not allowed to remain at their homes. When I asked if they believed in a future state, they laughed, and asked, in turn, in their own

language ‘Tút múj, bút jâ’? literally, ‘Father dead, rice eat?’ In reply to another question, they said their God was at Kâbal, and paid them a visit once a-year on a horse. Asking if they had seen their God, they said they had not; and then asking how they knew that he came, I was answered that their priest, or guardian of the idol, told them so. I was conducted, without any reserve, to the bhút khâna, (house of the idol). At the door was seated a very aged man, the guardian. He rose and opened it. I was led through three or four apartments filled with articles of raiment, swords, shields, knives, &c., the consecrated spoils of Máhomedans. From them I passed into the chamber of the idol, an erect image of black or dark-coloured stone, of the ordinary size of a man. The bad odour proceeding from the apartments filled with the raiments was such, that I could not stay long. Incredulous as to a future state, the Kâfrs believe that sins are visited by temporal calamities; amongst which they reckon drought, pestilence, hail, &c. On the return of a party from a dár-ra, or foray upon Máhomedans, such as have slain an enemy brandish in triumph over their heads sticks or poles, called shánt, with the clothes of their victims on them. The less fortunate hold their poles behind them. The maidens of the villages issue forth to meet them, their bosoms filled with walnuts and dried fruits, with which the victors are permitted to retire, while

those who have brought no trophy have their faces pelted with ashes and cow-dung. A feast is prepared, and cows are slain; the meat is cut into slices, and parboiled in a large vessel. The lucky individuals receive shares in proportion to the number of Máhomedans they have slain, the others receive single shares, over the shoulders of the person presiding at the feast, and who distributes the contents of the vessels. Broth is unused by the Kâfrs, who say it produces flatulency. Besides meat, they feed largely on cheese. The Kâfrs are very social and hospitable. We had brought as presents to Malek Udúr salt and lúnghís, and when we departed a collection of dried fruits was made from every house in the town for us."

As to the possibility of opening a communication, and establishing an intercourse with the Síáposh, it is allowed by respectable Máhomedans, that there would be no difficulty, provided the capture and conversion of them were discontinued. The late Saiyad Najím of Khonar proved that it was easy to make them peaceable neighbours, and to be respected by them, even although he had waged wars against them. Neither is his instance a solitary one. When Shâh Máhmúd, of Kábal, released the imprisoned princes of his family, and appointed them to offices and to governments, one of them, to whom Lúghmân was given, became on very good terms with the neighbouring Síáposh. He wished to have erected a fortress at some point

within their frontiers, and they acquiesced. The Vazír Fatí Khân grew jealous of the prince, and of his intentions, and deprived him of the province. Some eight or nine years since the late Amír Máhoméd Khân, brother to Dost Máhoméd Khân, being in Lúghmân, a deputation of the Síáposh waited upon him, under the guidance of Malek Osmân of Nadjíl. They represented to the sirdár that some Síáposh chief, their enemy, had great wealth, and proffered, that if the sirdár would attack him, they would serve as guides, and otherwise assist him. They were treated civilly, but the wary Amír Máhoméd Khân distrusted them.

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CHAPTER XII.

Bállá Hissár.—Bazárs.—Baber's Tomb.—Killa Kází.—Maidân.—Killa Dúrání.—Náib Gúl Máhoméd.—Hazára Castle.—Arrival at Ghazní.—Reception by Hájí Khân.—Opinion of coffee.—Reputation of Hájí Khân.—Armies of Kândahár and of Kâbal.—Ravages of cholera.—Introduction to Dost Máhoméd Khân.—His plain attire.—Peace Concluded.—Conversation with Hájí Khân.—Altercation between Dost Máhoméd Khân and Hájí Khân.—The Army marches from Ghazní.—Dost Máhoméd Khân.—Habíb Ulah Khân—Loses power—Is seized by his uncles.—Invitations to Dost Máhoméd Khân.—Kâbal given to Súltán Máhoméd Khân.—Súltán Máhoméd Khân evacuates Kâbal.—Distribution of the country.—Extent of Kâbal.—Revenue.—Military force.—Artillery.—Good Government of Dost Máhoméd Khân.—His talents as a chief.—Ghazní.—How acquired by Dost Máhoméd Khân.—Is given to Amír Máhoméd Khân.—Revenue.—Character of Amír Máhoméd Khân—His Avarice—His political severity—Unfortunate as a commander.

WE stayed but two or three days in the neighbourhood of Kâbal, the severe mortality discouraging a longer sojourn in a spot otherwise so delightful. On our departure, however, we entered the Bállá Hissár by the Derwâza Shâh Shéhid; and I little imagined that the Armenian quarter into which it leads would, at a future time, become for years my settled place of abode.

cholera. My companion, the Patán, was very fond of representing himself a Mír, or Saiyad, on our journey, and on this occasion assumed the character of a descendant of the Prophet, in virtue of which he urged the dying man to repeat his kalma, or profession of faith, which he did, and was applauded accordingly. His attendants had purchased a sheep as a kairát, or offering, and we benefited by the act of piety, as we took our dinner with them. They wept over their expiring master, and asserted that he was of a respectable family. We halted for the night at a castle held by Hazáras; who, making no objection to afford us shelter, were unwilling to provide us with supper, which we procured at an adjacent Afghân castle, and then returned. Two or three Lohánís also passed the night with us, and they found the owners of the castle no more hospitably inclined than we had; on which they upbraided them in particular, and their entire race in general, as being infidels, and contrasted the reception they experienced in Loghar, from which it seemed they had just come, with the treatment they now met with. Their rebukes induced the Hazáras to produce milk, which had before been refused; and, as if desirous to wipe off the charge of inhospitality, they added a dish of apricots. The next morning we reached Ghazní, where we found the army encamped on the plain below the town, and we went at once to the tent of Hâjí Khân,

as we had been recommended to do on leaving Kábal.

Our reception by the khân proved that, if intruders, we were not unwelcome ones ; and he immediately signified his wish that I should avail myself of his own tent, so long as I might remain in camp. Some five or six persons, two of them his brothers, were sitting with him, and their conversation naturally enough turned upon Feringhís. The khân much praised their universal knowledge, and equity, and his dicta were apparently received by his auditors with assent. One of these put the question, whether it had not been prophesied in the Korân that the Nassáras, or Christians, were to dominate over the Máhomedan world ? The khân replied it was ; but it was not certain what Christians were intended, the English or the Russians. The khân promised to introduce me to Dost Máhomed Khân ; and a repast was served ; after which the kálíún, or chillam, was put before him, and coffee brought in, made by his brother, Hâjí Ahmed Khân. I had not seen this beverage before west of the Indus, and said so ; when I learned that Hâjí Ahmed, who had been to Mecca, had acquired a taste for it amongst the Arabs, and that he prided himself upon his skill in preparing it. A dissertation on coffee followed, and a Persian distich was cited, by no means in its favour, as it imputed to it qualities not likely to recommend it to Máhomedans, the husbands of many wives.

After some more conversation, the party broke up, and the khân stretched himself out to repose. As I was unaccustomed to such indulgence, I strolled, with my Patán, about the camp and the environs of Ghazní.

There was no person, not excepting the sirdár, at this time in Afghânistân whose reputation stood higher with the multitude than did that of Hâjî Khân. He was allowed to be a gallant soldier, was considered a firm friend, and, singularly enough, had a character for veracity. I shall not, in this place, enter upon his history, with which I afterwards became better acquainted, as I shall have occasion at a future time to advert to it. It may suffice to observe, that I had no means to appreciate his real character, and freely gave him credit for the virtues which common report attributed to him.

The Kândahár army was now encamped a few miles from Ghazní, and a farther advance would necessarily lead to a conflict. It was computed to be eleven thousand strong, while that of Dost Máhomed Khân was scarcely reckoned to exceed six thousand men, yet no apprehensions were entertained in the Ghazní camp, as the advantages in the efficiency of the troops and the conduct of the leaders, were entirely on the Kâbal side ; while it was conjectured that, in the event of collision, the Kândahár force would be disabled by defection. With such impressions, all was confidence, and

the soldiery were occupied with amusements as though no enemy had been at hand.

The cholera, however, had travelled on with the army from Kâbal, and was causing serious loss, both amongst the forces and the inhabitants of Ghazní. My curiosity led me to visit the tomb of the celebrated Súltân Máhomed; and in the courts and gardens belonging to it was displayed a revolting spectacle of disease and misery. Crowds of poor wretches had crawled into them, anxious, possibly, to resign their mortal breath in the sacred spot,—the dying were confounded with the dead,—and almost all were in a state of nudity; either that the miserable sufferers had cast off their own garments, or, as likely, that amongst their fellow men there had been found those base enough to profit by their forlorn state, and to despoil them. Ghazní has numerous zíárats, or shrines, and all of them were now so many charnel-houses.

Hâjí Khân kept his word, and introduced me to Dost Máhomed Khân, a chief of whom I had heard all people speak so favourably, both in and out of his dominions, that I should have regretted to have missed the opportunity of seeing him. He was seated in a very small tent, crowded with people. I had difficulty to push my way through them, but when near him, he gave me his hand and told me to sit down. He was distinguished from his courtiers by his very plain dress of white linen, and at this period was remarkably spare. He smiled and

asked what language he should speak; and being told I could not converse in Pashto or Persian, he spoke in those languages to those near him, and they repeated to me what he said in Hindústání; for I found, that although he well understood that dialect, it was hardly thought becoming in a Dúrání Sirdár to hold communications in it. His questions were few and unimportant, and he had clearly so much business on hand, that he had no time for lengthened conversation. My audience was, therefore, brief, and when I rose to leave he desired Hâjí Khân to bring me to him again when he should be less engaged. The plain attire of Dost Máhoméd Khân singularly contrasted with the gay dresses of the chiefs sitting about him; and behind him stood a young man, magnificently clad, who, I was told, was Habíb Ulah Khân, his nephew. The chiefs were very civil to me, and expressed themselves as familiarly as if we had been old acquaintance.

I had been two or three days in the camp, when suddenly a general beating of drums, and flourishes of martial music, announced that the differences between Dost Máhoméd Khân and his rival brothers of Kándahár, had been arranged without an appeal to arms. Visits were exchanged between the principal leaders of either army, and Hâjí Khân embraced his elder brother, Gúl Máhoméd Khân, who but a short time before he ran the chance of encountering as an opponent in the field

of battle. We were desirous to have accompanied the Kândahár army on its return, but it decamped so precipitately that it was equally impossible to join it or to overtake it, had we followed.

Hâjî Khân during my stay with him had one morning a private conversation with me, of which I thought little at the time, but have often recalled to memory since, in connexion with his subsequent extraordinary career. He stated, that he had no reason to complain of Dost Máhoméd Khân, yet he had many enemies; and he should be well satisfied if the artillery were under the direction of a person in his interest, and of course he wished me to undertake the charge, promising to induce Dost Máhoméd Khân to give it to me. His remarks were so pointed that I smiled, and asked him whether he intended that I should consider myself in his service or that of Dost Máhoméd Khân. He paused for a moment, and replied, in that of the Sirdar. I, however, explained to him that I had no desire to engage in the service of any one, and only wished to make the best of my way to Persia. He was not quite satisfied, nor altogether disposed to abandon his idea; and having done with me, called my Patân on the one side, and directed him to represent the great advantages which would attend my acceptance of the charge.

As the question of service had been bruited, I less courted a second interview with Dost Máhoméd Khân, particularly as the cholera had carried

off one Mír Abdúl Rehmân, the sirdâr's chief of artillery, and I had been told that he had said, when the loss was reported to him, that my arrival was a lucky accident. Hâjî Khân, however, had spoken to him on the subject, and the sirdâr, while willing to have made overtures himself, it seemed was not so pleased to attend to the directions of his vazír,—for so the khân considered himself,—and I heard that many high words passed, the khân professing to be indignant that his counsels should be slighted. He then attacked Dost Máhoméd Khân on another point, and insisted that it behoved him to give me a horse, and a present of money to enable me to continue my journey to the west. The sirdâr was no more consenting to the one proposition than to the other, and Hâjî Khân admonished him that one of the duties of his station was to show liberality to all strangers, especially to Ferínghís, that they might go satisfied from his country, and give him a good name.

The khân informed me, when he returned to his tent in the evening, what had passed between him and the sirdâr, and assured me, in return to my protestations that I needed nothing, that he would again bring the matter forward in the morning. By daybreak an uproar was manifest in the direction of Dost Máhoméd Khân's tents, and people came, telling us that the sirdâr had struck his tents and was about to march. The khân was surprised, and remarking, "Does he march without

informing me?" went hastily to commune with his chief, having given orders to his attendants to make ready for marching. In the confusion which arose, I and my Patán went towards the town; and presently the plain was covered with bodies of horse, and strings of laden animals, moving, as we found, upon the Súlímân Khél province of Zúrmat.

Dost Máhoméd Khan was emphatically designated by his brother, the Vazír Fatí Khân, as one of the swords of Khorasân, the other being Shír Dil Khân, a former shirdár of Kándahár; and these two, it is said, were the only ones of the vazír's many brothers in whose favour he so far dispensed with etiquette as to permit them to be seated in his presence. It is not my intention to narrate the particulars of the acquisition of Kábal by Dost Máhoméd Khân. It may, however, be generally observed, that on the demise of the Sirdár Máhoméd Azem Khân the authority here devolved upon his son, Habíb Ulah Khân, together with considerable treasures. The incapacity for government of this youth, rash, headstrong, profuse, and dissipated, was soon evident; and his misconduct invited the attempts of his ambitious uncles to supplant him. Dost Máhoméd Khân, in possession of Ghazní, and in charge of the Kohistân of Kábal, was first in the field, but Habíb Ulah, who was personally extremely brave, was enabled, by means of his treasure, to repel repeated attacks. Still he was much pressed; when the Sirdárs of Kándahár and Pesháwer, fear-

ful that Dost Máhomed Khân might prevail, and anxious to participate in the spoil of their nephew, marched, avowedly to assist him, and reached Kâbal. From this time a series of most extraordinary events occurred: the authority of the son of Máhomed Azem Khân had virtually ceased, and the only question remaining to be decided was as to the appropriation of his wealth and power. The Kândahár and Pesháwer Sirdárs in coalition had possession of Kâbal, Dost Máhomed Khân standing alone, and opposed to them. He, who had once been the assailant upon Habíb Ulah Khân, now asserted himself his defender, and a strange succession of skirmishes, negotiations, truces, perjuries, &c. followed. The state of anarchy had, nevertheless, endured so long that thinking people began to reflect it was necessary some efforts should be made to bring it to a termination, and the Sirdárs of Kândahár contributed to bring about a crisis by perfidiously seizing, first the person of their nephew, and then his treasures. It may have been their design to have retained Kâbal, but their tyranny was so excessive that the people no longer hesitated to form leagues for their expulsion. The attention of most men was turned upon Dost Máhomed Khân, as a fit instrument to relieve the country, and the Kazilbáshes, in particular, opened a communication with him,—then a fugitive in the Kohistân,—and urged him to renew his efforts; of course assuring him of their assistance. Hâjî Khân,

in the service of the Kândahár Sirdárs, perceiving the turn affairs were taking, also secretly allied himself with the Kohistân chief, as did the Nawâb Jâbar Khân, with many other leading men of the city, and of the country at large. Dost Máhoméd Khân was soon again in arms, and as soon approached Kâbal. The combined sirdárs, aware of the precarious tenure of their sway, and of the confederacy against them, thought fit to yield to the storm rather than to brave its fury, and therefore entered into fresh arrangements, by which they left Kâbal in charge of Súltân Máhoméd Khân, one of the Pesháwer Sirdárs. The Kândahár Sirdárs retired with their spoils. The claims of Hábib Ulah Khân were forgotten by all parties, and it was still hoped to exclude Dost Máhoméd Khân from Kâbal. Súltân Máhoméd Khân governed Kâbal for about a year without gaining the good opinion of any one, and as he discouraged the Kazilbâsh interest, that faction still inclined to Dost Máhoméd Khân. The latter chief, availing himself of a favourable opportunity, suddenly invested his half-brother in the Bálla Hissár, or citadel. The means of defence were inadequate, and mediation was accepted; the result of which was that Súltân Máhoméd Khân retired to Pesháwer. Dost Máhoméd Khân, engaging to remit him annually the sum of one lákh of rupees, became master of Kâbal and its dependencies.

A new distribution was the consequence of this

sirdár's elevation. Ghazní, with its districts, was confirmed to Amír Máhomed Khân; the Ghiljí districts east of Kábal, and in Lúghmân, were made over to the Nawáb Jabár Khân; and Bámíân was assigned to Hâjí Khân. Hábib Ulah Khân was deemed worthy of notice, and was allowed to retain one thousand horse in pay, while Ghorband was given to him, in jághír. Dost Máhomed Khan had more claimants on his generosity than it was in his power to satisfy, and from the first was circumscribed in his finances. Kábal is but a small country, extending westward to Maidân; beyond which the province of Ghazní commences, and eastward to the kotal, or pass of Jigdillak, the frontier of Jelálabád. To the north it extends to the base of the Hindú Kosh, a distance of forty to fifty miles, while to the south it can scarcely be said to extend twenty miles, there being no places of any consequence in that direction.

The revenue enjoyed by Dost Máhomed Khân, including that of Ghazní, Lúghmân, &c., was estimated at fourteen lákhs of rupees, and strenuous efforts were making to increase it, especially by enforcing tribute from the neighbouring rude tribes, who, for a long time profiting by the confusion reigning in the country, had withheld payment. Dost Máhomed Khân had already coerced the Jájí and Túrí tribes of Khúram, and of Kost, and was preparing to reduce the Súlímân Khél tribes of Zúrmat. His brother, Amír Máhomed Khân, col-

lects revenue from the Hâzâras of Bísút; and it is contemplated to reduce to submission the Sáfi tribes of Taghow.

Of the military force of the country, or of such portion of it as on ordinary occasions can be brought into the field, an idea may be formed by what has been noted of the army collected at Ghazní. It was computed to consist of six thousand men, while the Nawâb Jabâr Khân, with seven hundred men, was stationed at Jelâlabâd, and other bodies were necessarily dispersed over the country. The Nawab Máhoméd Zeman Khan, as an ally of Dost Máhoméd Khan, was, indeed, in the camp, but had brought only his specially retained troops; and on this occasion it was plain that Dost Máhoméd Khân had made no extraordinary efforts, as the íljârí, or militia of the country, was not called upon to serve.

He had about twelve pieces of artillery with him, which were much better looked after and provided than those of Kândahár; three or four other pieces are with his brother in Ghazní, and the Nawâb Máhoméd Zemân Khân has some half a dozen more, which I passed at Bállabâgh, and which he did not carry with him. It is also probable there were other pieces at Kâbal.

The assumption of authority by Dost Máhoméd Khân has been favourable to the prosperity of Kabâl, which, after so long a period of commotion, required a calm. It is generally supposed that he

will yet play a considerable part in the affairs of Khorasân.

He is beloved by all classes of his subjects, and the Hindú fearlessly approaches him in his rides, and addresses him with the certainty of being attended to. He administers justice with impartiality, and has proved that the lawless habits of the Afghân are to be controlled. He is very attentive to his military; and, conscious how much depends upon the efficiency of his troops, is very particular as to their composition. His circumscribed funds and resources hardly permit him to be regular in his payments, yet his soldiers have the satisfaction to know that he neither hoards nor wastes their pay in idle expenses.

Dost Máhoméd Khân has distinguished himself, on various occasions, by acts of personal intrepidity, and has proved himself an able commander, yet he is equally well skilled in stratagem and polity, and only employs the sword when other means fail. He is remarkably plain in attire, and would be scarcely noticed in darbár but for his seat. His white linen raiment afforded a strange contrast to the gaudy exhibition of some of his chiefs, especially of the young Habíb Ulah Khân, who glitters with gold. In my audience of him in the camp at Ghazní, I should not have conjectured him a man of ability, either from his conversation or from his appearance; but it becomes necessary to subscribe

to the general impression ; and the conviction of his talent for government will be excited at every step through his country. A stranger must be cautious in estimating the character of a Dúrání from his appearance merely ; a slight observer, like myself, would not discover in Dost Máhoméd Khân the gallant warrior and shrewd politician ; still less, on looking at the slow pacing, coarse-featured Hájí Khân, would he recognize the active and enterprising officer, which he must be believed to be, unless we discredit the testimony of every one.

Of Dost Máhoméd Khân's personal views there can be little known, as he is too prudent to divulge them, but the unpopularity of his brothers would make it easy for him to become the sole authority in Khorasân. I have heard that he is not inimical to the restoration of the King Sújah al Múlkh, and it is a common saying with Afghâns, " How happy we should be if Shâh Sújah were Pádshâh, and Dost Máhoméd Vazír."

The king, it is known, has a sister of Dost Máhoméd Khân in his háram, but how he became possessed of her is differently related. Some say, he heard that she was a fine woman, and forcibly seized her ; others, that she was given to him with the due consent of all parties. Dost Máhoméd Khân, and his brother at Ghazní, are supposed by some to be Shías, as their mother is of that persuasion. They do not, however, profess to be so to

their Súi subjects, although possibly allowing the Shía part of the community to indulge in a belief flattering to them.

The principality of Ghazní is held by Amír Máhoméd Khân, full brother of Dost Máhoméd Khân, and was acquired by the latter some years since from Kadam Khân, a governor on behalf of Shâh Máhmúd. Dost Máhoméd Khân, it is said, called the unfortunate governor to a conference at the town gate, shot him, and entered the place. He was allowed to retain his acquisition; and attending his interests in other quarters, consigned it to the charge of his brother. In the many vicissitudes which subsequently befel him, Ghazní, more than once, became a place of refuge to him, and he always contrived to preserve it; and on finally becoming master of Kâbal, he made it entirely over to his brother, who had been eminently useful in advancing his views, and was entitled to so much consideration.

Dependent upon Ghazní are the districts of Nání, Oba, Kárabâgh, and Mokar, on the road to Kândahár, and the province of Wardak on the road to Kâbal, with Náwar to the north of this line, and Shilgar, with Logar, to the south-east and east. Under the kings the revenue is said to have been fixed at two lákhs of rupees, but Amír Máhoméd Khân realizes much more, besides obtaining eighty thousand rupees from Wardak, and forty thousand

rupees from Logar, not included, I believe, in the estimate of two lákhs.

This sirdár is reported as exercising zillam, or tyranny; yet, although he is severe and rapacious, and governs his country with a strong steady hand, he is not altogether unpopular, either with his subjects or his soldiery. The former know that he will have his dues, and that they must live in peace with each other, but they are also certain that he will not beyond this molest them, and above all that he will not vexatiously annoy them. The soldiery are conscious that he requires strict obedience, and that they should be always ready for his service, but then they are secure of their pay. He is continually intent upon enriching and strengthening himself, but unwisely, in promoting his own selfish projects, tends to impoverish his subjects; for, shrewd as he is, he has not the sense to know that the best strength of a ruler is the prosperity of those he governs. But for such reasons, his administrative talents would command every commendation, and his well-filled stores and magazines might be looked upon with great complacency. As governor of Ghazní he has put down every chief within his jurisdiction whom he deemed likely, from character or command of resources, to offer opposition to his measures; some even he has put to death, and on that account has incurred odium. Yet, in the advance of the Kándahár army upon Ghazní

no one thought of joining it, and at Nání the Hazára owners of a castle ventured to defend it, and slew several of the invaders. Fúr Dil Khân, moreover, drew off his men, remarking, that he could not afford to lose troops before castles, as he should want them in the approaching battle.

Amír Máhomed Khân, in political matters, identifies himself with his brother Dost Máhomed Khân, who reposes confidence in him, which he dares not place upon any other person. Neither does the Kâbal chief object to his brother's advancing his own particular views, aware that he has no designs hostile to himself.

As a commander, Amír Máhomed Khân, while allowed to be prudent, and not wanting in personal valour, is not esteemed a very fortunate one, which may perhaps be owing to his astonishing corpulency, which unfits him for any great activity. The bustling state of affairs has often brought him into action, particularly in the Kohistân of Kâbal; and the rebels there, when they heard that the unwieldy Sirdár was sent against them, would rejoice, for they concluded that he would certainly be beaten. It may be remarked, that while he possesses absolute power at Ghazní, it is understood that he holds it under his brother.

CHAPTER XIII.

Dangers of the road. — Lohání khairí. — Violence of the Ghiljís. — Deliberations on our route. — Tower. — Substitute for chillam. — Escape detection. — Lohání party. — Lake Abistáda. — Lohání khairí. — Cautious progress. — My Patán threatens to leave me. — Adventure with shepherd youths. — Represented to be a Sháh-zâda. — Khân Terik — His sons. — Our entertainment. — The Khân's conversation — His Castle. — Reception by Bakhtíáris. — Rude Afgháns. — Passage of hills. — Recognition by a Lohání. — Tarnak river. — Sadú Zai Khân. — Difficulty to procure food. — Tarnak water. — Column Tírandâz. — Killa Azem. — Presumption of my Patán — His dilemma. — Arrival at Kándahár.

OUR journey from Kâbal to Ghazní had been one wherein little danger was to be apprehended, and we now understood that we might probably pass on without interruption as far as Mokar, the limit of Amír Máhomed Khân's rule, but that beyond it we ought not to expect that the independent Ghiljís would allow us to traverse their country without putting us to some inconvenience. We determined, however, to proceed at once, without waiting an indefinite period for companions, and relied on our good fortune and dexterity to carry us through the much-dreaded Thokís. We had supplied ourselves, when passing through the bazar at Kâbal, with barraks or cloaks of camel-hair, and

our principal fear was that they might be taken from us, which would have reduced us to great distress, as we needed them by night, when the cold was severe.

We started from Ghazní, and a long march brought us to Kárabágh, where we left the road, and gained a Lohání khairí, or assemblage of tents. There was a small Patán mud hamlet adjacent, near which the people of the khairí were collected, some smoking, and others amusing themselves in a kind of Pyrrhic-dance, describing a large circle, and brandishing their swords. The evening time of prayer arrived, and the company retired to the masjít, leaving me alone with the Patáns of the hamlet, one of whom, who had just joined, asked the others who I was; and being told that I was a Feringhí, and travelling for “sél,” or amusement, he inquired what sél there could be in a country where there was not a tree, — and taking up stones, he cried to me “Lár, lár!” or, be off. The others imitated him; and I was instantly surrounded by the ruffians, who shouted loudly, while each held a stone within his hand; one of them with a short thick stick, seized me by the throat, and directed a blow at my head. Aware of my danger, and that the stroke, if given, would have been the signal for a volley of stones, I made extraordinary efforts and stopped it with my hand, and afterwards held the fellow’s arm so firmly that

he had to struggle for its release. At this moment a Lohání, who descried my peril, came from the khairí, and taking me by the hand, led me away. In the morning I was so disgusted with the evening's adventure that I hesitated as to what course to adopt, and whether to return to Ghazní, or to throw myself into the Hazára country, and endeavour to pass by representing ourselves as pilgrims to Meshed. The impracticability of the high road was asserted by all we spoke to; indeed, the day before we had met persons returning from MOKAR, having been first rifled. Robbery, if a necessary evil, would be to us a grievous one; but the disposition to violence was a new feature in the savage character, which I had no inclination to encounter. Our Lohání friends pointed out a road through what they called their own, or the Lohání country, by which they usually travelled to Kândahár, and which was considerably to the left, or south of the high road. My Patán, who disapproved of the Hazára route from his religious prejudices, recommended us to trust to God, and to proceed by the indicated road, and I yielded to his counsel without being certain that I was acting wisely.

Again in motion, we crossed a most sterile and desolate tract, in which we fell in with a few huts, in the last of which we saw a Hindú, who was obliged to crawl into his house, the door not being large enough to admit him otherwise. We

procured some cakes of bread at a Lohání khairí; and after having been the whole day on foot, we reached at night, after crossing a small salt-water stream, a husbandman's solitary tower, standing in the midst of a patch of cultivated land. We found it occupied by a Ghiljí, and we proposed to stay the night, making use of some hay near at hand for our beds. There was a village distant about two miles, under a low range of hill, to which the Ghiljí suggested we should repair; but we objected that we were weary. He gave us a cake of bread, which was divided. This poor man had no chillam, and as a substitute had made two holes in the ground, connecting them with a hollow reed: the tobacco he placed at the one end, and having lighted it, he filled his mouth with water, and lying flat upon the ground, inhaled the smoke. I attempted to do the same, but not knowing how to manage the water, I was nearly choked, and spirted the contents of my mouth over the machine. The old Afghân was very wroth, and reproached me for want of manners. It was well, perhaps, he did not know that I was a Feringhí and infidel.

The next day, in our progress over the wild country, we met a shepherd lad, who directed us to his khairí, a long distance from our road, but where we went, in the hopes of obtaining our morning's meal. We found our pastoral friend had overrated the hospitality of his tribe, and we

were in bad temper, having wandered unprofitably so far from our path. We passed for some time amongst low rounded hills and elevations, and at length reached a spot where was a stone-built house, of one apartment, and a plot of cultivated land. Here were several men, besides the master of the house; one of them noticed my pantaloons, which were rather tight fitting, and said they were like the Feringhí dress, but nothing farther passed. When they were gone, the good old man who lived here, and who was a múlla, said he knew all the time that I was a Feringhí, but said nothing, as the men were all bad in his country, and might have done me harm. We regained the high road, and in course of time fell in with a small party of Lohánís, halting for the mid-day in a place where there was no shade or shelter of any kind, but such as they contrived to make by suspending their lúnghís and garments on poles. They had two or three camels; and near there were two holes, with a little water in them. We partook of the Lohánís' fare, consisting of bread steeped in roghan, and afterwards reposed; but although covered with my barrak I was nearly broiled by the excessive heat. We started with the Lohánís towards evening, not only because they were following our road; but that they invited us to pass the night at their khairí. About sunset we arrived at the lake Abistáda, extending as far as the

eye could reach to the south. I left the party, intending to slake my thirst in its waters, and was mortified to find them salt. The lake was filled with red-legged white fowl, and did not appear deep for a great distance from its margin, as they were clearly standing in it. In rejoining the party I had to run a little to avoid being intercepted by two or three fellows who, observing my movements, endeavoured to cut me off. North of the lake was the Lohání khairí, which was a large one of many tents. It chanced that the night was one of festival, or feast, and the males of the khairí sat down to a common supper. I did not join them, having been provided with a tent, but was so bountifully supplied with their good fare that I was compelled to observe they were too generous, when I was told that I should need what I could not then eat, for the morrow.

On leaving this khairí we came upon a cultivated plain, on which the harvest was collecting. There were several Ghiljí villages on our right, and many individuals were dispersed about, employed in the labours of the field. We avoided these as well as we could, but not without being twice or thrice hailed, when the Patán went forward and communed, while I sat on the ground until he returned,—both of us judging it better I should keep from observation. By dodging about the fields we much increased the length of our road; but it was necessary, as the Ghiljís are so

accustomed to rapine, that we could not otherwise have escaped. About this time I chanced, in conversation with the Patán, to use an English exclamation, which he conjectured to be a term of abuse, and he threatened to leave me. I coolly went on, and told him he was at liberty to do as he pleased, and shortly after he came up, and, expressing himself in fair language, suffered the affair to drop. This man was certainly of use, but I felt how much I was at his mercy, which he on this occasion seemed willing to let me know. I did not believe he intended to quit me, but suspect he wanted an apology for what he considered abuse, which I did not think fit to make, as he was in error.

Our course led to a few mulberry trees, shading a spring of water at the foot of a low range of hills, or rather elevations, which divided the country we had traversed, belonging to the Thokís, under Sháhádín Khân, from that of the Terikí Ghiljís under Khân Terik. Halting here during the heat of the day, towards the afternoon we entered the range, and were well in it when we passed two shepherd youths, sitting upon the summit of a small hill overlooking the road. They were playing on their pipes of reed, and looked like innocence itself. They asked a few questions, and the Patán answered them, saying, also, that we were Saiyads. We passed on, but had not gone far when we heard a shouting, and looking behind, beheld the two

youths running after us with long poles, and their arms extended like wings. They hallooed and called upon us to stop, swearing we were not Saiyads. As they neared us we picked up stones, and succeeded in moderating their impetuosity, and, by alternately walking briskly and turning to keep them at a due distance, we contrived to make good way. Our chance of escaping plunder now depended upon clearing the hills without meeting other persons, who might join the youths, and we fortunately did so. As soon as we gained the level plain they stood still, and finding they could get nothing else, asked for the Saiyad's blessing. The Patán held up his hands, as they, now distant, did theirs, and charitably consigned them to Dúzak and perdition.

The plain we were now in was of large extent, and bounded in front by a range of high hills. Many fixed villages were scattered on its surface, and there was a good deal of cultivation. We made for a black tent, where we were civilly received, and my Patán had the effrontery to tell the simple owner that I was a Shâhzâda, or Zadú Zai prince. He asked, why, in that case, I ventured to Kândahár; and the Patân said that I was poor, and the sirdárs therefore would take no notice of me. A repast was prepared of cakes of bread and krút, and our feet, as well as hands, were washed before it was served. While we were eating the wives of the Afghân stood behind us with ladles of hot roghan

which they occasionally poured upon the krút ; and when we had finished they took what was left to make their own meals upon. We then went to a grove of mulberry-trees adjoining a village, and took our rest. In the evening we started for the castle of Khân Terik, and were wilfully misdirected, so that it was sunset before we reached it. I was here no longer a Saiyad or Shâhzâda, and the khân made us welcome. He showed me his hands covered with pimples, and requested medicine that they might be removed. Khân Terik was about fifty years of age, stern in features, but kind in manner ; untutored, as most Afghân khâns are, but considered refined even at Kândahâr. He had three or four handsome boys, his sons, who were gaily dressed in red silk trowsers, and fine white muslin shirts. The eldest went out, and returned with a load of fresh trefoil, and one of the younger ones, observing that my shoes were hard and dry, went into the inner apartments of the castle, and brought out a lump of sheep's fat, with which he did me the honour to rub them.

A camel being noted wandering on the plain, all the khân's servants were despatched to secure it, and it was brought as a prize into the castle. It is just to add, that it was restored when claimed, soon afterwards. At night we were accommodated on a takht, or sofa, adjoining the entrance into the private apartments, and had a supper of cakes and mutton, with roghan and sugar. We were furnished

with felts and coverlets, and the khân sat with us for some time after supper. He talked about Kândahár and its sirdárs; and I gleaned that he had most esteem for Kohan Dil Khân. His brother had the charge of attending on me, and providing me frequently with the chillam. In the morning we were not suffered to depart before we had taken breakfast. I inquired of the khân as to the distance of Kândahár, and he replied that he did not know, but that, estimating the journeys made by walking from morning until night, it was three days distance.

The khân's castle, a recently built one, is considered handsome by the Ghiljís. It is merely the common square castle, with towers at the angles, but is kept in good repair, and its walls are pierced with matchlock holes. Contiguous is a fine garden and orchard, well stocked with young fruit-trees. Within the castle, half the space is occupied by the private apartments of the khân and his family, and the other half is a court, surrounded with the rooms of his dependants, and with stables. His stud consisted but of one good horse and six or seven inferior ones. Khân Terik is the head of the Terikí tribe, and is dependent, more or less, upon the Sirdárs of Kândahár.

Leaving the castle, we made a very long march, and about sunset were for some time searching amongst the hills for a Bakhtíarí khairí, to which we had been advised to go. We were lodged in

a building, of which one half served for a masjít and the other for a rendezvous for the people of the khairí. Here assembled both the young and the old men to converse, to sing, and to smoke. A youth brought a fair quantity of tobacco, which he tied up in a corner of my shirt, and which, considering its comparative value here, was a great present.

The next day we crossed a fine stream, possibly the Lora, which waters Peshing and Shoráwak, and there was a large khairí on its banks, which we did not, however, visit. Having approached some hills, and it being mid-day, we went towards three or four tents we observed, and on entering the first of them found a man and his wife, the former lying naked on the ground. He wrapped a cloth around him, and as the Patán avowed himself to be a Mír, and I was said to be a Saiyad of Hindústân, he directed his wife to prepare bread for us, in return for which he was to receive a charm. While the simple repast was in progress, our host observed that I resembled a Hazára, and my Patán busied himself in twisting threads, on which he very devoutly breathed, and gave them to the Afghân, to be worn around his neck.

From the information here received, my companion proposed to push on without resting, as usual, at mid-day, as we had some defiles to pass through, in which it would be as well to meet no one; and at this time of day the country people generally

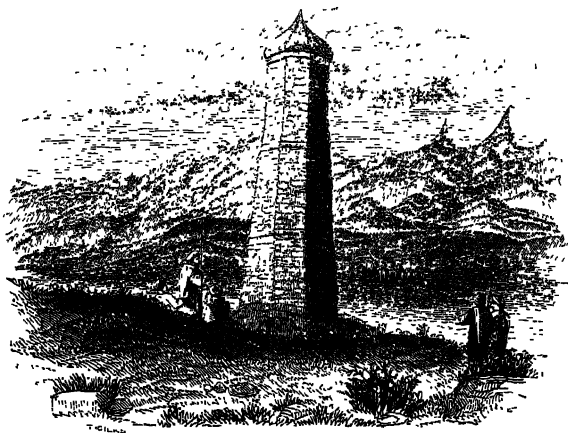
sleep. We soon entered the hills, and a slight ascent brought us to the summit, whence a long descent followed. We luckily fell in with no person whatever, and found ourselves in the Dúrání country dependant on Kândahár. Amongst these hills the hollyhock was naturally growing. We passed the evening at a khairí, and fixed ourselves at the masjít, which here was merely a square piece of ground, marked by stones, and set apart for prayers. I was noticed at this place for not joining the multitude in the pious offices of the evening; and, notwithstanding I excused myself by pretending sickness, and lay down, I could not save myself from two or three kicks. A Lohání coming from Kândahár joined us, and although he recognized me to be a Feringhí, he behaved discreetly and kept the secret. When we were alone, he inquired why I could venture to rove amongst people so wild, and proffered to place me with all safety in Múltân, if I would accompany him. The good men of the khairí provided us with cakes of bread for supper, and with felts and clothing for the night; but as nothing was furnished to eat with the bread, the Lohání said they were infidels, and produced from his own stores a bag of almonds.

The next day we reached a castle, the dwellings within which were covered with domes—the first we observed, although we afterwards found they were general in Kândahár and its vicinity. We then crossed some table-lands, with the surface overspread

with agates, and then made a small hamlet, where we procured two or three cucumbers, but no more substantial food. We next gained the bank of the Tarnak river, which we traced for some time, and finally crossed the stream, when we fell in with the high road from Kândahár to Ghazní and Kâbal. The villages we found were situated some distance from it, as my Patán said, to avoid the intrusion of troops passing; the direction in which they lie may, however, be ascertained by the paths leading to them. We followed one of such paths, and found a village, where the khân, a Sadú Zai, was seated under a tree with his people. We sat down and conversed with him, while he made his breakfast of bread, curds, and melons; after which he retired within his castle. Here we found it difficult to procure food, no one seemed inclined to give or to sell; on which the Patán applied to the khân, who sent out a cake, and presently after, a woman, for the consideration of five Kâbal pais, prepared more bread for us. On regaining the high road the Patán, as our bread had been cooked without salt, drank of the Tarnak water, as he said to promote digestion, the river being, according to him, sanghín or heavy, that is, imbued slightly with a saline principle from the soil through which it flows. We afterwards reposed for a time in the shade of a column standing near the road side.

This structure was built of burned bricks, and was, perhaps, thirty-five or forty feet high. It is

called Tírándâz, and is believed to denote the spot at which an arrow from the bow of Ahmed Shâh fell, the monarch standing on an eminence of the hills near. It may, however, be more ancient, as the eminence alluded to alike exhibits some vestiges of former buildings.



COLUMN TIRANDAZ.

Near the column we passed the zîarat, or shrine of an Akhúnd, and towards sunset turned from the road and found a village, where we fell in with a khân of respectability, and some of the artillery-men of Kândahár, with their gun, which had been disabled on their return from Ghaznî.

On the following day we gained Killa Azem, a large village with castle, where my Patán finding some people acquainted with Mír Kamaradín of Pesháwer, boldly asserted himself to be a nephew of

the Mír. The appearance of this man was so rude that I wondered any one could be deceived by his pretended relationship with the venerated Pír, but his tale seemed to be credited here. When the villagers assembled for evening prayer, the pésh namáz, or person who stands before the congregation and recites prayers, in deference to the Patán's supposed sanctity and affinity, wished him to officiate in his stead, and a long contest of civility ensued, which amused me not a little, as my companion was so illiterate that he could not repeat his prayers. Of course he declined the proffered honour, and fell in with the group behind, where he had nothing to do but to imitate them in the required genuflexions and prostrations, mumbling what he pleased to himself.

The next day we reached the city of Kândahár, and went to the house of Hamaradín Khân, a Bárák Zai, and relative of the sirdár's. As soon as the khân was apprised of my arrival he expressed pleasure that I had come to his house, and assured me that I might stay at it as long as might be agreeable to me.

CHAPTER XIV.

Interview with Fúr Dil Khân.—Friendly Mírza.—Son of Taimúr Kúlí Khân.—Important question and decision.—Krút.—Incivility of Káshmirí servant.—Máhomed Sídik Khân.—Náib Gúl Máhomed Khân—His seizure—Vigilance of sirdárs.—The Náib's release.—His son.—Kándahár.—Its predecessors.—Bazars.—Supply of water.—Composition of the city and population.—Tomb of Ahmed Shâh.—Palaces and citadel.—Fruits.—Provisions.—Interesting objects.—The sirdárs.—The late Shír Dil Khân.—Fúr Dil Khân.—His character and government.—His career.—Kohan Dil Khân.—Meher Díl Khân—His hypocrisy.—Dissentions of the sirdárs—Their reconciliation.—Khodâ Nazzar.—Tyranny of the sirdárs.—Revenue.—Division of the country.—Extent of authority.—Balochistân tributary.—Jealousy of Dost Máhomed Khân.—Rahám Dil Khân's mission.—His ill success at Tákh.—His present to Ranjit Singh.—Rahám Dil Khân's arrangements.—Dost Máhomed Khân's counteracting measures.—Activity of Saiyad Ahmed Shâh.—Negotiations.—Treaty.—Confidence of Dost Máhomed Khân's troops.—Consequences of operations.—Dost Máhomed Khân's conquests.—Military force of Kándahár.—Resources.—Artillery.—Sirdárs unpopular.—Misgivings of my Patán companion.—He joins Attá Máhomed Khân.—Inability to reach Grishk.—Fortunate escape.—Determine to visit Shikárpúr.—Kindness of Kándahár friends.

HAMARADIN KHAN was a very respectable chief, and although he did not trouble us much, made it a point to call every morning, and sit some five minutes before breakfast. I soon found it would be

necessary to see the Sirdár Fúr Dil Khân, as he had received an intimation of my arrival, and accordingly I waited upon him at his house one evening. The sirdár was seated in an enclosure, called the Súrat Khâna, or portrait-chamber, and the walls were indeed covered with paintings of females, which did some little credit to the skill of the artists, and to the taste of the sirdár who had called it forth. The area was filled with flowers. He surprised me by asking, if I was not the Feringhí who had been at Táak and Pesháwer, and without being very communicative, expressed his astonishment that Hindústân was not the native country of Europeans, as he had supposed it to be. He addressed himself to Mírza Yaiya, his confidential secretary, who was standing behind him, and directed him to be most attentive to my wants, and to take especial care that I lacked nothing; when some of his people remarking to me that I must remain in the sirdár's service, and I replying in a decided tone that I would not, he rescinded his prior orders, and observed to his mírza that it was not necessary to be so attentive. My interview with the sirdár was productive of just so much benefit, that as he had not objected to my stay at Kândahár, and as it was of course known that I had seen him, I was held at liberty to remain as long as I pleased.

One day as I was passing up the bazar a stout, good-humoured elderly man, a mírza, who was sitting in one of the shops, seized my hand, and saying

that every Feringhí was his friend, insisted that I should go with him to his house, near at hand, and limping, for he was lame, conducted me to it. He produced a flagon of spirits, and wished me to drink, but I excused myself, and he ordered the ka-lún. He informed me, that he had been at Bombay, and had taken a letter from the Sirdár Rahám Dil Khân to Elphinstín Sáhib, and he exhibited an Arabic Bible, presented to him by that gentleman. I asked him if he ever read it, and he replied, "Yes."

I became acquainted with many persons, and amongst others, with a son of the late Sirdár Taimúr Kúli Khân, and he was so urgent that I should spend some time at his house, that having obtained the consent of Hamaradín Khân, I complied. Nothing could exceed the civility of my new host, and he was milder in disposition, and more amiable in manners than Dúrání noblemen generally are. He complained that his circumstances were straitened, although he had horses, villages, and servants; but perhaps he was piqued at the neglect of his uncles the sirdárs, recollecting that his father had been an elder brother of the Bárák Zai family, and that he had fallen in action with the Síkhs. The khân always took his breakfast at noon with me, and the evening's repast, or supper, in his private apartments, with his ladies. On the occasion of his first meal with me, his násir, or steward, who was a Káshmirí,

and insolent, as many of his race are, observed, that it was not proper to eat with me, because not being a Máhomedan I was unclean. The khân asked two or three people, who were also present, for information, and they decided against the Káshmírí. He, however, was still positive, and the khân sent for a neighbouring ákhúnd of repute to settle the point. The man at once pronounced the objection absurd, and being invited to sit down, became one of the party. The khân had gardens about three miles from the city, whither we often made excursions, passing two or three days there at a time. I had often tasted krút, the universal and favourite aliment of the Afghâns, but never enjoyed it so much as at this place, where it was really well prepared, and with the addition of fried bádinjâns and excellent bread made an admirable dish.

I had remained some time with the friendly khân, and suffered no inconvenience, but from the incivility of his Káshmírí servant, who, naturally prone to mischief, never forgave his defeat on the question of its being improper to eat with me. He had a complete ascendancy over his weak master, who scarcely ventured to rebuke him. And I believe that he was even angered because I would not reply to him, or notice his rude conduct. Still it did not cease; and as it incommoded me, I took the opportunity, when the khân had gone to one of his villages on business, to remove to the citadel,

where I became the guest of Sirafráz Khân, a Rohilla chief of three hundred men, in the service of the Sirdár Meher Dil Khân.

The Sirdár Kohan Dil Khân, alone of the several sirdárs, resided in the fortress; and I had hardly been located there when I was sent for by his son, Máhoméd Sídik Khân, a fine intelligent youth. He showed me his stock of curiosities; amongst which was a box of European prints, to be seen through a magnifying glass, and which he seemed to prize highly. After our acquaintance had commenced I was very much with him, being sent for whenever fruits were brought to him, when he strolled about the gardens of Shâlimár within the citadel, or when he amused and exercised himself at archery. I was present when he celebrated his first nuptials with a daughter of my first Kândahár friend, Hamaradín Khân; and the next morning he sent for me to partake of some melons. An âkhúnd was also there; and the young khân, hiding his face in the old man's lap, expatiated rather pruriently on the raptures his new state had opened to him. At this time he received from his father the government of Gríshk, a fortress on the Helmand river, and, as he intended to go and reside there, he proposed to me to accompany him.

When I reached Kândahár it was understood that the sirdárs contemplated a march upon Shikárpúr; and that Náib Gúl Máhoméd Khân was

to remain in charge of the city during their absence. This man had great influence, and was of the Popal Zai tribe. He had originally been Kám-rân's governor at Kândahár, and surrendered it to the Bârak Zai Sirdárs, who besieged it, when Kám-rân informed him that he did not intend to march to its relief. By his means, therefore, in some measure, the sirdárs acquired the city they have since held, and Gúl Máhoméd Khân, distrustful, perhaps, of placing himself in the power of Shâhzâda Kám-rân, remained with them, and appeared to attach himself to them. Courtesy permitted him to hold his title of Náib, and he was considered, next to the sirdárs, the man first in rank at Kândahár. Now that the Shikárpúr expedition was projected, and he was to remain in charge of the city, it is asserted, that he wrote to Kám-rân, offering to make it over to him. His messenger was seized near Gríshk, and the náib, unconscious that his intended treachery had been exposed, attended the darbâr as usual, and was made prisoner by Fúr Dil Khân. The caution and fears manifested on this occasion by the sirdárs were very great. The náib was detained throughout the day in the house of Fúr Dil Khân, and by night he was privately removed, in a palanquin, to the citadel, where a part of the house of Kohan Dil Khân was set aside as his prison. The custody of his person was intrusted to Hindústání soldiers, it being apprehended that the sympathy of Afghâns

might be excited, or that they might be seduced. The gates of the city were closed, and strictly guarded; all was on the alert, it being thought probable that the numerous friends and adherents of the captive chief might attempt his rescue. Bodies of troops were instantly despatched into those parts of the country inhabited by his úlus, or tribe, to prevent insurrection,—a necessary step, as the sons of Gúl Máhoméd Khân had escaped from Kândahár.

I left the Náib in prison; and the expedition to Shikárpúr was deferred, as it proved, never to take place. He was eventually released, and suffered to proceed to Pesháwer, where he was connected, by marriage, with the Sirdár Yár Máhoméd Khân, who would not, so strange is Afghân custom, the less courteously receive him on account of his meditated treason to his Kândahár brother. It is due to Gúl Máhoméd Khân to state, that some persons at Kândahár, in common with the whole of his friends, maintained that the story of his correspondence with Kámrán was a fiction, invented by the sirdárs to excuse the seizure of his wealth, and his degradation, he being obnoxious to them as a chief of the *ancien régime*. The Náib died at Pesháwer. Some years afterwards, being there when it was occupied by the Sikh Sirdár Harí Sing, I fell in with one of his sons, who was unsound in mind, and accustomed to muse, and stand bareheaded in the sun. When he re-

tired with the sirdárs I occupied the house in which he had lived, and in the sard khâna, or under-ground chamber, belonging to it, the earth was dug up, no doubt on account of treasure having been buried there. He went to Kâbal, but did not live long.

The city of Kândahár is surrounded by mud walls, which have a circumference of three miles. There are, I believe, seventeen towers on each face, besides the angular ones; and a trench was carried round, under the direction of the late Sirdár Shír Dil Khân. Its situation is convenient, as it is on no side commanded; and it has five gates, one of which opening upon the íd-gâh, and leading into the citadel, is generally closed up. The citadel occupies the north-west quarter of the city, and is said to have been built by Shâhzâda Kámran, who formerly held the government of the city and country. The present city was projected by Ahmed Shâh, the founder of the Dúrání monarchy, and on that account in all public documents is styled Ahmed Shâhí. It superseded another city, designed by Nádir Shâh, whose ruins are to be seen a little to the south-east, as that replaced the more ancient city, taken by that conqueror from the Ghiljís, and then dismantled by him. Its ruins are about two miles distant from the present city, seated at the foot, and on the acclivity of a hill, and are still considerable.

At the point where the roads from the principal

gates intersect each other is a covered building, called the Chahár Sú, whose lower apartments are occupied by traders, and the upper ones are called the Nobat Khâna, from the Nobat being daily performed there. The principal bazars are wide and spacious, and had originally avenues of trees, and canals, leading along either side of them, but they are not now well preserved. No city can be better supplied with water, which is brought by large canals from the Arghassân river, and then distributed by so many minor ones, that there is perhaps no house which has not one of them passing through its yard. There are also many wells, and the water is considered preferable to that of the canals as a beverage.

Of the area included within the city walls so much is spread over with ruinous and deserted houses, extensive courts, gardens, and ranges of stabling, that it is probable there are not above five thousand inhabited houses, by which estimate the population would be from twenty-five to thirty thousand souls. Notwithstanding the city is acknowledged to be the takht, or metropolis of the Dúránís, the public mosques, and other buildings, are by no means handsome, arising principally, perhaps, from a deficiency of materials; and this evil has been detrimental to the substantial erection of the city generally, the houses being almost universally built of unburnt bricks, and covered with

domes, there being no fuel to burn bricks, and no timber to make flat roofs.

Ahmed Shâh was consistently interred in the city of his creation, and his tomb is one of its most interesting objects. It stands in an enclosure surrounded with apartments, and lines of mulberry trees. Of octagonal form, it is surmounted with a cupola, and is farther embellished with minarets. In the central chamber of the interior is the king's tomb, of white marble, covered with rich carpets. The ceiling is gorgeously gilded, and painted with lapis lazuli, and at the top is suspended a brazen or gilded globe, supposed by popular belief to have been closed by the sovereign before his death, and to contain his soul.

The residences of the sirdárs, while large and sufficiently commodious, display no architectural taste or beauty; the balconies of their bálla khánas, or upper rooms, are, indeed, curiously carved in wood, and constitute their chief ornamental appendages. The arg, or citadel, being constructed of kiln-burnt bricks, appears to advantage from the exterior, and the entrance is somewhat imposing. Within, the palaces of the former kings, with their painted chambers, are desolate, or occupied by the menials of the present rulers, who seem studiously to avoid residing in them.

The bazars are well supplied with good and cheap provisions, and with a great abundance of

excellent fruits. Kâbal is famed for the quantity, Kândahár for the quality, of its fruits; yet I found them so reasonable that a maund, or several English pounds of grapes, was purchased for a pais; and figs, plums, apricots, peaches, pears, melons, and almonds, were nearly as cheap. The pomegranates of Kândahár are, perhaps, unsurpassed, and justly enjoy a great repute in these countries. Meat, while very good, is not perhaps so cheap as at Kâbal, but roghan, so generally used, and bread, are cheaper, as are curds and eggs; of the latter ten or twelve being sold for one pais. It is a great blessing to these countries that subsistence is so cheap, and that the poorer classes are, consequently, little affected by the struggles for political ascendancy amongst the chiefs. Fuel is one of the articles considered dear, and is brought from a distance. In the neighbourhood of Kândahár are some objects worthy of notice, such as the Ghârî-Jemshíd, or the cavern of Jemshíd; what is called the petrified city; and the Zíárat, or shrine of Bába Wallí; and more distant, the Zíárat of Sháh Makhsúd, which annually draws numerous visitors from the surrounding country. The valley of the Arghassân river is also a delightful locality, from its verdant meadows, its villages, and orchards:

The provinces of Kândahár are administered by four sirdárs, brothers, viz. Fúr Dil Khân, Kohan Dil Khân, Rahám Dil Khân, and Meher Dil Khân. There was, originally, another brother, and joint

sirdár, Shír Dil Khân, who died a year or two before I visited the country.

They are all sons of Sarfaráz, or Pâhindah Khân, and by the same mother. I have just related the manner in which they acquired Kândahár, which happened about the time when Kámran's son, Jehângír, was expelled from Kâbal; and they have since been allowed to retain the territory, which was won, as it is said, by their own swords. Their deceased brother, Shír Dil Khân, was a brave soldier, and had distinguished himself on many occasions, in the war carried on by his half-brother, the famous Vazír Fatí Khân, against the Persians; then in an attempt to take possession of Herát; and finally, at Kâbal, where an unprecedented series of intrigues and perfidies was terminated by the spoliation of Habíb Ulah Khân, with whose treasures the sirdár returned to Kândahár, and died soon afterwards.

As the present sirdárs occupy what is acknowledged the takht, or metropolis of the Dúránís, the elder brother, Fúr Dil Khân, in his communications with foreign states, assumes the title and tone of Pádshâh; and seems, moreover, to be inclined to support his pretensions by force of arms. He affects a control, or perhaps, rather, supremacy over his brothers established elsewhere, which they verbally admit. This sirdár is prudent and cautious, and more capable of calculating soundly than any of his family. He is remark-

able as being the only prince, (I mean native,) I believe I may say throughout Asia, that pays his soldiers regularly. The stipendiary in his service invariably receives his allowance monthly. His brothers do not profit by the example.

When I was at Kândahár he made a rigid reform in his military establishment, and purged it of all inefficient hands. The sirdár is guilty of extravagant oppression, and taxation is pushed as far as possible, or as the patience of the subject can endure. The people, after giving him credit for punctuality, and a regard to truth, heartily execrate him, and pronounce him to be “bissíár sakht,” or very hard. His nephew, the son of Taimúr Kúli Khân, one day lamenting the condition of Kândahár, and describing its advantages of situation and fertility, ascribed all the misery existing to the tyranny and incapacity of the rulers. When I would ask a Dúrání, what could induce a man of sense, as Fúr Dil Khân had the reputation of being, to be so intent upon extortion and the impoverishment of the country, the reply was, that being aware he was an usurper, and uncertain how long he might continue in power, he was amassing as much treasure as he could, while the opportunity was afforded him—as was the case with all the Bárak Zais.

The sirdár, like most of his family, has passed an active and eventful life. On the seizure of his brother, the Vazír Fatí Khân, at Herát, he

was made a prisoner by Kámrán, who subsequently released him, and appointed him mír, or principal of his tribe. He fled from Herát, urged thereto by the reproaches of his blinded and degraded brother, and at Andálí, a castle near Gríshk, organized the opposition which eventually gained Kándahár. On the death of the Sirdár Máhoméd Azem Khân at Kábal, he marched there, and confirming the son of the defunct Habíb Ulah Khân in authority, seized the person of Ayúb Shâh, the mock king of his late brother's creation, and terminated the farce, for such it had become, of Sadú Zai rule.

Of the others, Kohan Dil Khân is most esteemed, being reputed the most warlike of them, and to have, besides, a little generosity and manliness in his composition. The two others are of less consequence, and I never heard any one speak very favourably of them. Meher Dil Khân, indeed, while his other brothers are, or profess themselves to be, rigid Súnís in religion, and therefore use little scruple in their dealings with the Pársíwâns, or Shías of the country—affects a liberality on the score of faith, and pretends to sympathise with all who are ill-treated on that account; he is, therefore, more popular than his brothers with the Shía population, which is not inconsiderable. He is, however, suspected to be in this, and on other points, a “thag,” or hypocrite; and his talent for dissimulation and deceit has been evinced on many

occasions, particularly when, at Kâbal, he was the agent in deluding and making prisoner his nephew, Habíb Ulah Khân, preparatory to the appropriation of his wealth, by the late Shír Dil Khân. All the Sirdárs of Kândahár are educated men, and Meher Dil Khân is even literary, and a poet, writing verses, you will be told, faster than other men can write prose.

When I arrived at Kândahár the sirdárs were at variance; and there were two distinct darbárs. Fúr Dil Khân held his alone, while the others assembled at the house of Kohan Dil Khân in the arg, or citadel; the latter considered it necessary to unite against their elder brother, to whom they never went, or paid any kind of obedience. At length a reconciliation was effected, the three brothers first paying a visit to Fúr Dil Khân, who afterwards returned them the compliment. The result of the renewal of intercourse was, that Khodâ Nazzar, an Andar Ghiljí, known familiarly by the name of Mámah, or uncle, (which he had been effectively to Shír Dil Khân), was appointed Múkh-tahár, or chief manager of affairs. The first measures of this minister were popular; but he has since, justly or unjustly, acquired the reputation of being a "shaitân," or devil.

The city of Kândahár is regularly built, the bazar being formed by two lines, drawn from opposite directions, and intersecting in the centre of the place. It is consequently composed of four

distinct quarters, over each of which one of the sirdárs exercises authority. While residing within the citadel, near Kohan Dil Khân's residence, I had an opportunity of seeing the daily visitors as they passed to the darbár of the three confederate brothers. Amongst the unwilling ones were invariably from fifty to one hundred Hindús, some of them, no doubt, men of respectability, and all merchants or traders, who had been seized in their houses or shops, and dragged along the streets to the darbár, the sirdárs needing money, and calling upon them to furnish it. This was a daily occurrence; and it was certainly afflicting to behold men of decent appearance driven through the bazar by the hirelings of these Dúrání despots, who wished to negotiate a loan. Yet I have seen the Hindús of this city on occasions of festivals, assembled in gardens, with every sign of riches in their apparel and trinkets; nor did they appear less gay than they would have been in a Hindú kingdom. The gains of these men must be enormous, or they never could meet the exactions of their rulers; and without extravagant profits, operating as an offset, they never could submit so patiently to the indignities heaped upon them in every Músulmân country, from the prince to the lowest miscreant who repeats his kalmah.

I am unable to state the amount of revenue possessed by these sirdárs individually. I have heard twelve lákhs of rupees mentioned as the

probable sum of the gross revenue of the country, which may be thought sufficient, looking at the deterioration everywhere prevalent, and the obstacles thrown in the way of trade. Of this sum the larger proportion will be taken by Fúr Dil Khân, who is also in possession of large treasures, acquired on the demise of his brother Shír Dil Khân, of which he deprived his heirs.

Neither can I assign to each brother the share he holds in the division of the country, or only in a general manner. Kohan Dil Khân has charge of the western frontier, important as being that of Herát; he has also authority over Zemín Dáwer, and the districts of the Garm Sél. This sirdár collects the tribute from the Hazára tribes dependent on Kândahár, and, it may be, from the Núr Zai country of Daráwat, bordering on the Helmand. Rahám Dil Khân draws revenue from some of the country to the east, neighbouring on the independent Ghiljís, and from Shoráwak, Peshing, and Síwí—the latter north-east of Dádar and Kachi. Meher Dil Khân enjoys the country to the north-east of Kândahár, which also touches upon the Ghiljí lands, besides various portions in other parts. Fúr Dil Khân reserves to himself the fertile districts in the vicinity of the city, where the revenue is at once productive, and collected with facility. In the distant provinces troops are not generally stationed, but are required to be annually sent, as tribute is mostly paid only after intimidation. The authority of

Kândahár is acknowledged over a considerable space of country, and the Khâka tribes of Toba, with the Teríns, and other rude tribes in that part, confess a kind of allegiance, allowing no claim on them, however, but that of military service, which is also rendered to the sirdárs by Khân Terik, the chief of the Ghiljí tribe of Terekí. The present chief of Balochistân, Mehráb Khân of Kalât, was, after I left Kândahár, compelled to pay a tribute, I believe of one lákh of rupees, Kalât base coin, equal to about four thousand rupees of Kândahár currency, and to engage to furnish a quota of troops, and otherwise to assist in the furtherance of Fúr Dil Khân's projects against Sind. A proper understanding with this chief was very necessary, even essential, as the success of an expedition to the south would greatly depend upon his friendship or enmity, it being unavoidable that the army should march one hundred and fifty cosses through his territories. The capture of Shikárpúr would lead to a collision with the rulers of Sind, who, although they might assemble numerous troops, would be little dreaded by the Dúránís.

In 1827 the power of Kâbal attracted the attention and excited the apprehensions of the Sirdárs of Kândahár; and Rahám Dil Khân started on a mission to Pesháwer. He proceeded to Marúf, a fortress belonging to the family, and thence took the route, followed by the Lohání káfílas through the Vazírí hills to Ták, Dost Máhoméd Khân

making a vain attempt to pick him up on the road. He had with him five hundred, or, as some say, eight hundred horse, and extorted money and necessaries from every unfortunate chief he met with. He encamped near the town, and demanded a large sum of money from the surly and wealthy Sirwar Khân, who, however, considering that his walls were high and thick, and that he had guns with which his Kândahár guest was unprovided, absolutely refused; and the baffled sirdár was compelled to decamp, and make the best of his way to Pesháwer. There a circumstance occurred, which although not bearing on the immediate subject, may be mentioned as descriptive of the manners of the times. Ranjit Singh hearing of Rahám Dil Khân's visit, and that he had a valuable sword, immediately sent his compliments, and expressed a desire that the sword should be sent to Lahore. The pride of the Durání sirdár must certainly have been mortified, but fearing the consequences of refusing compliance to the polite request to himself, or to his brothers at Pesháwer, he forwarded it. Ranjit Singh, of course, accepted the present, as a peshkash, or tributary offering, and must have chuckled at the helpless condition to which the once terrific race had become reduced.

Rahám Dil Khân returned to Kândahár, accompanied by Yár Máhommed Khân, the elder of the Pesháwer Sirdárs, and his half-brother. Matters were soon settled, and it was agreed to humble Dost

Máhomed Khân. For this object he was to be attacked from the east and from the west. In pursuance of the arrangements, Pír Máhomed Khân, the younger of the Pesháwer Sirdárs, expelled the sons of the Nawáb Samad Khân from the districts of Kohât and Hângú; but the famous Saiyad Ahmed Shâh, assisted by Báram Khân and Júma Khân, Khalíl arbabs, or chiefs, and instigated, no doubt, by Dost Máhomed Khân, by keeping Pesháwer in continual alarm, reduced the sirdárs to the necessity of defending their own territory, and prevented them from marching on Jelálabád and Kâbal, as had been concerted. I have narrated, in the narrative of my journey from Ták to Pesháwer, the circumstance of my falling in with Pír Máhomed Khân between Kohât and Hângú. I have also shown how the activity of Saiyad Ahmed Shâh,—too late, indeed, to prevent the conquest of those places,—compelled the sirdár to march precipitately from Kohât to Pesháwer. During my stay at Pesháwer the Saiyad did not relax his efforts, and, by sallies on Hashtnaggar, allowed the sirdárs no respite from anxiety. Subsequently, when I had found my way as far as Ghazní, I found Dost Máhomed Khân encamped, with six thousand men; and the army of Kândahár, stated at eleven thousand men, was about seven cosses in front. A battle was daily expected by the men, but I doubt whether intended by the leaders. Vakíls, or envoys, were, in the first instance, despatched by Dost Má-

homed Khân, who, the best officer in the country, is prudent enough to gain his ends by fair words rather than by violence. These vakíls demanded the reasons of the hostile array; asked if the Bárak Zais were not Mússúlmâns and brethren, and whether it would not be better to unite their arms against the Síkhs, than ingloriously employ them in combating Dúráníś against each other. They, moreover, submitted, that Dost Máhomed Khân was perfectly aware of the right of primogeniture of his brother Fúr Dil Khân, and that he occupied the takht, or capital. The Kândahár Sirdárs claimed the surrender of half Kâbal, and the whole of Loghar and Shilgar, as a provision for the young son of their late brother, Shír Dil Khân. The negotiations were so adroitly conducted by Dost Máhomed Khân and his friends, that a treaty was concluded, by which he lost not an inch of ground, but agreed to make an annual remittance to Kândahár of the amount of revenue of Loghar, valued at forty thousand rupees, for the son of Shír Dil Khân; as it afterwards proved, never intending to send it. He moreover expressed his willingness to coöperate in Fúr Dil Khân's projected expedition to Sind, alike without meaning to fulfil his engagement.

The troops of Dost Máhomed Khân, although inferior in number, being choice men, were sanguine of success, and at least possessed confidence, a pre-sage of victory. It was expected, however, in the

event of an engagement, that the greater part of the Kândahár army would have gone over to the highly popular Sirdár of Kabal, who is called the "dostdár sipáhân," or the soldier's friend.

The Kândahár troops hastily retired, and Yár Máhoméd Khân, who had accompanied them to Ghazní, quietly passed on to Pesháwer. The sirdárs of that place had, however, benefited by the operations, as they had possessed themselves of Kohât and Hângú. These they were allowed, by treaty, to retain, as an equivalent for a claim of one lách of rupees from the revenue of Kabâl, which Dost Máhoméd Khân had agreed to pay to Súltân Máhoméd Khân, to get him out of the country, but which he had forgotten to do as soon as his object was gained. The Nawâb Samad Khân was carried off about this time by cholera, and his two sons, neglected by Dost Máhoméd Khân, were provided with jágghírs in the province of Jelálabád, by the Nawâb Máhoméd Zemân Khân.

As soon as Dost Máhoméd Khân was relieved of the presence of his Kândahár brothers, he moved into the country of Zúrmat, inhabited by the Ghiljí tribe of Súlímân Khél, very numerous and powerful, and who had not hitherto been reduced to the condition of subjects. Hâjí Khân boasted of having urged this measure, the sirdár being unwilling to disturb the Ghiljís. A vast number of castles were destroyed, and much spoil made, while the annual amount of tribute to be paid in future was fixed.

The lands of Khân Terik, a vassal or ally of Kândahâr, were also ravaged; and although the news thereof excited some indignation in the breast of the sirdârs, they did not interest themselves to protect their suffering friend; and I venture to think that Khân Terik, conscious they could not, or would not afford aid, never thought of soliciting it.

The revenue of the Kândahâr Sirdârs I have already stated at about twelve lakhs of rupees; and it has been seen that they had assembled a force computed at eleven thousand men; but on this occasion they had not only drawn out the *îljârî*, or militia of the country, but had assembled all their allies and dependents. It is not supposed that the sirdârs regularly entertain above four thousand men, of whom three thousand are cavalry, and considered good; but, as if suspicious of their own *Dûránîs*, they are generally *Ghiljîs*; to whom the sirdârs may also have a predilection on account of their mother being of that tribe. Kândahâr contains, in its fertility and its resources, all the elements of a powerful state, and could provide a large military force, but neither the funds nor the popularity of the present chiefs will allow them to profit by the advantages. The artillery, of twenty pieces, is equally divided between the four brothers. Some of them are unserviceable, and amongst the better ones are two or three Dutch guns, which they correctly distinguish by the name *Hâlandéz*.

The Sirdârs of Kândahâr affect no kind of pomp,

and even Fúr Dil Khân is content, amongst his own kawâníns, or chiefs, with the simple appellation of Sirdár. On the whole, they are decidedly detested, and a change is ardently desired by their people, who are sadly oppressed, while one of the fairest provinces of Khorasân is daily accelerating in deterioration.

I had intended to have passed the winter at Herát, and would, with that view, have accompanied Máhoméd Sídik Khân to Gríshk, which lay on my road, but his departure seemed indefinitely delayed, and my Patán companion was averse to undertake the journey alone, being terrified by the accounts he heard of the Tokí plunderers of Sístân, who infest the desert between Gríshk and Farra, and of the Allamâns, who carry off parties between Farra and Herát. He reasonably urged, that if Afghâns were to be encountered, he might hope to pass through them, but that with Baloches and Túrkomâns he had little chance; while he had no wish to be consigned to slavery. It chanced that Attá Máhoméd Khân, called the Khor, or blind, arrived from Kâbal *en route* to Mecca, and my Patán was anxious that I should have joined him, as he was proceeding towards Sind, but as I declined to do so, he asked me to consent to his availing himself of so favourable an opportunity of visiting the sacred place; which, of course, I readily did.

I adhered to my intention of proceeding to Herát, and started alone from Kândahár, hoping to gain

Gríshk, and there to await companions. I passed about twelve miles on the road, but found it impossible to proceed, being interrupted by every person I met, and I returned, having lost every little article I carried with me. Subsequently, a lucky accident prevented my joining a small *kâfila*, whose destination was Farra, as it was attacked and plundered on the road by the Allamâns. Winter had now fairly set in, and finding I had no chance of reaching Herât, the only alternative open to me was to move towards Shikárpúr, while the season permitted the transit of *kâfílas*. On inquiry, it proved that one of these was about to start in a day or two, and, as a preparatory measure, was already encamped without the Shikárpúr gate. A young man belonging to it promised to inform me when it was ready to march, and confiding that he would do so, I remained at the house of Sirfaráz Khân, expecting his summons.

My Kândahár friends had been anxious to have enabled me to pass comfortably through the journey, but I refused to profit by their offers to the extent they wished; still, I had accepted a small sum of money, which was urged upon me in so kind a manner that had I declined it I might have offended.

CHAPTER XV.

Dreary country.—Serái.—Quest of road.—Wild Patán.—Gain road.—Signs of the kâfila.—Tents.—Invitation.—Repast.—Treatment after repast.—Despoiled.—Provided with lodging.—Reviled for an infidel.—Renewed ill-treatment.—Mutual ignorance.—Dismissal.—Forced return.—Interposition of Múlla.—Rebuke of my persecutors.—Exposure of my money.—Restitution of my property.—Demand for my money.—Fresh encounter.—Lose part of my money.—In danger of a scuffle.—Join camel-drivers.—Despoiled.—Appearance of Hâjís.—Accompany them.—Desperate situation.—Meetings.—Mirth of Afghâns.—Plain of Robât.—Houz Maddat Khân.—Tents of Robât.—Hâjís.—Their mode of travelling, &c.—Reach the kâfila.—Repulsed by Khâdar Khân.—Intensity of cold.—Rejected from fires.—Received by Máhommed Alí.—Khâdar Khân.—Abdúlah Khân.—Individuals of Kâfila.—Join two youths begging.—Assailed by dogs.—Distress at night.—Receive a postín.—Afflictions.—Their continuance.—Progress of kâfila.—Nature of country.—Búldak.—Pastoral tribes.—Liberties taken by men of kâfila.—Omit no occasion of plunder.—Dog purloined.—Hill range.—At loss for water.—Fruitless parley with Atchak Zais.—Ascent of hills.—Descent.—Pass of Kozhak.—Other passes.—Interruption by Atchak Zais.—Their audacity.—Kílla Abdúlah Khân.—River.—Halt.—Violence of the Atchak Zais.—Difficulty in arrangement.—Khâdar Khân's agitation.—Eloquent debates.—Outrageous behaviour.—River Lora.—Ali Zai.—Mehráb Khân's country.—Approach Sháll.—Personate a Hâjí.—Reach Sháll.—Situation in the kâfila.—Stay at Sháll.—Good treatment.—Quetta.—Bazar.—Gardens.—Valley.—Climate.—Fear of Khâkas.—Khaddít.—Villages.—Tribes.

I PROCEEDED alone from Kândahár, with the intention of overtaking the kâfila, which had left two

days before, in progress to Shikárpúr. Although perfectly aware of the danger of travelling in these countries, particularly for a stranger, and understanding that the káfila would march slowly, being burthened with women and children, and judging the danger would not be excessive within two or three days from the capital, I had every expectation of reaching it the second march.

Arriving at the last of the villages in the neighbourhood of the city, I entered it with a view of procuring food, but could prevail on no one to prepare it. At a short distance from the village I observed a black tent, which, I presumed, was occupied by a pastoral family, and, they being more hospitable than the fixed inhabitants, I repaired to it, and found people who could not speak Persian, and I being ignorant of Pashto, we were mutually at a loss. I succeeded in conveying the information that "doudí," or bread, was required, and that they should be paid for it. To this they agreed; and while the wife was kneading the dough the husband's attention was attracted by the sight of a drinking vessel, which I had purchased at Kândahár, and he took, or rather seized it, returning me the few pais I had previously given him. Nor did he stay here, but absolutely searched me; and my coin, which I had bound in the webcord of my perjâmas, underwent his inspection; the vicinity of the village alone deterred him from making it booty. Bread was at length served. While eating it, I could

comprehend the discourse of the family related to me, and I heard the word *kâfila* pronounced several times, which encouraged me to hope it was near at hand. Having smoked the *chillam*, as is invariably the custom in these countries after meals, I took leave of my host, inquiring, by signs, the direction of the high road to *Shikárpúr*. He understood me, and directed my sight to a whitish-topped peak among the distant hills, under which, he asserted, the road winded.

Having yet two or three hours of daylight, I dashed across the country between me and the hills—without a sign of habitation,—and came upon a large swamp of briny water, which I had some difficulty in clearing. At length I reached a large solitary building, uninhabited and in decay, which had probably been formerly a *serai*: here were two or three chambers, in decent preservation, in one of which I took up my quarters for the night, although the doing so was not unattended with danger, as, from the remains of recent fires, it was evident the place was frequented; and I inferred, that in so sequestered a spot, and distant from any path or road, it might be the resort of robbers, or other doubtful characters. Recommending myself to Divine protection, I resigned myself to sleep, and awoke in the morning, having had no other companions than pigeons, whose numerous nests covered the vaulted roofs of the buildings, and no other visitants

than a few owls, that, with their large flapping wings and discordant cries, occasionally broke in upon my repose.

Started, and nearing the hills, observed the village called Káréz Hájí. The city is not visible from hence, a small detached line of eminences, Koh Zákkar, intervening. Reached a kárez without water, and made for a building, which I found to be a deserted flour-mill. I could not discover the road I was in quest of, but concluded I should gain it by following the line of sand hills, which now appeared on the right; towards which I accordingly shaped my course. Approaching them, a horseman, one of the wild Patáns, in the uncouth garments of his tribe, galloped from them. He rode towards me, and, I believe, asked me the road to some place or other, but as I was unable either to understand him, or to return an answer, his vociferations were to no effect; and, applying to me all the curses and abusive epithets his language furnished, he left me, and galloped off, to my great satisfaction. I now descried in the distance a string of camels, which were, without doubt, pacing the desired road, and I hoped might be the kâfila I was seeking. Gained a road, in which were abundant prints of the feet of men, horses, and camels. There was no person in sight that I could ask if the road was the one for Shikárpúr; however, I entered it without hesitation, and proceeded five

or six cosses without meeting or seeing any one. To the right and left were hills: to the right of sand, to the left of black rock, slightly covered with soil. The road, in fact, described the line where the sand desert connected with the clear country. There was no vestige of inhabitants. Found the camels I had seen to be returning from Kândahár, whither they had conveyed wood from Robát. This mortified me for the moment, as it left me dubious as to the road, but on passing the return camels, which had halted, I again perceived the traces of men, horses and camels, as before, and the rinds of pomegranates, which had manifestly been that day only thrown on the ground. This encouraged me to hope the kâfila was very near. Arrived at a kárez, to the right of the road: the water of bad quality, and unpalatable, though clear and transparent. Continued marching, with still the same signs of the caravan, when the shades of evening began to obscure the horizon. At the distance of a quarter of a mile from the road, I observed two or three trees, which, with the circumstance of the kárez before mentioned, winding in the same direction, indicated the presence of some village. Found about one hundred and twenty tents, arranged in a semi-circular form; in front of which were two spots, enclosed by stones, which served as masjíts. It being the time of evening prayer, I went up to one of these, and saluted with the usual Sa-

lám Alíkam, and was invited to sit down. When prayers were finished one of the men, decently apparelled, said to me “Doudí kourí, dil ter rází,” which signifies, “if you will eat bread, come here.” I accepted the invitation, and accompanied him to his tent, which was well furnished, after the fashion of the country; and before the entrance were picketted three tolerable horses. The whole had an appearance of easy circumstances, indeed of comparative opulence. Bread was cooked expressly for me, water was brought to wash my hands before eating, and I was encouraged to eat heartily. I felt perfectly at ease, and was doing justice to my entertainment, having fasted throughout the day, when another man came in, and seated himself by my side. The repast being finished, the new visitant applied a rather rude slap on my cheek; at which I merely smiled, presuming it was intended as a joke, and although a severe one, yet, as these savages understand little of decency, and being alone among many, it was but common prudence to pass it off lightly. He then asked me for my upper garment. This I refused, still thinking him disposed to be merry. I however, found, to my cost, he was not trifling, for he despoiled me of it by pure force, as well as of my head-dress, &c; in short, left me nothing but my perjâmas and shoes. He also applied two or three additional slaps on the cheek, and a liberal allowance of terms of abuse in Persian, which was

all he knew of that language. This he did in ridicule of my ignorance of Pashto, which he was continually urging me to speak. During this time my worthy host, the master of the tent, encouraged and abetted my despoiler, and received some pais which were in a pocket of my upper garment. The clothes were detained by the other ruffian, who, after a while, conducted me to his tent, one much smaller, and of mean appearance. He bade me sit down by the fire and warm myself, and in due time spread felts on the ground by the fire-side, which were to serve me for a bed, and informed me I might repose myself; cautioning me, as I understood him, not to attempt to escape during the night, for I should be certainly seized by the dogs. I stretched myself on my sorrowful bed, and ruminated on my deplorable situation, consoling myself, however, that it did not appear the intention of my friend to despoil me of my *perjâmas*, in the webcord of which, I have before stated, was my small stock of money; and calculating on certainly reaching the *kâfila* the next day, if allowed to depart in the morning, and if I should be able to repair my deficiency of raiment. Still my situation was sufficiently wretched; yet, from the fatigue of the day's march, the power of a naturally strong constitution, and the presence of the fire, I shortly fell asleep, and enjoyed uninterrupted repose during the night, awaking only in the morning when kicked by my host, who called me a *kâfr*, or infidel,

for not rising to say prayers, which he presently repeated on the very clothes of which he had despoiled me the preceding evening. I was now led into the tent in which I had been originally entertained, where several other men were assembled. Here I was beat with sticks and cords, and had some large stones thrown at me. I made no doubt but it was intended to destroy me; I therefore collected my spirits, and resolved to meet my fate with firmness, and betray no marks of weakness or dejection. Thanks to heaven, it was ordered otherwise. I was asked if I was an Uzbek, an Hazára, or Baloch. The latter question was many times repeated, but I persisted in the negative, being conscious that the Baloch tribes were the enemies of these men, (the Núr Zais,) and I asserted that I was from Kach Mekrân, they not having the least notion of an European. This answer might have proved unfortunate, for I have since learned that Mekrân is a component part of Balochistân; but the geographical knowledge of these savages was no better than my own, and they stumbled over the words Kach Mekrân, without being able to divine what country it could be. At length, the sun being considerably elevated, they dismissed me in the state of nakedness to which they had reduced me, telling me, “Dággar lár-dí warza,” or, to “take that road.” I walked about thirty paces, a few stones being complacently thrown after me, when I was hailed by a man to

return, and eat bread before I went. I was compelled reluctantly to retrace my steps, as a refusal might have involved my destruction, and I again came in contact with the ruffians. Instead of giving me bread, they renewed their consultations concerning me; and I gathered from their discourse that it was in question to bind me, and reduce me to slavery. My case now assumed a serious aspect; yet I was not wholly depressed, as I reflected, that the road to Kândahâr was large and well defined, and that any night would take me to the Dûránî villages, where I knew they would not dare to follow me. It happened, however, that I was now observed by two or three aged venerable looking men, who were standing before the entrance of the tent, on the extreme left of the semicircle, which was larger than any of the others, and had before it a spear fixed in the ground, the symbol, I presumed, of authority. They beckoned to me, and I went to them, followed by the men who had so ill-treated me, and many others. A question was put to one of these aged men, who, I found, was the mûlla, or priest, if it was not lawful, according to the Korân, to detain me as a slave, the singular reason being alleged, that they had performed the rites of hospitality towards me the night before.

The mûlla instantly replied, that it was neither just nor lawful, nor according to the Korân, but decidedly to the contrary. Perceiving the mûllâ to be a man of some conscience, I asked him if he

understood Persian; on his replying, a little, I related to him how I had been treated. He expressed the greatest regret, and, severely rebuking the offenders, urged them to restore my effects. This they were unwilling to do, and much debate ensued; in which, being supported by the mulla, I took a part, and ventured to talk loudly. To one of my questions to the man who had the most ill-treated me, and struck me on the cheek, if he was a Músulmân, he replied, "Bishák Mússumân," or, that he was one in every respect. As if my misfortunes were never to cease, my money, which until now had escaped observation, was seized by one of the men, who asked what I had concealed there. The mulla desired him to desist, saying, "Oh! merely a few onions, or something of that kind;" but the fellow wrenched out the webcord from my per-jámas, and, with eyes glittering with delight, unrolled the little money I had. The mulla assumed a stern authoritative tone, as did the other inmates of the tent; he seized the robber by his arm, and ordered him to restore the money, and other property. His orders were obeyed, and everything ~~was~~ restored.

After receiving the mulla's benediction, I made for the high road. I might have proceeded one hundred yards, when a man came running after me, and, sword in hand, demanded my money. Observing two young men approaching with matchlocks, notwithstanding his menaces, I refused to deliver

it until their arrival. They fortunately understood a little Persian ; and asserting that I was a stranger, prevailed on the robber to depart. I asked them where they were going, in the hopes of finding companions ; they replied, fowling. Gaining the high road, I proceeded, rather depressed in mind, as I could not conceive that the ruffians would suffer me to depart unmolested, after having had a sight of money ; and I walked along with the almost certainty of being followed. For a considerable distance I fell in with no one, until I arrived at a spot where the road branched off in two directions, where was also a grave, newly prepared, and over which were seated fifteen or twenty men. I would have avoided their observation, but they discovered and hailed me, asking if I had any snuff or tobacco. I replied in the negative. One of them came, and taking me by the arm, led me to the grave, where I had to submit to a variety of questions, but was finally dismissed without receiving any injury. The road here gradually ascends for a short distance, and then again descends. It is the point where the roads from Quetta and Shoráwak meet. I had gained the descent, when one of the men, without doubt an inhabitant of the village—to which probably his fellows belonged—came after me, and asked for my money. As he was alone, and had no other weapons than stones, I might have resisted him, but fearing the other men would come to his assistance, I produced the money ; and representing,

as well as I could, that the Shikárpúr road was long, and that food was requisite, I succeeded in preserving the half of it. Chancing to use some expressions in which the word Mússulmán occurred, he took offence, and seizing my neck, was about to proceed to acts of violence. I also prepared for defence, deeming it as well to die fighting as passive before such a wretch, when some camels appeared on the top of the ascent, with four or five attendants.

He now loosed his hold, as I did mine, and was about to depart, when I informed the camel-drivers of the robbery ; at which they merely smiled. Seeing it, he returned, and was willing to renew hostilities. It being an object with me to accompany the camels, which were going my road, and still having some money and clothing, I used my endeavours to pacify him, which, with some ado, was accomplished.

While a stone is within reach the Patáns of these countries are never at a loss for offensive weapons. I have seen severe wounds inflicted by these missiles. They assert that Cain killed Abel with stones, which appears to have established a precedent for their use.

One of the camel-drivers told me to mount a camel, but I could not catch one. I learned they were proceeding to Robát. They were those I had passed the day before. We marched four or five koss, when they halted, and told me that in

the evening they should go to Robát. I would have continued my journey, but, alas! I was to encounter robbery anew. My clothing and money were now taken, and I was entirely stripped. In return for my perjamas they gave me a ragged pair, which did not cover my knees; my shoes alone escaped, being either too large or too small for their several feet. I did not part with my money or apparel very willingly, or very peaceably; in fact, one of the ruffians unsheathed his sword, but the others forbade violence. I appealed to them as men and Mússulmâns, but this only excited their laughter.

I was still arguing with them, when two men made their appearance on the road. The Robát men conversed with each other, conjecturing they might be companions of mine, and began looking at their own means of defence. They, however, felt perfectly easy, being five in number, and armed. The new comers proved to be Hájís, a name properly belonging to such as have made a pilgrimage to Mecca, but assumed also by those who are going to the holy place, or pretend they are so. One of them had a smattering of Persian, and endeavoured, but ineffectually, to procure the return of my effects. As these men were proceeding to join the kâfila, I accompanied them, the camel-drivers much wishing to detain me, willing, as they said, to entertain me the night at Robát.

I was now destitute, a stranger in the centre of

Asia, unacquainted with the language,—which would have been most useful to me,—and from my colour exposed on all occasions to notice, inquiry, ridicule, and insult. Still I did not despair; and although I never doubted the rule of Divine Providence, yet had I done so, my preservation in so many cases of extreme danger, with the continual birth of circumstances to extenuate misery, would have removed scepticism, and carried to my mind the conviction of the existence of an omniscient and benevolent Being, who does not neglect the meanest object of his creation.

It was some consolation to find that the *kâfila* was not far off; and with my new companions I proceeded, without apprehension of further plunder, having nothing to be deprived of. I had, moreover, the satisfaction of inferring that any change in my circumstances must be for the better, as it could not well be for the worse. On the road we first met a horseman, who desired and received the benediction of the *Hâjî*. This was given, the applicant turning his back towards the *Hâjî*, who repeated or mumbled something, in which the words *dúniâh*, or wealth, and *Bismillah*, or in the name of God, were the only ones audible. At the close the *Hâjî* stroked his own beard, and gave the barbarian two or three slaps on the back, which completed the blessing. The *Patán* salamed with much respect, and departed well satisfied. In this rencontre I passed unnoticed. A little farther on we

met two men, who came across the hills on foot, but tolerably dressed. They also received the Hájí's benediction, and discoursed a short time, inquiring news of the Baloch tribes, who, it appeared, had but a few days before scoured the country, and plundered the villages. I afforded matter of mirth to these men; and they expressed themselves much surprised at seeing a man who could not speak Pashto. The Baloches spoken of were the Tokís of Sístân, formidable marauders, under the orders of the notorious, Khân Jahán, khân of Illamdár.

Until now we had been on either side surrounded by low hills: they ceased here, and we had before us the extensive plain of Robát. There was nothing in the shape of trees, and the only objects relieving the monotony of the scene were two or three buildings in the distance, apparently the square killas, the common defensive erections of these people, and to which their skill in military architecture is hitherto confined. Before us, on the high road, whose course being straight is visible for some distance, was a building with arched roofs after the Kándahár mode, which on reaching we found to be a houz, or reservoir of rain-water. The building was substantial, and the water good. It is a work of utility, as I saw no other water between the village I left in the morning and Robát, a distance, I suppose, of fifteen or twenty miles. It is called Houz Maddat Khân, from its founder, a Dúrání sirdár, of some eminence in the reign of Taimúr Sháh. The

embers of the fires kindled by the men of the caravan, who had halted here awhile in passing, were still alive. About two or three miles farther on, we approached the assemblage of tents on the plain of Robát. They covered the plain for a large extent, and must certainly have been five or six hundred in number. My companions went to the nearest of them, with the view of procuring food and lodging for the night, and directed me to a ruined fort, where they told me I should find the kâfila.

These Hâjís, or men representing themselves as such, travel about the country, subsisting on charity; and, as ignorance begets superstition, and superstition begets dread, they are looked up to with much awe and respect by these savages, who tremble at the very name of Mecca. Their character for sanctity ensures them the best of entertainment, in return for which they give blessings, or, if able to write, scraps of paper, which contain, as their credulous clients believe, preservatives, charms, and antidotes against all disasters and diseases. In these countries, where travelling to other individuals is attended with so much danger, they proceed in perfect security. In more civilized countries, and in the towns, they are treated with less respect; and although their character for sanctity is not disputed, they are usually told that Allah, or God, will supply their wants, and are reduced to sit in the masjîts, the common resort of the destitute.

On my road to the kâfila I was accosted by a

Patán, who asked if I was not a Hâjí; I said Hoh, or yes, when he uttered an exclamation relative to the wretchedness of my condition. Found the kâfil aencamped under the fort wall, and joining it, it was no easy matter to satisfy the curiosity of the several individuals composing it, but this accomplished, I became an object of neglect, and I began to fear the possibility of suffering from want among these people. I went to Khâdar Khân, the principal man in the company, and, stating my case, requested his assistance during the journey. He frankly replied, he would give me none, and farther said, I should not accompany the kâfila. Night coming on, fires were kindled, round which the individuals of the kâfila respectively grouped. Having no other clothing than the tattered perjâmas of the camel-drivers, and the cold being so intense that ice was found on the water in the morning, of the thickness of, perhaps, three quarters of an inch, I suffered accordingly, and ventured to approach the fires, invitation being out of the question. I did so only to meet repulses. I was rejected from all of them: some alleging I was a Kâfr, others no reason at all. In this desperate state of affairs, I was thinking of hazarding a visit to the tents, when a poor, but humane fellow, came and led me to his bivouac. He said he was but a poor man, and lived coarsely, but that I should partake of his fare during the journey; that he had absolutely no clothing, or I should not continue naked. My new friend, named Máhomed

Alí, was one of four associates, who had two or three camels laden with pomegranates. I gladly availed myself of his offer, and returned him my acknowledgments. He kindled his fire, and seated me by it, desiring me on no account to be dejected, that God was merciful, and would provide everything needful. I now became easy as to subsistence, and considered myself as one of the *kâfila*, whose composition I shall here briefly describe.

The most important personage was Khâdar Khân, Bárák Zai, and son of Júma Khân, formerly hákam, or governor, of Shikárpúr, and now in the service of Walí Máhoméd Laghári, the Nawáb Vazír of Ladkhâna in Upper Sind. Júma Khân was a brother of the reigning chiefs in Kándahár, Kâbal, &c.; but whether that his descent was tainted, that he had slender ability, or that he had little ambition, he had separated himself from them. His son, Khâdar Khân, carried on trade, and trafficked largely in horses. Business had led him to Kándahár, where he had carried his women and children; he was now escorting them back. He had a number of attendants and horses, and a plentiful show of tent-equipage for the accommodation of his ladies, who on the march travelled in camel kajáwas, or panniers; his nephew, Abdúlâh Khân, a fine young man of extraordinary height, accompanied them. Next in consequence, was one they termed, by way of respect, Hákamzâda, who was the báshí, or director of the *kâfila*, al-

though Khâdar Khân, or rather Abdûlah Khân, appeared to order the marches. There was also two or three Shikârpûr saiyads, well mounted and appavelled, and a well-fleshed jovial horseman, in the employ of the Sind chiefs: besides these, were a few poor traffickers, who drove camels, asses, &c. laden with fruits, snuff, and miscellaneous articles. Hâkamzâda owned the greater part of the merchandize in the kâfila, consisting of fruit, fresh and dried, madder, and carraways.

I was seated with my new friends, when a youth, travelling without means, came, and said he would put me in the way of procuring food for the night. I paid no great attention to him, feeling easy on that score, but my companions told me to go with him. I therefore obeyed, and was provided with a formidable long pole, for what purpose I was at a loss to conjecture; the youth and another Dûránî, destitute but well dressed, being similarly armed. We then made for the tents, nearing which, my associates commenced howling Allah! Allah! Allah! and the poles, I found, were to keep the dogs at bay while the begging of bread was carried on. The appeal for charity at no one tent was ineffectual, the inmates hastening to afford their mites, many even asking if flour or bread was needed. Our begging was carried on systematically. The youth, who appeared perfect in his part, and accustomed to such scenes, going towards the entrance of the tents and stating we were Hâjîs,

while I and the Dúrání, by plying our long poles, had to contend with dogs assailing us on all sides, as if conscious we were demanding the scraps which they considered their due. About thirty or forty pounds weight of bread was procured, of which I merely received as much as sufficed for the evening's meal. The cold increasing as the night advanced, I suffered much from the want of clothing; my companions, on preparing for sleep, furnished me with a quantity of wood, to enable me to keep the fire alive during the night, over which I was to sit; I did so, with my knees drawn up to my chin; nevertheless the severity of the cold was seriously felt. Towards morning, my situation being observed by a Mogal soldier in the service of Khâdar Khân, he came and threw over my shoulders a postín, or great-coat, if I may so express myself, made of the skins of dumbas, or large-tailed sheep, the leather excellently prepared, and the fleece well preserved. They are the general winter habits of all classes in Khorasân, and are certainly warm and comfortable.

I endeavoured to rise and return thanks, when I found that, what with the heat of the fire in front, and the intensity of the cold behind, my limbs were contracted, and fixed in the cramped position in which I had been so long sitting. I now became alarmed lest I should not be able to accompany the kâfila; nor should I had it started early in the morning, as kâfilas generally

do ; but this, with a view to the convenience of the women, did not march until the sun was high above the horizon. This was a fortunate circumstance, as the solar heat gradually relaxed the stiffness of my limbs, and as I became warm in walking the pain lessened. I know not whether to impute my misfortune here to the presence of the fire or to the cold. My legs and arms were covered with blotches, and at their respective joints were reduced to a state of rawness. The latter evil disappeared in a few days, but the pains in the limbs continued to distress me exceedingly for four or five months, and have not wholly left me to this day, and probably never will. The present of this postín was undoubtedly the means of my preservation, as I never should have been able to have passed another night in similar nudity ; and the cold, I afterwards found, increased for the next eight or ten marches.

The marches were not of extreme length, and I contrived tolerably well to keep up with the kâfila, starting with the asses, which went on first ; when, if unable to keep pace with them, I was sure of having the camels, which followed them behind, and which were always considerably in the rear. In this manner I was secure from interruption on the road by the inhabitants of the country.

We made five or six marches, over a wild and dreary country, the surface of the soil thinly che-

quered with low stunted bushes and plants ; amongst which the terk, and kâhshútar, or camel-grass, were the most prominent. There were no fixed habitations, and few traces of cultivation. From the plain of Robát we entered that of Búldak, slight rises, through which an easy road led, marking their boundaries. It was, if possible, more forbidding in aspect than the former, and there was much of its extent occupied by sand hillocks.

In one of our marches we passed a body of men, women, and children, migrating with their property to some more genial climate during the winter. The men had most of them matchlocks, but, I suspect, no ammunition, as they begged flints and powder ; and a small quantity of each given them, elicited many thanks. These people crossed our route. Leaden bullets with the men of this country, I believe, are generally out of the question, having seen them, in many instances, making substitutes of mud, which they mould and dry, and place in the ground, as they say, to harden. With such projectiles they contrive to kill large fowls, &c. During our progress we one day fell in with a large deposit of wheat chaff, intended as winter provender for cattle. It was opened, and all the available animals of the kâfila laden with its contents ; Khâdar Khân and the kâfila báshí directing the operation, and remaining with the mounted men while it was carried on.

We here saw no inhabitants, although from this

deposit, and the existence of water at some distance to the right, it was natural to infer that there were some in the neighbourhood. I could not here help drawing a conclusion, that if these kâfilas are liable to insult and extortion among these people, they in some measure deserve it, for, in no case where plunder could be safely perpetrated, was it omitted. The sheep or goat that strayed into their track was invariably made booty, and if they met with but a few tents, they did not fail to procure flour, roghan, krút, &c. without payment, which the inmates gave, fearing worse treatment. At one of our halts, by a pond of rain-water, called Dand Ghúlai, a faquí, mounted on a small horse without saddle, came from an adjacent collection of tents, which we did not see, and demanded alms, expatiating much on the splendour of the tents, and on the wealth in the kâfila. Abdúlah Khân asked him for his blessing, and while he was receiving it some of the men were engaged in fixing a cord around the neck of a large-sized dog which accompanied the faquí, and they succeeded in purloining it without notice. At this halting place large melons were brought to the kâfila for sale. The Hâjís, as usual, when any tents were near, went into them to pass the night, procuring better entertainment there than among the men of the kâfila; indeed, throughout Khorasân, among the Dúránís, charity appears extinct, as does also, with few exceptions, the existence of any kind of social

or benevolent feeling. We at length reached a formidable range of hills, at the entrance into which it was intended to have halted, but it was discovered that there was no water in the spots where it was usually found. Khâdar Khân was much mortified, as it was evening, and it became necessary to cross the range at once, a labour he would have been glad to have reserved for the morrow. Men were, however, despatched on all sides to search for water, and one returned with a piece of ice, which he exhibited as evidence of his discovery, but the water, although near, trickled from the crevices in the heights above, and would have been useless with respect to the animals; moreover, to encamp close to it was impossible. In this dilemma, two of the Atchak Zai appeared. They stated that they were acquainted with water very near, but would not discover it unless they received grapes, raisins, snuff, tobacco, &c, in short, something of everything they supposed might be in the kâfila. Khâdar Khân strove to induce them to moderate their demands, and much time was wasted in fruitless parley. The gesticulations of the savages, had I been free from pain, would have sufficiently diverted me, as well as the stress they laid on *ôbô*, as they call water, with the enormity of their demands. The khân, unable to come to terms with them, gave the order to advance.

We now ascended a steep and difficult path, down which the water oozing from the rock trickled

down. There was also much ice, and many of the camels slipped; the women had previously been removed, and seated on horses. This ascent naturally involved a troublesome descent, and we had to pass another elevation, equally precipitous, before we reached the summit of the pass, from which the extensive plain of Peshing burst upon the sight. At the bottom of the pass we found ourselves at the head of a darra, had a good place to encamp in, water in fair quantity from springs near at hand, with plenty of fuel, the small wood on the adjacent hills. This pass, that of Kozhak, was the only one we had hitherto met with, and the only obstacle we had encountered on the route, which, since leaving Kândahár, had been otherwise free from natural difficulties. The mountain range over which it leads has considerable length, and while here it forms the western boundary of Peshing, lower down it marks the eastern boundary of Shoráwak. Besides the principal pass of Kozhak, there are two other well-defined and frequented ones to the south, those of Roganí and Bédh, both crossing into Shoráwak; by the first of these the Lora river winds through the range.

In the morning we continued our progress through the darra, with hills on either side, of inferior altitude. There were numerous mimosa trees, from the trunks and branches of which gum plentifully exuded; it was eaten eagerly by the men of the kâfila, but I found it bitter and un-

palatable. On arrival at a small hut, constructed of the boughs and branches of trees, two or three men rushed from it, who, under the pretence of examination with reference to duty, rifled all the packages carried by the asses, and forbad further progress until their claims were satisfied. These men refused either to give water or to disclose where it could be found, and only after receiving a quantity of tobacco, would they give fire to enable the ass drivers to smoke their chillams. Both parties were in full debate, when Khâdar Khân and the horsemen, hitherto in the rear, came up, and instantly ordered an advance, it being nonsense to hear duty talked of in such a place, and by such men. I was, in truth, surprised at the audacity of these fellows, who were nearly naked; nor could it ever have been imagined that such miserable beings were entitled to collect duties. They were without weapons, and probably calculated on the stupidity or timidity of the ass drivers, who they might also have thought were proceeding alone. During their search a Korân received the marks of their respect, being applied to the eyes and lips.

On clearing this darra, we entered the plain of Peshing; to the right, on rising ground, stood a square castle, belonging to Abdûlah Khân, Sirdâr of the Atchak Zais. There were two or three mulberry-trees near it, and some cultivation of wheat, lucern, and melons. Khâdar Khân and his mount-

ed men rode up to the castle, for the purpose of arranging duty matters, and wished the whole of the *kâfila* to have accompanied him, but the men would not consent, fearing the rapacity of the Atchak Zai Sirdâr, should they place themselves in his power. We therefore, under the orders of Abdûlah Khân, the nephew, passed on, and crossed a small river, on which was a village, the houses built of mud. We then directed our course towards another village, a circular tower in which was visible far off. There we halted; the water supplied from a pond, the river being considerably distant. Khâdar Khân joined us, and expressed anger that the *kâfila* had not accompanied him, as the affair of duty would have been arranged.

The men who now came from the village to claim duty were most beggarly-dressed, and without shoes. A most contentious scene occurred, their demands being exorbitant; and nothing that evening was settled. These officers of the customs stayed with us during the night, and were most oppressive visitants, admitting no refusal of anything they asked for. The next day passed also in stormy discussion, and the evening approached without any satisfactory result, when the *kâfila bâshî* seized one by the neck, and pushed him towards the horses, telling him to count them, it appearing that the number of horses in the caravan was disputed. To count twenty, or twenty-five, actually exceeded the ruffian's numerical ability;

it was necessary to count them for him. The spirited conduct of the *kâfila bâshî* seemed to have its effect in bringing matters to a close; money was now paid, and matters were considered settled. The men, however, did not leave us, and towards night urged fresh claims as to the asses, and they with their burthens were carried into the village for inspection. In the morning a new subject for altercation was found; and a well-dressed youth made his appearance, who wrote Persian, and officiated as scribe; nor was it until the day was considerably advanced that the *kâfila* was permitted to proceed, fees having been given to the scribe and others.

I could not estimate the degree of danger attending our stay here, but *Khâdar Khân*, who, on the score of his family, had the most at stake, was continually walking to and fro in great agitation, and frequently uttered fervent ejaculations that God would deliver him from the hands of the *Atchak Zais*. It would have given me pleasure, had I known *Pashto*, to have learned what passed during the debates at this place, for undoubtedly much eloquence was displayed on both sides. I could glean, that the *Atchak Zais* ridiculed the menace of forcing a passage without payment of duty, and that they asserted it was much better to have *Hindús* to deal with, who without parley or hesitation paid five rupees for each ass, whereas they could only procure two from a *Mússulmân*, and that

after much dispute. The conduct of the men, who on the plea of collecting duty fixed themselves upon the *kâfila*, was most outrageous and extraordinary. They insisted that food should be prepared for them, and would not allow it to be cooked, kicking over the pots with their feet, and then with their closed fists scattering the fire. It was evident they wished rather to annoy than to be well entertained, and the consequence was, they were served with meat nearly raw, which they devoured like cannibals. The two evenings we halted here, the men of the village assembled in great numbers around us (for curiosity merely), seating themselves on the ground, at a little distance. None of them had weapons, which are perhaps scarce among them. Abdûlah Khân, their *sirdâr*, had, I was informed, a piece of ordnance, possibly a *jinjâl*, at his castle.

Leaving the village, our course led through a small belt of tamarisk jangal, clearing which we halted between a village and river close to it, the same, probably, we had before passed. The stream was in a deep sunken bed ; and there are no wheels on its banks to make the water available for purposes of irrigation, the natives saying they have no material for ropes. The water of this river, the *Lora*, which loses itself in the sands of *Shorâwak*, is a little saline to the taste, and is esteemed ponderous.

The next day's march led us anew amongst low

hills, and over an uneven country. We halted near a rivulet, two or three villages bearing to the left, with a few trees interspersed about them. These, I believe, were inhabited by the Ali Zai Patáns, and were dependent on Sháll. During the night robbery was committed on one of our saiyads, who suffered to the amount of one hundred rupees; his Korân, which was carried off, was afterwards returned in a mysterious manner. The thieves were not discovered, but the Ali Zai had the credit of the robbery.

The next march was cheerfully performed by the kâfila, as it removed them from the country of the Patáns, and brought them fairly into that of Mehráb Khân, the Bráhuí chief of Kalât. Here danger to the same extent did not exist; but in these semi-barbarous countries, where tyranny and misrule prevail, oppression never ceases. This day I was so absolutely exhausted, and my pains were so severe, that I was utterly unable to keep pace with the kâfila, and the camels even passed me. Leaving the rivulet a village occurred, near which the men were employed in winnowing corn; they suffered me to pass unmolested. Beyond it was a káréz of clear but badly tasted water, with a few tút, or barren mulberry-trees, on its course; and, farther on, a line of undulating eminences, preceding the large plain or valley of Sháll. Among the eminences I was compelled, from the acuteness of my sufferings, to cast myself on the earth,

and truly death, at that time, would have been hailed as friendly. With much difficulty I made my way into the plain; and in progress to the town, prominently seated on a lofty mound, and distant some three or four cosses, I replied to all I met that I was a Hâjí. It was dark before I reached it, when I learned from a soldier at the western, or Hanna gate, that the kâfila was immediately under the southern wall of the town. I passed into the bazar, where I met Gúl Máhomed, one of my companions, who conducted me to the remainder. All were glad to see me again, fearing some accident had happened to me; and I amused them by relating my adventures as a Hâjí on the road.

I may here observe, that my situation in the kâfila, as regarded attention and civility, had become very supportable. Khâdar Khân, who had refused me assistance, saluted me with congratulations the very next day, when he beheld me comfortably clad in a postín, and never passed me on the road without notice. The kâfila báshí associated himself with my companions in a kind of mess; I consequently had my meals with him, and was invariably treated with kindness. This man I afterwards saw at Haidarabád in Sind, where he had engaged in the military service, on a salary of two hundred rupees monthly.

The kâfila halted two or three days at Sháll, to arrange the matter of duty, which is collected

there, and to allow men and cattle a little rest. My pains grew intense, so much so that I was unable to accompany my friends on their departure. I made an effort to keep pace with them, but finding I could not, I returned to the town, not venturing, from what I had heard of the Bolan pass, to run the chance of proceeding alone through it.

At Shâll I was very hospitably treated, being lodged in the clean and upper apartment of the principal masjít, near the southern, or Shikárpúr gate, and regularly supplied with abundance of good provisions. My afflictions daily became less; and at length I announced my ability to depart, whenever a kâfila might arrive. Two or three horse kâfilas from Kândahár passed, but I was not allowed to accompany them, it being feared I should be left behind on the road by the horses.

The town of Shâll, or, as often called, Quetta, and Kot, is surrounded by a slight mud crenated wall, and may comprise three hundred houses. These lie at the base of a huge mound, on which stands the ruinous citadel, now the abode of the governor Jellâl Khân. The bazar is tolerably well supplied, and is a fair one for a provincial town, being the centre of much traffic with the neighbouring countries. It is situated conveniently on the road between Kândahár and Shikárpúr, as well as with reference to Kalât, and other places. There are many small gardens belonging to the town,

which appear as if newly planted, the trees being young. There are the vine, the fig, the pomegranate, the plum, and, I believe, the apple and pear; mulberries and apricots are plentiful, as are also melons in their season.

The valley of Shâll may be about twelve miles in length, with an average breadth of three or four miles. It is well supplied with water; and, besides good wheat and barley, yields much lucern, with, I believe, some madder. The neighbouring hills—the native region of the wild sheep—provide ample pasture for very numerous flocks of the domestic animal; and Shâll is proverbially celebrated for the excellence of its lambs.

I was much pleased with the climate in this valley, the frosts during the night being gentle, and the heat of the sun being far from oppressive during the day, as is the case at Kândahâr even during the winter. The people told me, that in another month they might expect snow, which would continue for two months, during which time they would be left to their own protection, the garrison retiring to the warmer country of Dâdar; and I saw them repairing the casualties in the town walls. They entertain apprehensions from their troublesome neighbours, the Khâkas, who live in the adjacent hills to the east, and north-east, and who have, on more than one occasion, sacked the town.

The outsides of the houses in the town were

mostly covered with the carcasses of sheep, salted and exposed to dry. The principal bones are extracted, and the limbs extended with small sticks. These flitches of mutton,—and they have, when cooked, very nearly the taste of bacon,—are called khaddít by the Baloches, and lándh by Afghâns. They are generally used for winter consumption, when the flocks of the pastoral tribes are removed to the plains of Kachí.

Besides the town of Sháll, there are in the valley a few other villages, as Ispangalí, and Karâní; the latter under the hills to the west, inhabited chiefly by saiyads, and boasting many gardens; with many small hamlets, belonging to the Sherwâní Bráhuís, towards the south. There are likewise some castles contiguous to the town, the principal of which is owned by Samandar Khân, a Dúrání nobleman of note.

The valley of Sháll was originally held by the Kássí Afghâns, who still dwell in the town and immediate vicinity. Having passed under Bráhuí rule, the Sherwâní tribe have intruded themselves into the southern parts of the valley; and some of the villages bordering on it, and included in the district, as Kúchílák, on the road to Peshing, and Berg, on the road to Mastúng, are held by Khâkas, wholly or chiefly.

CHAPTER XVI.

Civility of a Bráhmaṇ — Join a kâfila. — Sir-í-âb. — Kâfila báshí. — Bráhuí tribe. — Dasht Bí-dowlat. — Mimicry of Shahábadin. — Sir-í-Bolan. — Kajúrí — Vigilance. — Bíbí Nání. — Garm-âb. — Kirta. — Road from Garm-âb. — Khúndillán. — Dangerous locality. — Good scenery. — Abundance of forage. — Plain of Dádar. — Penible march. — Pass of Bolan. — Its advantages. — Separation of hot and cold regions. — Change in natural productions. — Dádar. — Produce. — Halt. — Surrounding hills. — Ferocious tribes. — Extreme heat. — Fracture of soil. — Sickness. — Proceed with difficulty. — Nárí river. — Encounter. — Hindú. — Escape. — My shoes taken. — Returned. — Miss road. — Regain it. — Morning repast. — Baloch youth. — Hájí Sheher. — Baloch soldiers. — Sháll mulla. — Various conjectures. — Ziárat. — Tirkárí products. — Kâfila. — Bâgh. — Scarcity of water. — Tombs of Mastapha Khán, &c. — Afghán conspiracy. — The saint beheaded. — His character. — Departure from Bâgh. — Character of country. — Reflections. — Sweet bájara. — Dangers of Dasht Bédárí. — Progress. — False alarm. — Roján. — Castles, &c. — Formerly subject to Kalát. — Jágan. — Kásim Shâh. — Charitable offerings. — Shikárpúr. — Its renown for wealth. — Its rise. — Flourishing state under Durání rule. — Its decline. — Its former influence. — Supplied the funds for Afghán wars. — Construction. — Buildings. — Defences. — Bazar. — Fruits and vegetables. — Canals and irrigation. — Trade. — Inhabitants. — Revenue. — Governor. — Lakkí — Insecurity. — Boldness of robbers. — Coinage and weights. — Importance of Shikárpúr to the Dúránís.

A LARGE kâfila arrived from Kándahár, of a multifarious description, and I was allowed to join it. During my abode at Sháll I had received

many attentions, from a respectable and wealthy Bráhmaṇ of Bikkanír, named Rúghláll. Learning I was about to leave, he invited me to his house in the evening; and after asking me if I could teach him to make gold, to plate copper with silver, and to cure diseases of the eye, he provided me with what I needed much, a suit of cotton clothing, and a supply of flour and roghan for my journey. My Mússulmán friends found a kid-skin, into which they placed my provisions, and slinging it over my shoulders, I followed the kâfila, which had preceded me.

As soon as I joined it one of the camel-drivers, finding that I was going to Shikárpúr, took my load and put it on one of his animals, so I walked unencumbered. The first march, of five or six miles, brought us to Sir-í-áb, beneath a small detached hill at the extremity of the valley, where we halted, near the source of a rivulet of fine water, which gives a name to the locality. There was some tilled land here, but no inhabitants. To our right was the high mountain Chel Tan, and where it terminated to the south, we descried the small pass, or lak, as here called, leading to Mastúṅ, so famed for its fruits. To our left were alike hills, and in front, the Dasht Bí-dowlat, over which the high road to Shikárpúr passes. The director, or báshí of the kâfila, was named Baloch Khân, and the camel-driver who had befriended me by lightening me of my

burden, proved to be in his employ. This led to Baloch Khân inviting me to join his party, which of course was very agreeable to me, and I at once became easy in the kâfila. We were here joined by a pastoral tribe of Bráhúís, who were proceeding to the warmer countries below the pass. They mustered above three hundred firelocks; and as the journey from hence to Dádar was esteemed perilous, their company was acceptable.

Early in the morning, having filled the mas-saks, or skins, with water, we left Sir-í-âb, and skirting the eastern base of the small hill we had halted under, we then struck across the bleak, sterile plain of Bí-dowlat. We occupied the entire day in the transit, and by evening gained the entrance into the Bolan hills, and having crossed a very slight ascent, we descended gradually into a darra, or valley, where we halted. There was no water here, but our people had provided against the want. We were this night highly amused by a witty fellow, called Shahá-badín, who personated one of the Atchak Zai, and proffered to diclose where ōbō, or water, could be found. He imitated the tone and expressions of the savages exactly, and extorted loud peals of laughter from his auditors. I had got over the first march to Sir-í-âb pretty well, but the long one of this day proved too much for me, although the road had been good, and I experienced a renewal, in some degree, of my former pains.

On the following morning, our course led us along the valley, which had a continual but gradual and easy descent. To march was toilsome, as the bed of the valley was filled by small stones and pebbles. From it we gained another valley, with which it communicated; and here, after a short distance, we came upon a variety of springs, the water of which gushed from the rocks to the right, and formed a stream. Some of the springs discharged large volumes of water, which released themselves with a considerable noise. This spot is called Sir-í-Bolan; and the sources are those of the rivulet, which has fixed its name upon the pass. We did not halt here, but proceeded until we reached Kajúrí, a spot so called from a solitary date-tree, which arose opposite to us in graceful majesty,—an emblem of our approach to more genial climes. Our road was throughout this march along the same darra, and over the same kind of pebbly surface. We had seen no inhabitants, but occasional tracks across the hills seemed to indicate their existence near. During the night the sentinels were particularly alert, keeping up an incessant discharge of matchlocks, and shouting “Hai! Kábadár! Hai! Kábadár!”

Our next march continued through the darra, and we lost the Bolan rivulet, while to the left the country became more open. The road also became less stony, as we reached Bíbí Nání, where we found

another rivulet, which, I was told, came from the hills of Kalât. This place is a shrine of some repute, and has some curious legends connected with it. The hills here yield fuller's earth, or some analogous substance. The road winds through the low hills at this point, and enters the extensive plain of Kirta. The river flowed to our left, and crossing the plain we halted at Garm-âb (warm spring), or the sources of the third river we meet with in the Bolan pass. About half a mile to our left, or to the north, was the small village of Kirta, inhabited by Baloches, subjects of Kalât, but at the mercy of the predatory hill tribes. Many of the women came to procure water from the springs, which, as their name implies, are tepid, and in the pools formed by them are myriads of small fishes. The houses of Kirta were constructed of mud and stones; and amongst them was a square tower. There is some land cultivated, principally with rice, and there might be much more, were there any security.

Our Bráhuí companions were desirous that the kâfila should have halted at Kirta for a day, but this was not acceded to, although the march we had in front was through the most critical part of the pass. The kâfila therefore proceeded without them.

Leaving Garm-âb, we came upon a large marsh, with a muddy bottom, and much choked up with reeds and flags. It is formed by the waters of Garm-âb, and from it issues the clear stream, which hence, to the termination of the pass, was to be our

attendant. This marsh immediately precedes the entrance into a series of defiles, and is not, I believe, to be avoided by beasts of burden, who with difficulty wade through it. Pedestrians, like myself, leave it to the right, and follow a slender path winding around the enclosing hills. In this march we had continually to cross and recross the river, whose bed was generally occupied with large boulders, and occasionally with flags. The water was delightfully transparent. During the early part of the day the darra was more or less open, or not so contracted as to be termed, justly, a defile, but on approaching a spot called Khúndilân the hills on either side closed upon each other, and the narrow passage between them was entirely filled by the water. Previous to arrival here the kâfila was condensed, and the armed and mounted men formed in a body, it being judged fit to move with caution and be prepared, in a part of the pass which, of all others, seemed to be the most dreaded. Within the defile there was a large cavern in the hills to the right, and under it a pool, said to be unfathomable;—there was evidence of great depth of water in the limpid and azure-tinged water. The scenery was here sufficiently good; indeed, throughout this day's march the natural features of the several localities were interesting. Emerging from the defile, we traversed a fine open space, favourable for encampment, with the river to the right, and also winding to the front. Crossing it, we again

passed through defiles into another and lengthened darra, but wide and open;—and this traversed, other defiles led us into a more spacious valley, where there was an abundance of coarse grass. It may be observed, that there is throughout this journey more or less forage, particularly from Khúndilân; there is also a good quantity of cultivable soil; and, from the admirable command of water, it is obvious that, were the country secure, great quantities of rice might be grown. As it is, exposed to perpetual depredations, no one dares to settle in the valley, or cultivate its soil. Neither is adequate advantage taken of its plentiful pastures, for no one ventures to graze them. From this last valley, which has an appellation I forget, derived from its herbage, a short passage cleared us of the pass altogether, and brought us into the plain of Dádar. The broken ground here was covered with stunted trees and brushwood, and we had finally to cross the river, which flowed to the right hand. Passing a few old tombs and shrines, we at length halted on the borders of a canal of irrigation, with the town of Dádar and its date-groves in sight, some two or three miles distant.

I could have enjoyed this march under other circumstances, but what with its length, and the ill condition I was in, it proved a pénible one to me. The constant crossing of the river, and the necessity of tramping so often barefooted, nearly exhausted me, and my feet at the close of the journey were

sorely blistered. It was in vain I strove to keep company with the *kâfila*; and before reaching *Khúndillán*,—behind it as usual,—two or three shots, fired from the hills, caused me to raise my eyes, when I perceived three or four men. They were, however, too far off to give me trouble, and I saw that they were moving from, and not towards me.

The magnificent pass of the Bolan may be said to be, throughout its extent, perfectly level, the gradual ascent of the upper portion of it, and the slight *kotal*, or pass, if deserving the name, by which the *Dasht-Bí-dowlat* is gained, scarcely forming exceptions.

It is interesting on many accounts: being, with the *Múlloh* pass, far to the south, the only route of this level character intersecting the great chain of mountains, defining, on the east, the low countries of *Kach Gandáva* and the valley of the *Indus*; while westward, it supports the elevated regions of *Kalât* and *Sahárawân*. There are many other passes over the chain, but all of them from the east have a steep and difficult ascent, and conduct to the brink of the plateau, or table-lands. Such are the passes of *Takári* and *Nághow*, between the *Bolan* and *Múlloh* routes, and there are others to the north of the *Bolan*. This pass is no less important, as occurring in the direct line of communication between *Sind* and the neighbouring countries with *Kândahár* and *Khorasân*. It also constitutes, in this

direction, the boundary between the Sard Sél and Garm Sél, or the cold and hot countries. The natives here affirm, that all below the pass is Hind, and that all above it is Khorasân. This distinction is in great measure warranted, not only because the pass separates very different races from each other, speaking various dialects, but that it marks the line of a complete change of climate, and natural productions. As we near Dádar we behold the âkh, or milky euphorbia;—no plant is more uniformly found at the verge of the two zones: belonging to the warmer one, it stands as a sentinel, overlooking the frontier, over which apparently it may not step.

Our next march was merely a change of ground, and brought us within a mile of the town of Dádar. I was unable to visit it, but it appeared to be walled in, and of some extent, containing many tolerable looking houses. The Hindús of the bazar resorted to the kâfila to traffic. The neighbourhood was well cultivated; the soil, besides being naturally good, is well watered by numerous canals, large and small. Many hamlets are sprinkled over it; and the produce, besides grain, consists of sugar-cane, and the indigo plant. There are two fazls, or harvests, the vernal and hibernal. The town is held by the Khân of Kalât, and the governor is generally one of his household slaves.

We halted near Dádar for two days. Transit-fees were levied from the kâfila; after which our

company, augmented by Baloch traders, started for Bâgh.

The hills in this part of the country describe a vast semicircle, the principal ranges to the west, before noticed, stretching away to the south, and ending only on the shores of the ocean. Immediately to the north, and north-east of Dádar, are other hills, enclosing the valley of Síbí, and the abodes of Khâkâs, Kadjaks, Shílânchís, Bárrú Zais, Marrís, and other mingled Afghân and Baloch tribes : while to the east extend a succession of ranges, the southern termination of the great Súlímân chain running parallel to and west of the Indus. On the side bordering on Dádar and Kachí, they are inhabited by savage tribes, whose predatory habits render them a great annoyance to the inhabitants of the plains, as they frequently issue from their fastnesses in overpowering numbers, and plunder the villages. On the opposite side they look down upon Sanghar, Déra Ghází Khân, and the Kalât chiefs' districts of Hárand and Dájil. The heat at Dádar is singularly oppressive, and the unburnt bricks of the old tombs are pointed out as having become of a red hue in the fervent rays of the sun.

At a little distance from Dádar a line of jabbal, or low hills, or rather a fracture in the surface, extends from east to west across the country, and separates the particular valley of Dádar from the great plain of Kach Gandáva. The road throughout this fissure is level, but the broken mass assumes

a variety of fantastic shapes, and may have a breadth of three or four miles. Where it ends, the hard level plain begins.

I had scarcely commenced the march from Dádar when I was seized with vomiting, occasioned I knew not by what, unless by the water, which here has a bad repute. It was night when we marched, both to avoid the heat of the day, and that the manzil, or place of intended halt, was distant. The kâfila soon passed me; and helpless, I laid myself on the ground, and awaited morning. I was fearful of losing the road. At the dawn of day I arose, and continued my way. I passed through the fracture just noted, and had reached the plain beyond, when my disorder drove me to seek the shade of some low hills to the right of the road. Here two or three horsemen of the kâfila, who had stayed behind, came to me. They kindled a fire, their object being to smoke chirss. They encouraged me to proceed, telling me I should find the kâfila at a village, the trees of which were visible in the far distance. I strove to do so, but was soon redriven from the road; and this time, the bank of a dry water-course afforded me shade. At length, with my strength somewhat renewed, I again followed the road, and by evening, approached the village of Hírí.

Here was a river, the Nárí, to which I hastened to appease my thirst; and on crossing a ravine to regain the road a ruffian assailed me with a drawn

sword, and ordered me to accompany him. Clearing the ravine, he examined my postín, and the kid-skin bag containing the remnant of my flour, which I chanced to have with me this day. Much parley ensued, he insisting I should follow him, and I objecting to do so. I told him, if he was a robber, as his weapon made him superior, to take what he wanted; to this he replied by putting his forefinger between his teeth, and shaking his head, signifying, I presume, that he was not one. I was unable to prevail upon the fellow to depart; when a Hindú suddenly made his appearance. Neither I nor my oppressor had before seen this man; an angel could not, however, have more seasonably interposed. The Baloch, still unwilling to relinquish me, said I was a thief, but the Hindú would not admit it; and asking me if I belonged to the kâfila, told me it was on the other side of the village. On hearing this, and that I had friends near, the fellow relaxed, and I and the Hindú passed over to the other side of the ravine. The Hindú separated from me, and I made for the road, when the Baloch, looking and seeing me alone, called me to return, and as an inducement plied me with stones. Having the ravine between us, and descrying three or four men in a cultivated field adjacent, I paid no farther attention than to return him his missiles, and the abusive epithets he liberally bestowed with them.

I next went to the men in the field, and told

them the Baloch striking across the plain was a robber. My tattered garments were again explored; and certainly had I possessed anything worth plunder it would have been taken. As it was, the elder of the men remarked, "What could be plundered from you?" and in the same breath asked me to exchange my shoes for a pair of *châp-las*, an uncouth kind of sandal. I refused, although the shoes were old, and absolutely worn out, as they had become convenient to my feet; yet my refusal was of no avail, and the shoes were taken from me; the men asserting that I gave them of my free-will, and I, that they were forcibly seized. It was promised that a youth should conduct me to the *kâfila*, which was said to be two cosses distant. The good Hindú, it seemed, had told me it was here to disentangle me from the Baloch. May his righteous purpose excuse the untruth. The old man, however, on putting the shoes on his feet, said they were not worth exchanging, and returned them. He then placed his fingers upon his eyes, and swore that he was a *Mússulmân*, and no thief. He invited me to pass the night at his house, by way of atonement, and assured me of good entertainment. I might have trusted myself with him, as this application of the fingers to the eyes is equivalent to a most solemn oath, but it was my object to gain the *kâfila*. I therefore declined, and the road being pointed out to me, I struck into it.

Night coming on, I repaired to some old sepulchres, or *zírats*, on the road-side, to await the rising of the moon, the better to find my way. By moonlight I proceeded, but it was soon manifest that I had missed the road, and, ignorant of its direction, I thought it best to tarry until morn, so I wrapped myself in my *postín* and went to sleep.

At daybreak I observed, not far off, a man of respectable appearance, of whom I inquired the road, stating that I had gone astray. He lamented that a *Mússulmán*, for such he supposed me, should have been compelled to sleep on the plain, and leaving his own path, he guided me into mine. In a short time I made a village, situated on the *Nárí* river. The river occupied a wide bed, and the banks on either side were high. I descended into the bed, and under shelter of the near bank I passed the village unobserved. Beyond it, I took my frugal breakfast, soaking my scraps of bread in the waters of the stream.

Here I was accosted by a youth, who also wanted to exchange shoes. He had himself a new pair, and perfectly sound. The exchange would have been to his prejudice, as I pointed out to him, yet I could not afford to part with my old and easy ones. He did not, however, insist. I was hardly yet aware that a *Baloch* generally prefaces robbery by proposing exchange, or by begging some article, as the plunderer of the *Afghân* tribes

near Kândahár first asks his victim if he has any tobacco or snuff. The brother of Mehráb Khân of Kalât was encamped near this village with a party of horse.

From the river-bed I passed through a fairly wooded jangal of small bér, mimosa, and tamarisk trees. It swarmed with the pastoral Bráhuí tribes, who had recently arrived, and taken up their winter quarters here. Beyond this belt I reached the small town of Hájí Sheher, held by Máhomed Khân, the sirdár of the Sherwâní Bráhuís. It was walled in, and contained a small but good bazar. The two domes of its principal masjíts had been conspicuous for a long time above the jangal. Within the walls were perhaps two hundred and fifty, or three hundred houses, Hindú and Máhomedan; without were groves of large bér and mimosa-trees. The Sherwâní chief levies a transit-fee on merchandize. I found that the káfila had stayed the night here, but had passed on in the morning for Bâgh.

A Hindú directed me as to the road I was to take, but cautioned me not to go alone. I went on, having become habituated and indifferent to danger and adventure. The same kind of light jangal prevailed. I was soon passed by three Baloch soldiers, mounted on camels. One of them said to me, in Persian, "Ah! ah! you are an Uzbek." I told him I was not, but he maintained that I was, laughing, and in good-humour. This was not

the first time I had been taken for one of these Tartars.

In the town of Shâll, notwithstanding my own affirmations, confirmed by many of the inhabitants, that I was a Farang, or European, several believed that I was an Uzbek. The mûlla, or priest, who officiated in the masjít, where I was lodged, one day informed a large company, with an air of great self-satisfaction that I was a Turk. He nodded his head, and winked his eyes, as if his superior penetration had discovered an important secret. Another individual seriously annoyed me by persisting that I was a kârígár. This term I had heard in Dáman and the Panjab used to denote a bull. It was to no purpose that I contended I was a “*mir-dem*,” or man, and no kârígár, or, as I understood it, bull. The individual in question would have it that I was one, or at least a kârígár. A better acquaintance with languages taught me that the word was employed in Persian to express an adept, or expert person, in which sense, no doubt, the man intended it. At the same place a woman daily visited me, always bringing some trifling present of fruit, sweetmeat, &c., and craving my blessing. I could not surmise why she thought me qualified for the task, until I heard her one day tell another woman that I was the “*díwâneh*,” or idiot, from Mastúng.

‘ Continuing my route through the jangal, I came upon a deserted and ruinous castle, and then upon

a village to the left of the road. It was dark when I reached a cluster of villages and date-groves, which I was so certain was Bâgh that I did not inquire, and satisfied that I should find the kâfila in the morning, I retired for the night to a zîárat, and quietly reposed.

It turned out, however, that I was mistaken, and when I arose at daybreak, I found that the place was called Tirkárí, and that Bâgh was a good coss farther on. The greater part of this distance traced the river-bank. The country here was populous, and well cultivated. The soil is fertile, yielding sugar-cane amongst its produce; júwárí and bájara here, as throughout the province, are the principal objects of the agriculturist. The preference shown to them would seem to show, that they require little moisture, and that experience has proved them to be adapted to the soil and climate. They subsist both man and animal, and are grown in such quantities as to be largely exported. In favourable seasons, or when the supply of rain has been sufficient, the returns are said to be excessive. Other kinds of grain, as wheat and barley, are raised, forming the spring crops, and the Jet cultivators, or zamíndárs, are allowed to be very skilful.

I found the kâfila at Bâgh, between the town and river, and in a grove of mimosas.

Bâgh is one of the most considerable towns of Kachí, although containing not more than six to eight hundred houses. It formerly was in a more

flourishing condition, and many Hindú soukârs, or bankers, resided at it. They have removed to Kotrú, where they think themselves more secure under the government of a petty dependent chief than under that of the weak paramount authority of Kalât, administered by a household slave. The bazar is still respectable, as the site of the place preserves it from total decay. It has the monopoly of the trade in sulphur, derived from the mines near Sanní; and the government officers collect transit-duties from traders. I was astonished to learn, seeing the river was so considerable, that fresh water was frequently scarce at Bâgh, and that at certain seasons it was an article of sale: but I was assured that, in a short time, the channel of the stream would dry up, and water only be found in wells, dug in its bed. I was also informed, that wells made in the town or neighbourhood, yielded a fluid, too saline to be applicable to useful purposes.

Close to Bâgh are some conspicuous tombs, covering the remains of remarkable persons. Amongst them are those of Mastapha and Réhim Khân, preserved in the same monument, half-brothers, and both sons of the illustrious Nassír Khán. Mastapha Khán was renowned for his valour, and fell by the hands of his brother, Réhim Khân; the latter was slain by the sister of Mastapha Khân. Another tomb commemorates a famous politico-religious character, put to death by Shâh Zemân. The Vazír Fatí Khân,

afterwards so notorious, then a mere youth, was a disciple of this worthy, as were a great number of the young Afghân nobility. The initiated formed a conspiracy to dethrone the king, and to assassinate his minister, Waffadár Khân, and to raise the Shâhzâda Sújah to the throne. The plot, on the eve of accomplishment, was revealed to the minister by one of the accomplices. Sarafrâz Khân, the father of Fatí Khân, expiated the crime of his son, who escaped, and many of the conspirators were seized and put to death. A party was sent to Bâgh with orders to bring in the head of the holy man, the father or patron of the dark and foul treason. This event is worthy of note, as it was the proximate cause of the convulsions which have since desolated Afghânistân. Of the character of the holy man of Bâgh there can be little doubt, although he has since death been canonized. He was a Súfí, and, with his disciples, professed himself to be a "Húsan perrast," or, "admirer of beauty."

We halted three or four days at Bâgh, and on taking our departure forded the river about half a mile below the town; nor did we afterwards see it. We made three or four marches, and reached a village on the borders of the desert belt, called the Pat of Shikárpúr, or, sometimes, the Dasht Bédarí.

During our progress we passed a well-cultivated country, but the villages were mostly either in ruins

or entire and deserted by their inhabitants. It was wonderful to see the immense fields of *bájara*, in the most thriving state, and apparently mature for harvest, but not a soul to reap them, or even to claim them. The cultivators had fled before the hill marauders, who had scoured the country. As the *kâfila* slowly paced over the afflicted land a mournful interest was excited by the contemplation of the melancholy scenes around us. It was no less painful to reflect on the probable misery of the poor people forced to abandon their property and homes. Nor could such feeling repress the sentiment of contempt for the feeble government, unable to protect its subjects, for it was admitted to be powerless against the licentious banditti of the mountains.

The village we halted at after leaving *Bâgh* was peopled, so was the one on the borders of the *Pat*; the intervening country was vacant, as described. In passing the extensive fields of *bájara* the men of the *kâfila* distinguished a variety, whose stem had a saccharine taste, little inferior to that of sugar-cane. They discriminated it by inspection of the leaf, but I vainly sought to acquire the secret. They said no sugar could be extracted from it.

There is considerable danger from predatory bands in crossing the desert tract which now spread before us. Its name, "*Bédári*," or "*vigilance*," implies as much, and truly, from the multiplied robberies and murders committed on it, it has become of

infamous notoriety. The *kâfila bâshî* determined to make but one march across it, and we accordingly started about sunset, with our massaks filled with water.

We were in motion the whole of the night and following day, passing in our track a tomb to the right, whose elevation renders it serviceable as a point of direction, there being apparently no beaten road. Once during the day, a cloud of dust being observed, the *kâfila* was halted, the men with matchlocks assembled, and the horsemen took up position in front; the camels were also condensed, and made to kneel. The arrangements were good, but unnecessary; the dust, being merely the effect of a whirlwind, subsided, and the journey was resumed.

Some time after passing the tomb we descried a long line of *jangal* before us. This at once denoted the termination of the desert, and our approach to the territory of Sind. We proceeded about two cosses through this *jangal*, in which some cultivated land was interspersed, and about an hour before sunset reached *Rojân*, where we halted.

There were here two castles, or rather villages, enclosed within walls. Fields of *bâjara* and cotton were around them. The water, of very indifferent taste, was procured, and in small quantity only, from a series of shallow wells, or pits, under the walls of one of the castles. The inhabitants, or the chief of the village and his clansmen, were not disposed to be very civil, and on a slight occasion

seemed anxious to pick a quarrel with the men of the kâfila.

I understood that Rojân was subject to Mehrâb Khân, but I apprehend my informant intended me to comprehend that it should be, as it once was. It was formerly held by Magghazzís, who were subjects of Kalât. They have been lately expelled, or, as was said, exterminated by the Jamâlis, a branch of the great Rind tribe, who have placed themselves under the sovereignty of Sind.

Our next march led us to Jágan, the road through the same kind of jangal, with villages and cultivation occasionally occurring. Jágan is enclosed, and has a small bazar. We here found Kâsim Shâh, the Governor of Shikárpúr. He visited the kâfila, cordially embraced the báshí, and arranged the matter of duty in a free, gentlemanly manner.

As most of the traders, and others of the kâfila, were established at Shikárpúr, and as the perils of the journey were considered over, kairáts, or charitable offerings, were made at Jágan. The more opulent provided sheep, with which they regaled themselves and their companions.

While competent to perform ordinary marches, I was little able to get through long ones, and the unusually severe one across the Dasht Bédári had brought me into great distress. The kâfila marched from Jágan to Shikárpúr, but I could not pass the distance at once, and went quietly on from village to village, well treated by the peasantry, a mild and

unassuming people. In two or three days I reached the city of Shikárpúr, of which I had heard so much. I found it large and populous, but was somewhat disappointed with regard to its appearance, although reflection soon suggested that I had no reason to be so.

This city, renowned for its wealth, is particularly celebrated for its Hindú bankers and money dealers, whose connections are ramified throughout the countries of Central Asia, and of Western India. It is especially the home of these people, where their families are fixed, and where are detained those of gomastahs, or agents, located in foreign countries.

As the city is not understood to be one of great antiquity, it is possible that the influx of Hindús to it is not of very distant date, and that it was occasioned by the fluctuations of political power. As the existence of some great centre of monetary transactions, in this part of the world, was always indispensable for the facilities of the commerce carried on in it, it is not unlikely, looking at the facts within our knowledge connected with the condition of the adjacent country during the last two centuries, that Múltân preceded Shikárpúr as the great money mart, and that from it the Hindús removed, converting the insignificant village of the chace into a city of the first rate and consequence.

Shikárpúr, no doubt, attained its high rank under the Dúrání monarchy of Afghânistân, and much of the prosperity of its bankers was due to the vicious

operation of that institution, and to the errors of the Dúrání character. Many enriched themselves by loans to the ministers of state, generally careless financiers; and by acting as treasurers to nobles, who deposited with them the spoils of their provinces and governments, and who, subsequently, died without revealing the secret to their heirs.

The fall of the Dúrání empire has been accompanied by a correspondent decline at Shikárpúr, both by depriving its capitalists of one great source of their gains, and by causing an uncertain and disturbed state of affairs in the surrounding countries. This decline has, moreover, been aided by the growth of a strong power in the Panjâb, and by the consequent renovation of its trade, and commercial marts. Many of the former bankers of Shikárpúr have since established themselves in the cities of Múltân and Amratsir,—the latter, at the present day, rivalling the importance of Shikárpúr at its proudest epoch.

It is not unlikely, that the decline of Shikárpúr, and the breaking up of its monopoly, may be ultimately favourable to the regions around; for its influence, pushed beyond its legitimate exercise, was, it may be suspected, injurious on the whole. It was so grasping, that not only by accommodating the various governments did it anticipate their revenues, but it seriously depressed agriculture by absorbing, in return for advances, the produce of the soil. In fact, the unlimited command of capital possessed by the

Shikárpúris placed at their disposal the entire resources of the state, and of the country, with the profits of foreign and domestic trade. All were poor but themselves; and their wealth was noxious to the general community, and unhallowed, as all wealth must be, acquired from the necessities and impoverishment of others.

To the curious in Dúrání history, it may be pointed out, that from Shikárpúr were supplied the funds which set on foot those successive inroads into, and invasions of the neighbouring countries, which are recorded in every page of it; until the monarchs lost their credit, and the restless nobles, no longer occupied in foreign expeditions, directed their ambition against each other and the throne, nor terminated the fatal strife until they had involved it and themselves in ruin,—a frightful, but natural result of the system of waste at home, and of rapine abroad, which had characterized the short-lived monarchy.

As a city, Shikárpúr is indifferently constructed. The bazar is extensive, with the principal parts rudely covered, so as to exclude or moderate the heat, which is extremely powerful. As usual in Indian cities, there is the inconvenience of narrow and confined streets; nor is too much attention paid to cleanliness. It would seem, indeed, that filth and wealth were inseparable.

Amongst the public edifices there are none commanding attention. Two or three masjís only

might invite notice, without repaying it. Some of the residences of the opulent Hindús are large and massive buildings, presenting on the exterior an imposing but dull appearance, from their huge brick walls.

The city was once surrounded with mud walls, but can no longer be considered other than an open place, its dilapidated defences having been allowed to crumble into decay. The Afghâns affect to despise fortresses; and it may be observed, in all important cities once under their government, that the bulwarks have been neglected. No inducement could make Ahmed Shâh order a trench to be fashioned under the walls of his capital, Kândahár. The monarch proudly remarked that the ditch of Delhí was that of Ahmed Shâhí (Kândahár).

The bazar of Shikárpúr is exceedingly well supplied, the neighbouring country being abundantly fertile, and productive in all kinds of grain and provisions, while it has a fish-market, plentifully stocked from the Indus. There are numerous gardens in the vicinity, yielding the ordinary Indian fruits, as mangoes, shâh-túts, or long mulberries, plantains, figs, sweet limes, melons, and dates; to which may be added, sugar-cane, (here eaten as a fruit,) both of the white and red varieties. There is also no scarcity of common vegetables, the egg-plant, fenu-greek, spinach, radishes, turnips, carrots, onions, &c.

About a mile, or little more, from the city, is a cut, or canal, from the Indus, but it appears to be only occasionally filled with water; for, on one

occasion I had to wade through it, and a few days after found it so dry that I could scarcely have imagined there had ever been water in it. For the constant supply of the city, there are numerous wells within and without its limits, and the water is believed to be good and wholesome. For the irrigation of the cultivated lands, wells are also in general use, and require to be dug, of no great depth.

Formerly, the trade of Shikárpúr was much more considerable than at present, and it was very much visited by kâfilas. The bazar still exhibits great activity, and there are many fabrics still industriously carried on of cotton, the produce of the country. Its lúnghís are next esteemed to those of Pesháwer.

While the inhabitants are principally Hindús, its long dependence upon the Afghâns has led to the location at it of a great number of mixed and various Afghân families. There are also many Baloch and Bráhuí residents, but few or no Sindians, whom no attraction could allure to settle in an Afghân city. The character of the Máhomedan population is not good; the men are reputed ignorant and crafty, contentious and cowardly. The Hindús are, as Hindús everywhere else, intent upon gain by any manner or means; and the females of their community are universally affirmed to be licentious and lewd.

Under the Dúránís, Shikárpúr had its governor,

dependent, I believe, on the superior one of Déra Ghází Khân. Its revenue, including that of the contiguous district, was rated at eight lákhs of rupees; at present, about two lákhs and a half can only be obtained by extortion, loudly complained of. Of this two thirds belong to the Amirs of Haidarabád, and the remaining third to the Amír of Khairpúr. The governor is deputed from Haidarabád; and was now, as before noted, Kâsim Shâh, a son of Mír Ismael Shâh—generally employed by his masters in their negotiations with the Afghâns and British. Kâsim Shâh was, by great odds, the best of his family, and was deservedly held in the highest esteem by those over whom he was placed.

Shikárpúr is sixteen cosses distant from the island fort of Bakkar in the Indus, and twenty-one cosses from Lârkhana. About four cosses from it, on the road to Bakkar, is the once considerable town of Lakkí, which, populous and flourishing under the Afghâns, is said to have contributed one lách of rupees as annual revenue.

It appears as if it had been suddenly deserted, the houses yet being entire and habitable; and now affords shelter merely to marauders. In the same direction, and on the bank of the Indus, opposite to Bakkar, is Sakkar, once a large town, and alike in ruins. This tract, with the fortress in the river, was held by the Dúránís; while Rohrí, a large town

on the eastern bank, was belonging to the chief of Khairpúr.

The occupation of Shikárpúr and district by the Sindians would seem to have been followed by an instantaneous decline in the prosperity of both. The towns in the neighbourhood were deserted, and the outcast population became robbers. I found matters in such a state that the inhabitants of Shikárpúr scarcely ventured without the walls with impunity, being frequently on such occasions robbed; although, to prevent such disorders, patrols of horse circumambulated the city during the day. On the banks of the canal I have mentioned, as about a mile from the city, are some Hindú fáquírs establishments, with some full-grown pípal-trees. To the spot the Hindús frequently repair for amusement, and always on their days of festival. One of the holidays occurred during my stay, and drew forth an amazing concourse of people. The spectacle was pleasing, and even impressive. Strange to say, notwithstanding the crowds and the publicity of the day, there were Hindús plundered between the city and canal; yet Shikárpúr is not the only eastern city offering the anomaly of danger without and security within its walls.

Shikárpúr has, or had the privilege of coining; and the rupee is a very good one, nearly or quite equal in value to the sicca rupee of India; it has

also its peculiar weights and measures, and enjoyed under the Dúránís many immunities. It has probably passed the zenith of its prosperity, and may, possibly, experience a farther decline; yet its favourable situation, in the midst of a rich country, will preserve it from total decay; and, although it may cease to be the great money-mart of Central Asia, it will long linger in existence as a market for the surrounding countries.

To the Dúrání sovereigns its possession was of the highest importance, as from it they overawed Sind, and enforced the unwillingly rendered tribute of its chiefs. It may be observed, that the recent operations beyond the Indus have induced arrangements by which the city and adjacent territory are likely to be permanently placed under British authority.

CHAPTER XVII.

Odd appearance.—Sakkar.—Bakkar.—Rohrí.—Khairpúr.—Its insalubrity.—Division of country.—Introduction to Ghúlám Rasúl Khân.—His mission.—His attendants.—Bounty of Múlla Háfiz.—Departure from Khairpúr.—Dúbar.—Intricacy of road.—Súltánpúr.—Saiyad's rebuke.—Mattéli.—Extensive view.—Masjít companions, and society.—Conversation.—Supper.—Pítah Sheher.—Masjít repast.—Fáquírs.—Mírpúr.—Sindí woman.—Hospitable villagers.—Suspicious men.—Khairpúr.—Sabzal Kot.—Evil guides.—Fázilpúr.—Meeting with Ráhmat Khân.—Peasantry of Sind.—Villages and masjíts.—Administration of country.—Hindús.—Saiyads.—Pírs.—Fáquírs.—Takías.

I STAYED two or three days only at Shikárpúr, and determined to recross the Indus, and enter Northern Sind, with the intention of ultimately proceeding to Lahore, the capital of Máhárájá Ranjit Singh. My postín, many years old, was so full of rents, and so rotten, that I was every day occupied two or three hours in repairing it, and the variously coloured threads employed gave it a singular and ludicrous appearance. To add to the unseemliness of my habiliments, the dress bestowed upon me by the Bráhmaṇ at Sháll was fairly in tatters, and my shoes were absolutely falling from my feet.

I therefore passed through Lakkí, and reached

the deserted town of Sakkar, on the banks of the river. I passed the night at a masjít, where only one man, the múlla, attended, to pray. He brought me a supper of bread and dhâl, and sat in conversation with me some time, giving his ruler, Mír Sohráb, but an indifferent character.

In the morning I went to the river, and found a boat ready to cross, into which I stepped, when a Hindú asked me for a pais, the passage fee. I observed, I was a Hâjí, and had no pais, but he insisted I should give one. I had none, and rose as if to leave the boat, when he desired me to sit, and I passed over to Rohrí.

On a rocky island opposite to this town is the fortress of Bakkar, once held by the Dúránís, at this time subject to Mír Sohráb. Notwithstanding its imposing appearance, with its large extent of wall, and its indented battlements, it is of no consequence as a defensive erection in modern warfare, being entirely commanded by the heights and detached hills on either bank of the river, at Sakkur and at Rohrí. There are a multitude of Máhome-dan tombs and shrines in this neighbourhood, many of them splendidly covered with painted tiles. One, eminently superb, stands on a small islet between the town of Rohrí and the larger island of Bakkar. The effect of the landscape is wonderfully increased by the beautiful stream, and the immense groves of date-trees, which fringe its banks. Every traveller will be delighted with the scenery of this favoured

spot, and its attractions allured me to linger in it two days, and to leave it with regret.

The town of Rohrí is seated on the bank of the river, immediately opposite to Bakkar, and the houses have an antique and venerable appearance in the distance. The interior of the town is comparatively mean, and the bazar, while well enough supplied with provisions, is very rudely composed. There is a peculiar rupee current here, and certain weights are in use, superior to the ordinary ones of Sind. Rohrí is an ancient site, no doubt succeeding Alor, the capital of Upper Sind at the period of the Máhomedan invasion, and whose remains are still known and pointed out near it.

From Rohrí the road leads through a wilderness of date-groves and gardens for above three miles, when, a little open country passed, I reached the small and pleasant village of Bâh, and thence another six miles brought me to Khairpúr. This place, originally a cantonment, has gradually increased in importance, until it has become the capital and residence of Mír Sohráb, the chief, or, as he is called, the Mír of Upper Sind. It appears, on approaching it, a vast assemblage of trees, none of the houses being observable, and consists, in fact, of houses and huts intermingled with groves and gardens in a remarkably confused manner. The bazars abound with foreign and native produce, and British manufactures are freely met with. The commerce of the place is extensive, and the Hindús are wont

to remark, that if the town were seated on the river gold might be gathered by handfuls. In the very centre of the bazars is the palace of Mír Sohráb. It occupies a large space, and is surrounded with castellated walls. From the exterior the only prominent object is the cupola of the masjít, decorated with green and yellow painted tiles. Khairpúr is a filthy place, and is esteemed unhealthy; which, looking at the stagnant marshes around it, and the extreme heat, need not be wondered at. The same causes, however, impart a beautiful verdure to its groves of mangoe, mimosa, and other trees. The water drank by the inhabitants has alike a bad repute; but the Mír has a well within his walls, so much esteemed, that his relatives at Haidarabád are frequently supplied from it. Mír Sohráb's territory extends southernly for a considerable distance, or forty cosses; and on the western side of the Indus he has a slip of land of about twenty cosses. He also has a third share of the revenue of Shikár-púr. He has given portions of his country to his sons, the eldest Mír Rústam, the second Mír Mobárák. Mír Sohráb is very old and infirm, and unpopular, from his tyranny and oppression. His son, Mír Rústam, although dissipated, is less disliked. Related to the Mírs of Haidarabád, he consults with them on matters of general and foreign policy, but they do not interfere in the administration of his country. His minister is Fatí Máhoméd Ghorí, an aged and avaricious man.

When at Khairpúr passing by the house of Fatí Máhomed, at the eastern extremity of the town, my appearance, certainly singular enough, induced a party of men occupying a kind of shed, to make themselves more merry at my expense than I was pleased with, and I spoke sharply to them. I did not comprehend all they said, but knew that they called me a madman, as perhaps they supposed me to be. I was strolling in an adjacent mimosa grove, when one of the party accosted me and asked whether I was not a Feringhí. I said yes, and he invited me to return with him, as a mistake had occurred. He explained to me, that his master was Ghúlám Rasúl Khân, a Dáoudpútra, and vakíl, or envoy, from Bahâwalpúr. We went back together; and the vakíl was told I was not a madman but a Feringhí; on which he apologized, and I observed that it was possible I might be both. While we were conversing, one Gúl Máhomed, a companion in my journey from Quetta to Shikárpúr, whose business had led him to Khairpúr, came to call upon Fatí Máhomed. He was profuse in expressions of joy at seeing me again, and entered into such exaggerated details of my consequence, as to make a deep impression on the mind of the Bahâwalpúr envoy, who would not be satisfied unless I consented to stay with him, while he informed me that he expected his dismissal in a few days, when he would conduct me to his village near the Sind frontier, and provide me with clothing and other

necessaries. Ghúlám Rasúl had been deputed to treat for the restoration of Kot Sabzal, now the frontier town of Upper Sind, but which had been wrested from Bahâwalpúr during the rule of Sâdat Khân, father of the present khân. The plea of original right was set up by Mír Sohráb, and Ghúlám Rasúl, I presume, was entrusted with the commission of establishing the claims of Bahâwalpúr rather from the circumstance of his local knowledge, as he resided within twenty cosses from Kot Sabzal, than from his high condition or diplomatic ability. He was, nevertheless, a Dáoudpútra, of the same tribe as his prince, held a small jághír, and as respectable as khâns in Bahâwalpúr generally are.

He was scarcely above twenty years age, but very creditably corpulent, whether from natural bias or from indolence and good-nature. His attendants were about twelve in number, and a more supine or dirty set of men could not be imagined. Most of them were Saiyads, and besides eating their meals and smoking tobacco, did little but drink bang and intoxicate themselves. They were called soldiers, yet there were but two crazy matchlocks amongst the whole of them; and one of these was sold when I was with them. Ghúlám Rasúl was, however, as correct in conduct as mild and unoffensive in manner, and, as a mark of his station in life, one of his filthy attendants was his falconer. The vakíl was the only one of the party even tolerably clad, in white raiments, and he appeared to have only the suit he

wore, for when it was necessary to wash it he was obliged to sit wrapt up in a kamlah. His people endeavoured to convince me that he was a great man at home, and prayed me not to estimate him by his appearance abroad.

The party, being guests of Fatí Máhoméd, the minister of Mír Rústam Khân, were provided with their meals from his kitchen; but they were so scantily supplied that I was glad an acquaintance I chanced to make relieved me from the necessity of trespassing upon them in this particular. Múlla Háfíz, in charge of Fatí Máhoméd's masjít, became friendly with me, and brought me daily my food in his brass vessels, although it gave him the trouble of scouring them after I had used them.

I had remained above a month at Khairpúr; and, seeing no indication of movement on the part of Ghúlám Rasúl, determined to proceed without him. He was sorry I should go; but I was in so sad a plight as to clothing that I was compelled to go somewhere, under the hope of being better equipped. I therefore took leave of him one evening, when seven of his retinue were lying in so confirmed a state of stupefaction from their daily potations that they could not be aroused to receive my adieus.

I reached a small village, where I passed the night; and the next day, halting a while at Bâh, again entered Rohrí, where I learned as much as

I could of the road I had to traverse, and acquired the names of the villages I should meet with.

Conscious of my singular appearance, I felt ashamed to confess myself to be a Feringhí, and resolved, when accosted by any one, if asked whether I was a Patán, or this, or that, to say yes; and, if asked directly who I was, to reply that I was a Mogal, as I had discovered that appellation was vaguely applied, and might be assumed by any one with a fair complexion.

I made a small march from Rohrí, and the next day reached Dúbar, a hamlet with a rivulet flowing near it; there was an ancient masjít, and two or three Hindú shops. The jangal had become very close, and abounded with wild hogs, though adjoining the hamlet there was much pasture land. Dúbar was eight cosses from Rohrí. I there inquired the road to Súltânpúr, which, I was told, was fourteen cosses distant. The roads in this part of Sind are nothing but foot-paths, and are so continually crossed and recrossed by others that it is next to impossible for a stranger to know the one he ought to follow. I was continually losing my way, and, although I never failed to reach some village, and to be well received, it was five or six days before I found myself at Súltânpúr. The country was covered with the most intricate jangal, affording, however, subsistence in its grass to numerous herds of buffaloes. Súltânpúr was a large straggling village, surrounded with much cul-

tivated land ; while fine groves of trees, mimosas, bérs, and pípals, were interspersed amongst the houses, and adorned the environs. The bazar was small, but neat, and abundantly supplied. I repaired to the principal masjít, placed on a mound, and seating myself with my back to the wall, extended my feet towards the west, or in the direction of the kabla. A saiyad rebuked me for so doing, and the officiating múlla asked him why it was improper, as I was not sleeping, but sitting. The saiyad explained, and related a tale of some unfortunate person, whose feet were nailed to the ground for placing them in a position like mine. Another individual, on my observing that I was going home, asked whether to the Feringhí country? I said that I was a Mogal, and he made no farther remark. I passed the night at Súltánpúr ; and the saiyad who had taught me to be careful as to my feet, living in the apartments belonging to the masjít, furnished me with an ample supper.

I had now to inquire for Mattéli, said to be eight cosses from Súltánpúr, and was two or three days before I found my way to it, being constantly straying from the road, yet invariably well treated at the villages I accidentally fell in with. Throughout this part of the country the jangal is burned when new lands are to be brought under cultivation ; and now on every side were seen huge columns of ascending smoke. Mattéli is a small town, seated on an eminence, at the foot

of which was a large expanse of water. In the neighbourhood are groves of enormous pípal trees. Its site and the character of its scenery is attractive, while its houses have a picturesque and ancient aspect. The bazar contains many Hindú shops, and the banyas have a darramsâla. That the locality has pretensions to antiquity, is shown by numerous remains of former buildings. From the summit of the mound a most extensive view is obtained of the surrounding country, presenting an immense mass of dense jangal, the positions of the several villages being marked by the clumps of taller trees, towering above the ordinary level. My next stage was Mírpúr, ten cosses distant, and it was pointed out to me by the inhabitants.

I took up my quarters at the masjít, and found there an aged but respectable-looking man, like myself, a masâfar, or stranger, who called himself a saiyad. At the period of the fourth prayers he was asked to join in them, but declined, affirming that he did not know the characters of the people, or of the múlla, behind whom he should stand. These reasons were admitted; not that they were good, but from courtesy. I was not asked to pray, as it was said I was a fáquí, and fáquírs are allowed to be graceless. We were afterwards joined by another masâfar, also a well-dressed old man, who gave out that he was a mír, and going to Múltán. Connected with the masjít were apartments, one inhabited by the person appointed

to take charge of the building, and others for the use of travellers and strangers. In one of them we were seated, the péshkidmat, or servitor of the masjít making an excellent fire; and the interval between the fourth and fifth, or last prayers, was spent in much amusing conversation.

It must be conceded, that three impostors were this night trespassing on the charity of the good people of Mattéli. The silver-haired sinner, who avowed himself a saiyad, was no more one than I was; the man of Múltân was too ignorant to be considered a mír; and certainly I had as little pretensions to be thought a Patán fáquí. Our saiyad, however, talked most, and in the Hindústání dialect, better, perhaps, understood by myself than by his other auditors. He repeated some most egregious falsehoods, and gave an account of his travels in a country beyond Thibet, where beggars were fed on golden plates. He then, with reference to me, descanted on fáquírs, and described the several classes; to a class never possessing wealth, he, naturally enough, referred me. The péshkidmat was lost in wonder at these narrations, and often exclaimed on the singularity of having three persons from countries so distant assembled together, and seemed to be very proud of being honoured with their company. The saiyad, who, of course, came from no ordinary place, asserted that he was from a country beyond Chín, or China. His language betrayed him, and his

frequent mention of Delhí satisfied me as to where he belonged.

When the fifth prayers were concluded, and good Mússulmâns take their supper, we, the strangers, were thought of; and the péshkidmat, to whose duty the office belongs, brought in plenty of bread and sâgh, or vegetables boiled with roghan, and seasoned—a very general accompaniment to bread in Sind—the vegetables being spinach, or métí, (fenugreek.) My companions, to support their quality, and, perhaps, expecting something better, pretended to be unable to sup unless on meat; and the bread and sâgh was given to me, and I made a very good meal of it. Nothing more costly was produced, and the saiyaḍ and mír were finally obliged to put up with bread alone, complaining loudly of the inhospitality of the people of Mattélí. When they departed in the morning one of the villagers observed, that the saiyaḍ was a kímíā-ghar, or alchemist; and my having been satisfied with sâgh was so well taken, that breakfast was brought for me before I left.

On the road to Mírpúr I could find my way no better than before; and on one occasion falling in with a stream of water, which I could not cross, I was entirely put out of the direction, and after much wandering, found a person who put me into the road for Pítah Sheher. It was evening when I arrived, and I was shown to the masjít, where

it seemed that visitors were rare, therefore my reception was the more cordial.

Many people assembled at prayers, and I was asked to join, but I replied, that I had not fit clothes. The remark was made, that it was a pity a Mússulmán should be prevented from saying his prayers for want of clothes. After prayers, the company partook of a common repast in the masjít, and I understood it was the usual practice. The múlla was a portly and superior person; he spoke to me in Persian, as I said I was a Mogal. One of his scholars, reading the Korân, surmised that I was a Feringhí, but his suspicion did not communicate to the rest, or they were indifferent. Alúâ, or a preparation of flour, roghan, and sugar, had been provided for the party, and I need not add, that the múlla was careful to regale me. Pítah Sheher was a large bazar village, and the vicinity more open than the rest of the country I had seen, and extensively cultivated. The inhabitants appeared respectable, and in easy circumstances. Besides grain, I had occasionally observed cotton-fields on my route, but here were many plots of sugar-cane. Mírpúr was still four cosses distant, and the interval I found wholly occupied by villages and cultivation. My postín was so oddly considered, and drew upon me so much attention, that I was detained at every village I came to. At one, a person accosted me as a Hâjí;

and, as I did not deny the character, he invited me to his house. He was himself, as he told me, a fáquí, but a wealthy one, as he possessed land, and was master of thirty cows. I stayed with him two days; and on parting he presented me with a stick to keep off dogs, which are numerous and fierce in all the villages. I had never been annoyed by these animals; but now that I had a stick in my hand, was twice bitten in the leg at the first village I came to; I therefore threw aside the unlucky weapon.

I next reached Mírpúr, a considerable town, with a mud fortlet, and an abundance of gardens, particularly well stocked with mango and plantain-trees; around spread a most luxuriant cultivation of sugar-cane. I merely passed through this town, inquiring the road to Khairpúr, four cosses distant. The jangal had now become drier, and there were many cotton-fields. As I travelled from village to village I always experienced the same good treatment, though I could not avoid being noticed. At one, a man asked me if I was a robber, not exactly meaning what he said, and I replied, that he was one himself. A female standing by, invited me to her house, and when there told me to sit down while she prepared some bread and broiled fish for me. She was the handsomest woman I had seen in Sind, and very smartly attired. The women of Sind dress gaily, in bodices worked over with variously coloured silks in many patterns, into

which they frequently insert pieces of looking-glass. My pretty hostess wore a red silk bodice, tastefully decorated in this manner, which set off her fine form to great advantage. So agreeable a companion detained me the greater part of the day, although I was not conversant enough with the country dialect to hold much profitable conversation, yet I understood that she had desires unaccomplished, and that she languished to become a mother. I moved on to another village and passed the night, and started in the morning at break of day. I soon came to a hamlet, where the people would insist upon my staying and taking wat with them. This wat is made of wheat boiled in milk, and seasoned with salt or sugar, and is the nâster, or morning meal, of the peasantry in Sind, eaten as soon as they rise. Some sixteen or seventeen brass basins of this preparation were set before me, besides two or three bowls of buttermilk, every house in the hamlet having furnished one. I laughed, as did the villagers, and to avoid offending, sipped a little from each, and, commending their hospitality, departed. I next encountered two men, of mistrustful aspect, who seemed to hesitate whether they should interrupt me or not. At length one of them said to the other, There is no telling how such people are inspired; and returning, for they had passed me, they craved my blessing. I gave it in due form, and breathed on them, when they went

satisfied away. I also met a fáquí, who asked where I came from. I said Kándahár, and he observed, why tell an untruth? I returned some careless answer, and he left me.

Khairpúr I found to be a good sized bazar town, and, like Mírpúr, encircled by numerous gardens, and richly cultivated lands. Sabzal Kot was now ten cosses distant. The intervening space showed more jangal and fewer villages, while there was more pasture and marshes. When I reached Sabzal Kot, observing it to be a walled town, I entered by one gate, and walking through the bazar, went out by the other. I understood that the town had declined in consequence; still it exhibited some activity in its trade. Being a frontier town, there is a small garrison, and three guns are mounted on the ramparts. Without the town walls was a small castle, in which resided Pír Baksh, the governor. My object now was to gain Fázilpúr, the gharri, or castle, in charge of my former Baháwalpúr friend, Ráhmát Khân; and I hoped, that if fortunate enough to find him there, I should be able to remedy my want of clothing. I learned that I had yet six cosses to travel.

On the road, which led through a thick jangal, I met two women, of whom I asked if I was on the right path, and they told me they were going my way. I accompanied them, and as we walked along they invited me to come to their

village. Before we reached it my fair friends began to suspect they might be taxed with having brought a strange man home with them, and coming to a path diverging from the road, they desired me to follow it, as it led to Fázilpúr. I was simple enough to follow their directions, and after a long journey, found that the path terminated in the jangal, and that the women had purposely sent me astray to get rid of me. I had nothing to do but to retrace my steps, or to strike at once into the jangal, towards the point in which I supposed Fázilpúr to lie, and though it was evening I took the latter course, and it was night before I came to a village, where was a neat compact masjít, in which I was accommodated; and though the hour was unseasonable, I was provided by the múlla with a good supper. Fázilpúr was only distant two cosses, therefore I was in no haste to depart the next day, and did not leave until the afternoon. When I descried the lofty towers of the castle some misgivings naturally arose in my mind, and I thought on the chances of meeting my Rohilla friend, and of the awkward trim in which I should appear before him. However, the time did not admit of scruples being entertained, and I walked up to the gate, where I found Ráhmat Khân sitting on a takht, or mud sofa, with a circle of his dependents around him. He immediatly recognized me, rose and embraced me, and in the society of old ac-

quaintance I spent a happy evening, relating where I had been, and what I had seen, with the many adventures which had befallen me.

In this journey through northern Sind, I could not avoid being impressed with favourable opinions of the peasantry. Everywhere they seemed to be a contented, orderly, and hospitable race. Their fertile and productive soil afforded them, at slight labour, the simple necessities of life in abundance; and notwithstanding they complained of an oppressive government, their condition was very respectable. Their villages were composed of mud houses, and huts of reeds, but the climate required no more substantial structures. The mas-jíts were in all of them the better buildings, and were well tended, the people being, while simple in manners, equally devout as Mússul-mâns. Each of them was provided with a múlla, and other attendants; and at this time of the year, it being their winter season, warm water was prepared for the ablutions of those who attended prayers. On the other hand, the administration of the country was very defective, and the ill-paid hirelings of the chiefs scattered over it practised every kind of petty extortion and insult; not perhaps that they were authorized to do so, but because they were not looked after. The Hindús, who, as in the neighbouring countries, carry on, nearly exclusively, the trade, led a far from enviable life, unless, indeed, their gains

compensated for the contumely with which they were treated, for throughout Sind a Hindú cannot pass from one village to another without paying a fee to some Máhomedan for his protection. Saiyads are held in the greatest veneration, and many of them lead most licentious lives. It is often remarked, that a saiyad may commit any crime with impunity. The higher families amongst them, however, preserve so inviolate the sanctity of their houses that they will not allow them to be entered by their neighbours, or by any who are not, like themselves, reputed to be descendants of the Prophet. Sind also swarms with pírs, or spiritual guides of the higher class ; and as they, in common with saiyads and fáquírs, enjoy grants of land, and frequently whole villages, much of the revenue of the country is diverted to their support. The number of resident fáquírs subsisting upon the charity of the community is also very remarkable in Sind ; no village is without them, and in towns they abound. Their residences, generally huts or sheds, are distinguished by a lofty pole, surmounted by a flag, and secured with ropes, in the manner of a flag-staff. There are kept chillams for the smoking of tobacco, and chirs, and utensils for the preparation of bang. Several fáquírs usually dwell together, and have charge of the tomb of some eminent predecessor, or saiyad. They invoke Imâm Hussén as their patron saint, and their

takías are the rendezvous of the lax and dissipated, who, unfortunately, are so numerous that they would excite a contemptible idea of the state of manners and society, did not one revert to the sober demeanour of the agricultural population.

CHAPTER XVIII.

Improvement in my affairs.—Fázilpúr Gharri.—Inundations.— Their increase.— Reasons of.— Wish to leave.— Objections.— Nautch girl.—Departure.—Chúta Ahmedpúr.—Kází's greeting.— Costume.— Pass for a Mogal.— Peasantry.— Rámazân.— Fákúir.—Noshára.— Súltânpúr.— Máchi.— Agreeable Evening.— Reasonable entertainment.— Mistaken for a Pír Zâda.— Town with Hindú pagoda.—Country.— Khânpúr.—Indigo.— Expanse of water.— Salâm Khân.— Channí Khân-dí-Got.— Ramkallí.— Mogal-dí-Sheher.— The two Uches.— Ancient remains.— Sieges of Uch.— Gárra river.— Canal.—Pír Jelâlpúr.—Sújah Kot.—Change in aspect of country.—Bazars, &c. of Sújah Kot.—Múltân.—Citadel.— Commerce and manufactures.— Ruins.— Tombs.— Shrine of Shams Tabrézí.— Tradition.— Gardens and fruits.— Population.— Attacks by Ranjít Singh.— Capture and assault.—Consequences.—Sohand Mall.—Administration.— Departure from Múltân.— Masjít.— Encounter.— Wells.— Danger of road.— Seek shelter from rain.— Queer companion.— Familiar hostess.— Disagreeable company.— In risk of being misled.— Error discovered.— Custom of peasantry.— Idle menaces.— Reflection.— Beautiful river scenery.— Kamâlia.— Scene of Alexander's exploits.— Conjectures on Kamâlia.— The Ptolemæan march.—Saiyad-wâla.—Luxuriant country.— Bér-trees.— Nákot.— Níazpúr.—Respectable Síkhs.— Fine view of the Râví valley.—Noh Kot.—Arrival at Lahore.— General Allard.— Splendour of his establishments.— His subsequent decease.

I WAS soon enabled to exchange my old garments for new ones, and the ground, as a place of rest

at night, for a khât, with becoming coverlets, the luxury of which I had not known for many months. Râhmât Khân was very anxious to improve my lean condition, and as he was somewhat of an epicure, it would have been my own fault had I not benefited by the good things from his kitchen.

Fázilpúr, though originally a very substantially-constructed gharri, of kiln-burnt bricks, is falling into decay; and the khân of Bahâwalpúr abandoned a project for repairing it on the score of expense, even after materials had been brought to it for the purpose. It is said, that there was formerly a considerable town here,—of which the present gharri may be a memorial,—and that the wells belonging to it, three hundred and sixty in number, are yet to be seen in the jangals. It is certain that brick wells occur; and it is not improbable that the country we now behold covered with swamps and jangals was once free from them, and smiling with cultivation.

East of Fázilpúr is, in all seasons, a large deposit of water, and during the periodical inundations of the Indus it becomes, with its dependent small hamlet, isolated. These inundations have sensibly increased latterly in this quarter; and I was told that at certain times the country is so completely under water that the communication with Khânpúr is, or might be, carried on with boats. Khânpúr from the bank of the Indus is fifty-seven cosses. On the western bank of the river, in the

parallel of Ladkhâna, there has, in like manner, been a manifest increase in the inundations. The tract, assigned in jâghîr to the great Chândî tribe, had been so unproductive from a deficiency of water that the inhabitants were distressed, and *complained. Recently, however, the inundations have extended to it, and it is confessed that the cause for complaint has been removed. It may not be necessary to suppose a general increase in the water of the river, as the changes, of course, to which it is constantly liable, will account for these partial variations in the quantity of water discharged upon particular localities, whether they be due to the resumption of forsaken channels, or to the formation of new ones.

About a month passed with my good friends at Fâzilpûr had so entirely set me up, that I grew impatient to prosecute my journey to Lahore, computed to be two hundred and forty cosses distant. Râhmat Khân was urgent that I should await the return of a party he had despatched to Dêra Ghâzî Khân, with a barât, or order for money, on the authorities there, being ashamed, as he said, that I should leave him without money in my pocket. I protested both against the necessity for intruding on his bounty in such manner, and against the delay which the uncertain arrival of his messengers might occasion. I have elsewhere mentioned that Râhmat Khân was straitened in his means, and that his expenses greatly exceeded his income. Chance

now put him in possession of a few rupees; and I might have been allowed to depart had not a nautch girl appeared in the neighbourhood, and the killadár could not resist the temptation of the amusement afforded by the exhibition of her talents. She was accordingly sent for to Fázilpúr, and the diversions of an evening emptied his purse. Two or three days afterwards he contrived to procure four rupees from the Hindús of the hamlet, I only consented to receive two of them; and taking farewell of him and his companions, with the regret we experience when parting with friends, I made for Chúta Ahmedpúr, distant five cosses. Ráhmát Khân had given me a guide, and a letter to his party stationed at Bara Ahmedpúr, though I told him I should not revisit that place, having no desire to encounter again either the Bakhshí or the ague.

We arrived in the evening at Chúta Ahmedpúr, two villages amid the jangal having been passed on the road. I was led to the house of the killadár, who was a native of India, and commander of the regiment quartered there. He civilly received me; and I found sitting with him the dancing-girl who had figured at Fázilpúr. She asked if I had been pleased with her display, and I said I had been delighted. The kází of the town hearing of my arrival, sent to pray I would visit him. I went, and found a very corpulent old gentleman, seated on a chahárpâhí, on which he bade me also sit. I was scarcely in position, when he remarked to the people

about him, that I was a Kâfr; upon which I arose and asked, if he had called me to insult me. He assured me to the contrary; but not choosing to be refuted, repeated, in confirmation of his dictum, a verse from the Korân. I did not oppose such grave authority; and, after conversing some time, we all parted very amicably; for notwithstanding his conviction that I was an infidel, I found that he did not intend to give offence; and he lamented that the killadár had anticipated him in the gratification of making me the evening's guest.

In the morning my guide returned to Fázilpúr, and I proceeded alone towards Noshára, twelve cosses distant. I was now decently clad in white cotton raiments, made in the Rohilla fashion, had a white turban on my head, and a kammar-band around my waist, while I carried a double cháddar, or sheet, over my shoulders, which served to cover me at night. I felt that I had every right to call myself a Mogal, which did not seem to be doubted; and I moreover discovered that I was treated respectfully both on that account, and that my clothes were new and finer in texture than those worn by the peasantry. Every person I met inquired who I was, and where I was going; and my hands were often examined, when concluding they had not been employed in laborious toil, it would be affirmed that I was "mallúk," or of quality. At one village a Hindú placed himself under my charge, and avoided the payment of a fee for his protection.

It was easy to see that the peasantry were an inoffensive people, and I was pleased to observe that they were unoppressed, like their brethren in Sind, with the presence of disorderly fáquírs, and of shoals of rapacious government officers. A general feeling of security and content prevailed, in which the stranger participates, and he moves cheerfully forward, conscious that he is roving in a well-regulated land. It was also gratifying to hear the inhabitants speak affectionately of their ruler, although as pious Mússulmâns they lamented his dependence upon the Síkhs.

It was now the month of Rámazân, the great Máhomedan fast, which was rigidly observed. I was, however, guilty of nonconformity, justifying myself on the grounds that I was travelling, and would atone when I reached the end of my journey. Such excuses were usually admitted; but sometimes it would be remarked, that Mogals and Patáns were irreligious. On one occasion, when I had gone to a house to procure breakfast, an itinerant fáquíř, resting himself, was lavish in the epithet of Kâfr, and asserted that no Patán ever kept fast or repeated prayers. In spite of his denunciations the people prepared bread for me. It was only in the morning that I had to encounter scruples of this nature, as in the evening meals are prepared as at other times.

Noshára was a small bazar town, situated on an eminence, with a deep ravine on the east. It had

a very large house, the residence of the kârdâr, or administrator of the khân. Numerous villages had occurred between it and Ahmedpûr, and the jangal abounded with grass, becoming as I advanced more sandy. Beyond Noshâra, I had heard at Fâzilpûr, that there was more or less danger for six or seven cosses, and it was confirmed to me now, but as I had still two or three hours of day light I determined to proceed, although cautioned not to go alone by people in huts on the opposite side of the ravine just noted. The road was good, and a little after sunset I reached the village of Sûltân-pûr, where I inquired for the máchí's, or dhai's house, which was pointed out to me. It proved to be a respectable dwelling, and I was very politely welcomed. The master provided me with a chahârpâhí, and brought the chillam, entering freely into conversation. The females were occupied in their domestic offices; and amongst them was a most engaging young girl, of sixteen or seventeen years of age—already, I found, a mother. After a bountiful repast we all retired into another apartment, where we formed a circle around a blazing fire, and passed a comfortable evening in discoursing on all kinds of topics. My host, as I told him I was from Herát, inquired when Kám-rân would come and chastise the Síkhs, and I replied, in due time. This question I had often put to me; and I discovered there was a current belief that the prince of Herát was to be the avenger of Islâm. The

beautiful young wife had her place by the fire-side, unconscious, perhaps, of her charms, or the admiration she was calculated to excite; and I could not help recalling to memory, as I ventured to look towards her, Dryden's lines—

—— A blooming eastern bride
In flower of youth and beauty's pride.

In this apartment the family also slept; and so simple were their manners, or so little ceremony was observed with me, that my chahárpâhí was introduced and placed amongst them. In the morning, when I bade all of them farewell, I had only to pay four pais for my entertainment; to which I added, as a present, two pais to purchase linna, to colour my host's beard, observing that he dyed it of a red colour. He was quite delighted, and made me promise to visit him again when I returned, as I had informed him it was probable I should. I here was again informed that the road was dangerous, and therefore when I had gained it, it being little distant from the village, I sat beneath a tree in the hope that company would pass. As none came I grew impatient, and went on alone. I at length reached a hamlet, consisting of four or five peasants' houses and a masjít, contiguous to the roadside, with a well. The women came and embraced my feet, supposing me to be a pírzâda who had some time before honoured them with his presence. I strove, in vain, to disabuse

them, and they regaled me with a repast of bread, butter, and buttermilk. A young Albino boy was shown me, as being of my colour; and one of the good wives asked me when her son, who had gone on pilgrimage, would return.

From this hamlet I arrived at a small, but better-constructed town, the houses being built with kiln-burnt bricks. It was said to be midway between Chúta Ahmedpúr and Khânpúr, or twenty cosses from each. It was remarkable for having a Hindú pagoda near it. Hence to Khânpúr I passed on with the same facility, always well received, and generally not permitted to pay for my entertainment. The country was throughout populous, and the land near the villages well irrigated and cultivated. The desert of Jessalmír to the south frequently impinged on the line of road; and as the soil was drier the jangal was in consequence very slight, and the trees and shrubs of diminutive growth. Around Khânpúr villages were very numerous, the face of the country open, and the lands wholly in a state of cultivation. I have before observed that Khanpúr is a commercial town; and that it has long been so seems evidenced by the fact that one of the gates of Shikárpúr is called the Khânpúr gate; it is probable, indeed, that it may have been once of greater importance, its name signifying the Khân's City, and that it may have declined since the creation of Bahâwalpúr.

From Khânpúr to Allahabád, a distance of twenty

cosses, there is light jangal with a sandy soil; good villages constantly occur, and the inhabitants use, generally, bread made of rice-flour. In this part of the country indigo is largely prepared, and I often passed the cemented vats and tanks used in its manufacture. I apprehend the article is not costly, but being cheap and plentiful, it supplies principally the markets of the countries beyond the Indus, and is even carried to Bokhára. I did not exactly follow the high road, but skirted a large expanse of water to the north of it nearly the whole way; its surface was covered with wild fowl, and fish were caught in vast numbers in it, while there were excellent pastures near the margin. I understood that in course of time the water would disappear, whence I inferred that it was but the residue of inundations from the Panjâb rivers.

On arrival at Allahabád I paid my respects to my former and esteemed friend, Salám Khân, and remained two days under his hospitable roof. He was kind and obliging as before, and I might have stayed a longer time with him without intruding, but I deemed it right not to indulge too much on the road, now that I was hearty and able to make my way without inconvenience.

I therefore proceeded towards Uch, distant fourteen or fifteen cosses, traversing the central portion of the Khân of Bahâwalpúr's territory. Beyond a small rivulet, which defines on the east the plain of Allahabád, a transit of four cosses,

through a dry, sandy, tamarisk jangal, brought me to the small, but apparently commercial town of Channí Khân-dí-Got, and thence other four or five cosses conducted me to Ramkallí, where I passed the night at the máchí's house. This was evidently an old site. There are the remains of large kiln-burnt brick buildings, and the vestiges of an extensive mud fortress. The latter is said to have been destroyed by the great Bahâwal Khân, grandfather of the present ruler. Tradition affirms the antiquity, and the former opulence of Ramkallí; now it may have about a dozen inhabited houses, with a solitary Hindú shop. The locality is very agreeable, and embellished with straggling evidences of its old date-groves.

From Ramkallí, three cosses led me to the towns of Uch, embosomed in an immense assemblage of date-groves. Immediately preceding them was a small hamlet, called Mogal-dí-Sheher, or the Mogal City, worthy of note, as corroborating the testimony of Ferishta, that a colony of Mogals, having been chased from many places in Sind, were anciently permitted to settle here.

There are now two Uches contiguously seated. The eastern one is small, but contains a celebrated zíarat, a large, handsome, and old Máhomedan structure, to which many pilgrims repair. The western Uch is called Pír-ka-Uch, (the pír's Uch,) its revenue being enjoyed by a Pír Nassiradín, who resides there, and is acknowledged to be an un-

doubted descendant of one of the twelve Imáms. There are now no walls to this town, but the ruinous gates are standing. The bazar is covered over, but uncouthly, with rafters and matting, to exclude the heat. It is extensive, and well supplied; and I could not but notice the unusual number of confectioners' shops.

In the neighbourhood of the present towns are the most extensive ruins of the ancient cities, their predecessors, intermingled with a prodigious quantity of date-trees and venerable pípals. Many of the buildings are so entire that a little pains would make them habitable. They are built of kiln-burnt bricks, and in the best style of Indian architecture. Very many old wells are seen, some of which are still worked. With pretensions to remote antiquity, Uch flourished exceedingly under the Máhomedan sovereigns of India, and must have been a place of great strength, as it endured several memorable sieges. In 622 or 623 of the Hejra the emperor Altamsh made himself master of it, after a siege of two months and twenty days. Twenty years afterwards, it was invested by an army of Mogals, and at a later period it was the vulnerable point by which Taimúr opened to his arms the passage to India.

Leaving, with a mournful and interesting regret, the antique remains and sacred groves of Uch, I directed my course to the river Garra, eight cosses from it, and crossing at a ferry, came, two or three

cosses farther on, to a large cut, or arm, probably derived from it. I might have been perplexed as to the mode of crossing it, but, fortunately, I saw a person, before I reached it, strip himself of his clothing, and, placing it on his head, pass to the opposite side. I had therefore only to imitate him, and waded through the stream, some fifty or sixty yards in breadth, with the water of uniform depth, and up to my mouth, which I was compelled to keep closed. The water was tepid, whence I inferred that it was a canal I was crossing. About a coss beyond it I reached the small town of Pír Jelâlpúr, which contains the shrine of a Mússulmán saint, a handsome building, covered with painted and lacquered tiles, and adorned with minarets and a cupola. The bazar was a good one, and in the neighbourhood of the town were decayed brick buildings, proving that the site was formerly of importance.

From Pír Jelâlpúr, a distance of eighteen cosses brought me to Sújah Kot, the country having been a little diversified as to character. For eight cosses beyond Jelâlpúr the jangal was sandy; it then afforded pasture for four or five cosses, and for the remainder of the road there was a great proportion of cultivated land. The nature of the jangal had also changed after passing the Gárra river; the tamarisk no longer predominated, as in the Bahâwalpúr country, or was seen only in trees of large growth, near villages, while over the

surface of the soil it was replaced by lighter trees, the *karíta*, the *bér*, and the *kikker*, or dwarf *mimosa*.

Sújah Kot, or Sújahbád, is a considerable fortified town, and its lofty battlements, irregularly built, have a picturesque appearance. It has a very excellent bazar, and is the seat of some cotton manufactures, besides being famous for its turners in wood. There is a small garrison, and a few guns are mounted on the walls. Near it are several good gardens, particularly one bearing the name of Mozafar Khân. The town stands in a highly cultivated tract, and for two or three cosses to the south there were immense fields of sugar-cane. The cotton-plant is also abundantly grown.

From Sújah Kot the road leads through an arid jangally country for twenty cosses to Múltân, villages occasionally occurring. This city appears advantageously seen in the distance, but loses its effect on our near approach to it. It cannot be less than three miles in circumference, and is walled in. Its bazars are large, but inconveniently narrow, and, I thought, did not exhibit that bustle or activity which might be expected in a place of much reputed commerce. The citadel, if not a place of extreme strength, is one on which more attention seems to have been bestowed than is usual, and is more regular than any fortress I have seen, not constructed by European engineers. It is well secured by a deep trench, neatly faced with masonry; and the defences

of the gateway, which is approached by a draw-bridge, are rather elaborate. The casualties of the siege it endured have not been made good by the Síkhs, consequently it has become much dilapidated since that period. It can scarcely be said to have a garrison, a weak party of soldiers being merely stationed as guards at the entrance. Within the citadel are the only buildings of the city worth seeing,—the battered palace of the late khân, and the Máhomedan shrine of Bahâwal Hâk. The latter, with its lofty gúmat, or cupola, is the principal ornament of the place.

Múltân is said to have decreased in trade since it fell into the hands of the Síkhs, yet its bazars continued well and reasonably supplied with all articles of traffic and consumption. There are still numerous bankers, and manufactures of silk and cotton goods. Its fabrics of shawls and lúnghís are deservedly esteemed, and its brocades and tissues compete with those of Bahâwalpúr. It still supplies a portion of its fabrics to the Lohání merchants of Afghânistân, and has an extensive foreign trade with the regions west of the Indus.

The ruins around the city spread over a large space; and there is an amazing number of old Músulmân graves, tombs, masjíts, and shrines; and as all of them are held sacred, they would seem to justify the popular belief that one lách, or one hundred thousand saints, lie interred within the hallowed vicinity. Many of these are substantial edifices, and

if not held to establish the saintly pretensions of the city, may be accepted as testimonies of its prosperity, under the sway of the Máhomedan dynasties of India. North of the town is the magnificent and well-preserved shrine of Shams Tábrézí, of whose memory the inhabitants are now proud, though, if tradition be correct, their ancestors flayed him when he was living. To this martyr's malediction is imputed the excessive heat of Múltán, the sun, in consequence thereof, being supposed to be nearer the city than to any other spot in the world. Shams, in his agony, is said to have called upon the bright luminary to avenge him, claiming a relationship, permitted by his name, which in Arabic signifies the sun. The powerful orb obligingly descended from his sphere, and approached the ill-fated city.

The gardens of Múltán are abundant, and well stocked with fruit-trees, as mangoes, oranges, citrons, limes, &c. Its date-groves also yield much fruit, and vegetables are grown in great plenty. The inundations of the Râví river extend to the city, but it is three miles distant, and has what is called a bandar, or port, in this instance expressive of a boat station; whence there is communication with the Indus, and, consequently, with the sea.

The area enclosed within the walls being compactly built over, the city may be supposed to contain not less than eight or nine thousand houses, or from forty to forty-five thousand souls. At the pe-

riod of its capture by the Síkhs it was held by Mozafar Khân, of the inferior branch of the Sadú Zai, Dúrání tribe, with the assumed title of nawâb. Ranjit Singh had made two unsuccessful attempts upon it, but had been compelled to retire, after devastating the country. The third time the Sîkh chief approached, Mozafar Khân was willing to have averted destruction by accepting the terms proposed to him, but his followers were not consenting. Ranjit Singh made a feint of attacking Khânghar, a fortress some twenty cosses distant; into which the deluded nawâb threw the better part of his troops. Ranjit Singh immediately counter-marched, and invested the capital. The defence was most obstinate, and the attack threatened to end, like former ones, in failure, when an adventurer, named Jones, in the Sîkh service, took charge of the batteries, advanced them close to the citadel, and breached it. On the assault Mozafar Khân lost at once his life and sovereignty; and his daughter, celebrated for her beauty, her chastity, and her piety, fell over a heap of Síkhs, she had herself slain, as is asserted. A young son of Mozafar Khân was saved, and carried to Lahore, and—now a remarkably handsome youth—is in high favour with the Máharájá. At present a Bráhmaṇ, Sohand Mall, resides at Múltân, as governor for Ranjit Singh, with the title of Súbahdár; and his jurisdiction is extensive, comprising the southern parts of the Sîkh kingdom from the Satlej to the Indus. He has at his com-

mand a force of eight hundred Síkhs, under Gandar Singh, besides the garrisons sprinkled over the country. He is a popular ruler, and many anecdotes are related of his liberality and indulgence, even on matters connected with religion. The SÍkh authority over the conquered provinces held by the Súbahdár being firmly established, the administration is mild, owing partly, perhaps, to his personal character, and two Síkhs are located at every village and hamlet on the part of the government. The peasantry make over a third of the produce of their lands: neither do they complain.

Having stayed two or three days at Múltân, I took the road to Lahore, and crossed an extensive plain, stretching from the city to the north. From this side the city is best seen; and it clearly stands on a mound, which while in it I was scarcely aware of. East of the road a large mud fortress is observable in the distance, and nearer a building, to which my curiosity led me. I found it a masjít, deserted, but in good preservation. It being noon, to avoid the heat, I seated myself therein, and strove, with needle and thread, to repair some deficiency in my garments. Thus engaged, a man, armed with sword and shield, suddenly stood over me. I had not heard him enter, and was a little taken by surprise; however, I calmly gave him a Salám alíkam, which he returned, and asked what I was about. I replied, that he could himself see what I was about. He then inquired where I was going; and telling him, he

asked if I was not afraid of the Kattí. I said that I was not, and he retired. I finished the job I had in hand, and after some time regained the high road. Forty cosses from Múltân is Kot Kamâlia; and throughout the distance the villages are few and wide apart; but there are many wells in the jangal, where the cultivator or owner of cattle fixes his abode, and where the traveller may obtain liberty to pass the night. I was frequently entreated to await companions, but travelled alone and escaped molestation, though on one occasion I had nearly essayed an adventure. I had reached a well, with a farmhouse adjoining, early in the day, and, as rain came on, decided to pass the night there; a Hindú belonging to another well, who had alike sought shelter from the shower, having arranged with the people to prepare bread for my supper. I said that I was a Mogal going to Lahore. We were joined by a short thick-set person, of singularly queer countenance, who affirmed that he was on his way from Lahore to Múltân. He also notified his intention to remain the night. In a little time I was sent for into the house, as it turned out, because the mistress wished to see a Mogal; and I was shown into an apartment where the lady, a tall masculine woman, was stretched on her bed, an old dhai, or nurse, being also in the room. Some conversation passed between them, with a good deal of laughing, which I pretended not to understand, and which I presumed would not have occurred in the husband's

presence. However, I left them, and again in the evening was called into the house to eat my supper. I bought some milk to eat with my bread, and thinking of the other stranger without, sent him a bowl of it. I was, on retiring, provided with a *chârpâhî*, and the stranger stretched himself on the ground beside it. In the morning I was about to start, when he said that he would accompany me to Lahore, but I reminded him that he was going to *Mûltân*; he urged that he had changed his mind, and would return to Lahore. I observed, that he might do as he pleased, but that he should not go with me. He employed many arguments, but in vain; and finding that I did not move, he left the enclosure. I allowed two or three hours to pass over, and, supposing I had fairly got rid of him, I also left, and had scarcely gained the road when he appeared from behind a bush. I told him he should not accompany me, but he still kept by my side. After a short distance the path divided, and I was doubtful which direction to take. My impressions led me to follow that to the right, but the fellow persisted that the one to the left was the road to Lahore. I had great doubts, but, supposing he knew better than I did, I took his counsel. We reached a well, where the owner seeing my companion, asked him why he had not gone to *Mûltân*. I instantly inquired if the road was that of Lahore, and was answered, no. I bestowed two or three curses on the fellow for misleading me, and returned; but he

was not to be shaken off, and protested that the other road was a long and dreary one, while this that he was showing was a cheerful one, and led by wells and villages all the way. On reaching the correct road I still found myself followed by him. I did not fear him, as he was unarmed; and it being the custom of the peasantry here to go from place to place with axes in their hands, and lop branches of trees as they pass along the road, to dry for fuel, there were abundance of stout sticks strewed on all sides, from which I selected one, and walked on without heeding him. At length, satisfied that I was intangible, he returned, uttering idle menaces that he would be after me, and I saw no more of him. It did not suggest itself to me at the time, but I have since conjectured this man must have been a thag, and but for the owner of the well he might have gained his ends. In so imminent danger may an individual unconsciously be placed, and by so slight an accident may he be preserved.

Before reaching Kamâlia the Râvî river is crossed at a ferry; and I was directed along a path immediately tracing its bank for some distance, which was very agreeable. The margins of the stream are fringed with groves of date-trees, in which numerous wells are found, shaded by pîpals. The opposite bank being embellished in like manner, the scenery up and down the river is fine and attractive. A tract of low sand hills and scanty jangal precedes Kamâlia, a small town with bazar.

It has an ancient appearance, and is constructed of kiln-burnt bricks. There is a fortress, built of the same material, which is held by a Sikh chief and his followers. One of them was pleased to accord me hospitable offices, conducting me to a garden-house, and providing my entertainment from the town.

I was now in a part of the country which, there can be no doubt, had been the scene of some of Alexander the Great's exploits. I had no authority to consult but memory, and was therefore unable to benefit by my journey to the extent that I could have wished. Yet I was not unobservant, and subsequently, when I had the opportunity to consult Arrian, I found his details remarkably clear, and fancied that I could follow his steps in this particular region, with little chance of error. I make these remarks because I think it probable that Kamâlia may have been the site of the fortress at which the great Macedonian hero had nearly become the victim to his temerity. Arrian also notes the slaughter of some Indians by Ptolemy, who had fled into a marsh. In passing through one of the villages about Kamâlia I saw a party of Mâhomedan horsemen, armed with lances, manifestly going on some excursion, and I asked where they were going; they replied, to hunt the hog. I again asked where such animals were to be found, as the country was all sand, and was told there were marshes at some distance. I could

not but recollect this circumstance when I read the classical author.

From Kamâlia, the country becoming more populous and productive as I advanced, in three stages I made Saiyadwâla, a considerable walled town, with a spacious and well provided bazar, extending from one gate to the other. A few hundred yards west of it is a mud fortress, of some extent and solidity, surrounded by a trench. I was never interrupted, and found the villagers friendly and hospitable, and exclusively Máhome-dans. Owing to the prohibition to kill kine, the herds of horned cattle were remarkably numerous.

From Saiyadwâla Lahore was forty cosses distant ; and the intermediate country was rich, luxuriant, and well cultivated, abounding in villages, large and small. In most of them was the distinguishing square brick tower of the Síkh chiefs of former days ; and we may conceive the state of society amongst these petty lords and tyrants ere Ranjit Singh's superior genius destroyed their power to annoy and oppress their neighbourhoods. The bér-tree is universal throughout this tract ; nor is it confined to the vicinity of villages. It attains a much larger size than I have elsewhere seen, as does its fruit, which is so sweet and palatable, that I felt disposed to class it with other fruits, and to acknowledge it merited the name of Pomus Adami, which Marco Polo

has conferred upon it. Nákot, or gram, was very generally an object of culture. It is used to feed horses, as in other places, but bread is commonly made of the flour. I have noted SÍkh sir-dárs use it, which must have been from choice; but although sweetly tasted, I did not think it so good as wheaten bread, to which it is of course inferior in colour. Twelve cosses from Lahore the Râví is passed, the village of Níázpúr being seated on the eastern bank. There are many ferry-boats, being needed not only for passengers but to transport the cattle night and morning, as they are grazed in the jangals on the opposite bank. For three or four miles before I reached the river I had walked with a fine old SÍkh and his lady, very handsomely dressed, and carrying a profusion of trinkets. They were as courteous as respectable in appearance, and I felt pleased to be in the company of good people.

From Níázpúr the road leads over a gently rising and sandy surface, but a magnificent and extensive view delights the eye, of the river winding in its course, and of the highly fertile and cultivated space bordering upon, and extending from its western bank. Few scenes present in greater perfection the charms of placid beauty and repose; and amid the various feelings to which they gave rise in my mind was that of homage to the sovereign, whose protecting sway has enabled his subjects to till their lands in peace, and in a

few years to change, as it were, the face of nature. One coss preceding Lahore is the small bazar village of Noh Kot (the new fort). It has, in contradiction to its name, an ancient and venerable aspect, and a large adjacent mansion is assigned for the residence of Ayúb Shâh, the mock king of Kâbal of the Sirdâr Máhomed Azem Khân's creation, and who, expelled thence, has found an asylum with Ranjit Singh.

On reaching Lahore I had remaining half a rupee of the two rupees I had received from Ráhmat Khân at Fázilpúr. I had lived very well on the road, and had travelled three hundred and sixty miles. I was now, however, for a period, to live in a very different style, as I passed the rainy season at Lahore in the superb mansion of General Allard, whom I accidentally encountered as he crossed my path on my approach to the city. He surmised, notwithstanding my dress, that I was an European, and I explained to him that he was correct, in his own language, which absence and length of years had not disabled me from speaking fluently.

The establishments of the General were at this time on the most splendid scale, for the liberality of Ranjit Singh, who appreciated his merits, enabled him both to enjoy all the luxuries of a refined taste and to amass wealth besides. He was universally and deservedly respected. He has since been numbered with the dead; and remembering his attentions to me when a perfect stranger to

him, and cherishing a regard for his memory, I should regret, if in the latter part of his career he had been made an instrument of the idle projects of others, and that disappointment had given an impulse to the malady which carried him to the grave.

CHAPTER XIX.

Lahore.—Masjīts.—Masjít Pádshâh.—Tradition.—Masjít Vazír Khân.—Sona Masjít.—Liberality of M. Allard.—Desecration.—Bazars.—Mansions.—Palaces.—Fortifications.—Gates.—Ruins.—Tombs.—Shâhdera.—Its desecration.—The abode of M. Amise.—Anârkallí.—Tale.—Tomb.—Occupation by M. Ventura.—Gardens.—Fruits.—Vegetables.—Shâlimâr.—Commerce.—Noh Kot.—Former state of Lahore.—Assailed by Ranjít Singh.—Capture.—Síkhs.—Change in their system.—Govind Singh.—Bábá Nának—His doctrines—Character of his sect—His provisions—Converts—Prohibitions—Tobacco — Prophecies.—Lanka.—Grotesque pictures.—Growth of the sect.—Project of Aurangzib.—Increase of sect follows persecution.—Also increased by circumstances.—Licentious state of civil society.—Rise of Ranjít Singh.—Inclination towards Hindúism.—College at Benares.—Brâhman craft.—Motives.—Sikh demeanour.—The Granth.—Sikh Prayers.—Customs.—Mr. Foster's prediction.—Nának's institutions.—Change effected.—Improved state of government and of society.—Ahmed Shâh's opinion.—Zemân Shâh's designs and projects.—Ranjít Singh's perfidy.—Dúránís expelled Lahore.—Ranjít Singh acknowledged King—His moderation—His acquisitions.—Invasion of Sujáhânpúr—Of Bahâwalpúr—Of Peshâwer.—Threatens Sind.—Acquires Hárând and Dájil.—Change in policy.—Revenue.—Military force.—Enumeration.—Disciplined troops—Character as soldiers.—Natives of the Panjâb.—Females.—Costume.—Mode of tying the hair.—Occupations of the Síkhs—Their good qualities—Learning.—Social observances—To what referable.—Toleration.—Irregular cavalry.—Mode of warfare.—Its value.—Akâlias.—Pay of

troops.—Dassérah.—Ranjit Singh—His youth.—Accession to power—His increase of sway.—Causes of elevation.—A good general—His achievements—His popularity.—Excuse for his excesses—Respect for learning—His liberality of sentiment—His servants.—Mír Dhaiyân Singh—His brothers—Popular belief.—Karak Singh—His character.—Insolence of Mír Dhaiyân Singh.—Shír Singh—His character and prospects.—Supposititious sons.—Probability of disputed succession.—Person of Ranjit Singh—His infirmities—His dress—His titles.—Summary of character.—Comparison.

LAHORE, the capital of the Panjâb and of the territories of Ranjit Singh, is a city of undoubted antiquity, and has been long celebrated for its extent and magnificence. The extravagant praises bestowed upon it by the historians of Hindústân must, however, be understood as applicable to a former city, of which now only the ruins are seen. To it also must be referred the current proverb, which asserts that Isfahân and Shírâz united would not equal the half of Lahore. The present city is, nevertheless, very extensive, and comprises many elegant and important buildings; amongst them the masjīts Pádshâh and Vazír Khân are particularly splendid. The Sona, or Golden Masjít, claims also attention, from the attraction of its gilded minarets and cupolas. The masjít Pádshâh is substantially built of a red friable sandstone, and from its size, the loftiness of its minarets, the dimension of its cupolas, and the general grandeur of the whole, is an edifice worthy of the founder, said to be the great Aurangzíb. According to popular tradition,

Lahore is indebted for this structure to the following circumstance. The emperor ordered his vazír to raise a masjít for his private devotions, which should exceed in beauty all others known. The minister accordingly, at a vast expense, completed that now called Vazír Khân, and announced the consummation of his labours to the sovereign, who proceeded at once to inspect the building and to offer up his prayers. On his road he heard the remarks of the multitude, "Behold the emperor, who is going to the masjít of Vazír Khân." He retraced his steps, observing, that his design had been frustrated, inasmuch as the masjít had acquired not his name but that of his minister. He then personally commanded the construction of another, superintended its progress when building, and succeeded in connecting his name with it.

The masjít Vazír Khân is a sumptuous edifice, distinguished by minarets of great height. It is entirely covered with painted and lacquered tiles, inscribed with Arabic sentences. They have a gorgeous appearance; and it is vulgarly asserted, that the whole of the Korân is written on the walls and various parts of the building. Contiguous is a small bazar, the rents of which were formerly allotted to the repairs of the masjít, and to support the necessitous who frequented it. These funds are otherwise appropriated by the Síkhs.

The Sona, or Sonára Masjít, independently of its gilded domes, is a handsome and extensive edifice.

It was in a neglected state, to the great scandal of the Mússulmân population of Lahore, until the officers of M. Allard represented the matter to him, and under his auspices renewed it; the general handsomely contributing the funds required for re-gilding. The masjīts Pádshâh and Vazír Khân have been long since desecrated by the Síkhs, who killed swine in them, and converted their courts into stables. The masjít Pádshâh is generally assigned by the Máhárájá as a residence for some European in his service.

There are also many other masjīts, and some saráis, deserving attention; moreover, some of the Hindú temples are remarkable.

The streets are very narrow, as are the bazars, which are numerous, and distinguished by the names of the occupations carried on in them; as the Goldsmiths', the Ironsmiths', the Saddlers' bazar, &c. There are some exceedingly lofty and bulky mansions, well built of kiln-burnt bricks, (the material of which the city is mostly constructed,) many of them recently erected. They have no exterior decorations, opposing an enormous extent of dead walls; which, however, convey an idea of the large space enclosed. Amongst the most conspicuous of these for size is the abode of the Jemadár Khúshíâl Singh, a renegade Bráhmaṇ of the neighbourhood of Sirdánha, elevated by Ranjit Singh from the rank of a scullion to that of a general. The sons of Ranjit Singh have each of them a large palace within the

city, and the Máhárájá, in his occasional visits to Lahore, resides in the inner fort, or citadel, which occupies the north-west angle of the city. Here are extensive magazines of warlike stores, and manufactures of muskets, cannon-balls, &c.

Lahore, seated within a mile of the Râví river, is not dependent upon it for water, having within its walls numerous wells. It is surrounded with a substantial brick wall, some twenty-five feet in height, and sufficiently broad for a gun to traverse on it. It has many circular towers, and divers sided bastions, at regular intervals. Ranjit Singh has surrounded the walls with a good trench, and carried a line of handsome works and redoubts around the entire circumference, which are plentifully garnished with heavy artillery. He is constantly improving the fortifications, under the guidance of his French officers, and is removing the vast heaps of rubbish and ruins, which, as he justly observes, would not only cover the approaches of an enemy, but form ready-made batteries for him. There are many gates, as the Múrchí Derwâza, the Lohár Derwâza, the Delhí Derwâza, the Atak Derwâza, &c. The last is also called Derwâza Tanksâla, or the Mint Gate, an appellation that led the Jesuit Teifenthaller into the error of supposing that in his time one of the city gates retained the name of Taxila. At the Lohár Derwâza is a large piece of ordnance, called the Banghí, and at the Múrchí Derwâza are two or three tigers, encaged.

Without the walls are scattered on all sides the ruins of the ancient city, which—although in some places cleared away by the express orders of the Máhárájá, as I have just noted, and in others for the erection of cantonments and parade grounds for the troops of the French camp, besides the constant diminution of their bulk in the search for bricks and building-materials,—are still wonderful, and convey vast ideas of the extent of ancient Lahore. Numerous tombs, and other structures are still standing, some of them nearly entire; and such is their solidity that they seem, if not absolutely to foil old Time, to yield to him almost imperceptibly. West of Lahore, on the western bank of the Râví, is the beautiful and far-famed tomb of the Emperor Jehângír, or the Shâhdera. It is classed by the natives of Hindústân amongst the four wonders which adorn their country, and is certainly executed in a style of architecture eminently chaste. Under Síkh domination, this delightful specimen of Indian art is neglected, and falling into ruin, besides being subject to desecration. The Máhárájá gave it as a residence to a French officer, M. Amise, who caused its chambers to be cleared of their accumulated filth, and put the surrounding garden in order—when he died. The Mússulmâns did not fail to attribute his death to his temerity and impiety in daring to occupy so sacred a place; and they believe that the shade of the emperor actually appeared to him, and an-

nounced his death as the punishment for his crime. Whether the Máharájá credited this tale I know not, but he much regretted the loss of M. Amise, and has since ordered the building to be closed, and the entrances to be built up, while he has forbidden farther dilapidation and desecrations. The situation of the Shâhdera is most agreeable, and has induced Ranjit Singh to raise a garden-house immediately to the north of it.

Another remarkable building south of the city, and between it and the river, is the tomb of Anárkallí, as called, concerning which is the following popular story. Anárkallí (anárgúl, probably, or the pomegranate blossom) was a very handsome youth, and the favourite attendant of an emperor of Hindústân. When the prince would be in company with the ladies of his háram, the favourite page was not excluded. It happened, that one day the emperor, seated with his females in an apartment lined with looking-glasses, beheld, from the reflected appearance of Anárkallí, who stood behind him, that he smiled. The monarch's construction of the intent of the smile proved melancholy to the smiler, who was ordered to be buried alive. Anárkallí was, accordingly, placed, in an upright position, at the appointed spot, and was built around with bricks, while an immense superstructure was raised over the sepulchre, the expense of which was defrayed, as tradition relates, by the sale of one of his bangles. There were

formerly extensive gardens, and several buildings connected with the tomb, but not a vestige can now be traced of them. This monument was once occupied by Karak Singh, the eldest and only legitimate son of the Māhārājā, but has subsequently been given to an Italian officer, M. Ventura, who has converted it into a hāram. Adjacent is the handsome house of M. Allard; and in front of it, a parade ground intervening, are the lines of the regiments and battalions under their orders. To the east of the city are the cantonments of the troops, commanded by M. Avitabile, and Court, with the residences of those officers. The mansion of the former, a Neapolitan, is painted in a singular and grotesque fashion.

In the neighbourhood of Lahore are many large and delightful gardens; the fruit-trees, flowering shrubs and plants, are, however, those common in Hindústān, being very little mixed with the products peculiar to western countries. The fruit-trees are, the mango, the mulberry, the plantain, the apple, and peach, of inferior size and quality; the jāman, the fig, the karinda, the quince, the orange, the lime, both acid and sweet, and the date; the fruit of the last, however, is scarcely eatable. Pomegranates also abound, but are not prized, and there are a few vines. Melons are so abundant that they are scarcely considered fruit, although regularly cultivated; they are, moreover, very indifferent. There is a large proportion

of the lands near the city devoted to the culture of vegetables, for the consumption of the inhabitants. Here, again, the ordinary eastern varieties, as bádinjâns, gourds of several kinds, karellas, cucumbers, &c., are chiefly produced, there being no novelties. Large fields of sweet-fennel are common, grown, I believe, for the sake of the seed. The flowers are in no great variety, and selected with reference to the odour, chaplets being made of the blossoms, and sold in the bazar. Gardens here, as in all eastern countries, are open to the public; and individuals, preserving due respect for the fruits and flowers, may freely enter and stroll about them; but the mean practice prevails of selling the produce; from which sale the proprietor of a garden, be he king or slave, derives a profit.

About three miles north-east of Lahore is the renowned and once delightful garden of Shâlimâr. There are still the marble tanks and fountains, with costly machinery, that once supplied the jet d'eaux. The gay pavilions, and other buildings of this immense garden, have suffered not so much from the dilapidation of time as from the depredation of the Mâhârâjâ, who has removed much of the marble and stones, of which they were composed, to employ them in his new constructions at the favourite religious capital of Amritsir, and the contiguous fortress of Govindghar. Still, in its decline of splendour, Shâlimâr has sufficient beauties to in-

terest and delight a visitor, whose regret will be powerfully excited that desolation should be suffered to obscure the noblest garden which belonged to the imperial family of Taimúr.

Lahore, although possessing a certain degree of trade and traffic with its populous vicinity, is a dull city, in a commercial sense. Amritsir has become the great mart of the Panjâb, and the bankers and capitalists of the country have taken up their abodes there. It has also absorbed, in great measure, the manufactures, and its prosperity has allured to it a vast number of the starving artisans of Káshmir.

Noh Kot, about a mile and a half south of Lahore, was the head-quarters of Ranjit Singh, when he succeeded in obtaining possession of Lahore, which, I was informed, was effected in the following manner.

The city, and destined capital of a powerful Síkh kingdom, was then occupied by four Síkh chiefs, each independent of the other, and all engaged in mutual warfare. While affairs thus stood Ranjit Singh presented himself before the place with seven hundred horse. The common danger united the four chiefs, who prepared to defend the city. The young invader, unable, from the description of his troops, to make any impression upon a town surrounded by a substantial wall, took up a position at Noh Kot, whence he harassed the vicinity. He remained some months adhering to the plan he

had adopted, when the cultivators of the garden grounds, whose labours were necessarily suspended, became reduced to extremities to procure subsistence. Seeing no probability of a termination to the evil, they applied to Ranjit Singh, and volunteered to conduct him into the city by some unguarded or neglected entrance. He confided in their promises; and his troops were introduced at night, when, after the slaughter usual on such occasions, Ranjit Singh became master of Lahore. Hence may be dated the downfall of the independent Sikh chiefs, and the consequent supreme authority of their conqueror.

It may be deemed superfluous to allude to the religious belief and opinions of the Sikhs, as those subjects have received the attention of Sir John Malcolm, and others, who had access to the best sources of information. My notice on such topics will therefore be brief. It is certain that the Sikhs of the present day have widely deviated from the system of the founder of their sect, and have become, in place of harmless free-thinkers, a nation of infuriated fanatics. This important change dates from the reign of Aurangzib, whose intolerance led him to persecute the Sikhs; and, as persecution naturally begets resistance, the ninth and last of the Gúrús, Govind Singh, who at that time presided over them, ordered his followers to arm; and the sword was drawn, which has never since been sheathed. Govind Singh, the Sikhs pretend, pre-

dicted to the bigoted emperor, that his kingdom would be wrested from his successors by the men who visited Hindústân in large ships. There is a considerable difference between the system established by the first gúrú, or teacher, Báábá Nának, and that introduced by the last warlike gúrú, Govind Singh.

Nának, I believe, was born of Máhomedan parents, and was, probably, imbued with Súfí principles, which closely resemble those he promulgated, as respects the nature of the Deity, the kind of homage most agreeable to him, the relative connexion of body and soul, and the prospects of man in a future state; they also coincide as concerns the doctrine of equality, a condition of society which, however impossible, is inculcated by both systems. It may be doubted whether Nának ever contemplated that the few disciples congregated around him were the forerunners of a great and numerous people, destined to future command and empire, or that the doctrines he announced were decreed to spread over extensive regions; yet, in the political state of his own and neighbouring countries at the time he lived, the secondary laws he prescribed for the regulation of his nascent community were, unconsciously perhaps on his part, the ones best calculated to effect objects so extraordinary, by the organization of a sect, that silently but surely increasing in strength and numbers, should, in the fulness of time, develope itself, and assert its claims

to power and ascendancy. In the first place, his tenets, if such they may be called, could be appreciated by the most ordinary understandings, as they are rather agreeable delusions than sound and stern truths, requiring the pain of reflection to be understood. In the second place, he allowed his votaries every indulgence possible in diet and their manner of life, compatible with the prejudices of the Hindú and Máhomedan population around him. And lastly, by enjoining conversion, he provided for the increase of his community, by securing the accession of the oppressed and degraded of all faiths and nations. By removing the distinction of caste, he decoyed the miserable and ignorant Hindú. And it is notorious that it has been amongst the lowest of the Jet agricultural population of the Panjâb, that the vast proportions of Síkh converts have been made; and nothing is more remarkable at the present day than the want of general knowledge prevailing amongst the Síkhs, even of the highest rank.

With regard to articles of food, Nának has merely forbidden his followers to eat the cow, a prohibition due to the indelible prejudices of the Hindús, of whom he hoped to make converts. He has permitted unqualified indulgence in wine, and other intoxicating liquors. Like most founders of new religions, he must needs forbid something, and he has therefore proscribed tobacco, which his adherents are not permitted to touch; but as he

well knew the practice of smoking the condemned herb was general among Hindús, and could not but be aware that tenacity of old customs and the reluctance to dispense with wonted enjoyments were characteristics in human nature, he wisely enacted, lest the interdiction might prove an obstacle to his favourite plan of conversion, that any Hindú on being admitted a Sík, who had previously been accustomed to smoke tobacco and to drink wine, might, according to his pleasure, continue the use of one or the other. In his character as an inspired person, it became him to prophesy. He has done so, and in the various prophetic legacies ascribed to him, his followers view the predictions of the capture of Mûltân, Káshmir Mankírah, Pesháwer, &c.; in short, of every success that has happened to them. There yet remains to be fulfilled the capture of Kâbal, before the gates of which vast numbers of Síks are to fall, and their subjection to British authority for one hundred and forty years, (which they suppose will commence on the demise of Ranjit Singh.) At the expiration of that period they are to emerge from thralldom; and being masters of Hindústân, are to cross the sea and destroy the fortress of Lanka. They are also to possess themselves of the holy Mekka, and terminate the Máhomedan religion. The books I have seen containing these prophecies are embellished with many pictorial illustrations. The capture of Lanka is depicted by a number of

monstrous looking men, with maces, demolishing a series of towers, placed on the head of another figure, equally hideous in appearance.

To allow the sect to acquire consistency a considerable period of repose was necessary, and it is probable this was secured by the unassuming habits and moderate pretensions of the community under the direction of its first eight gúrús, as I am not aware that any mention is made of it before the time of Aurangzíb. Up to that period their proud Máhomedan lords may have considered them as merely a sect of Hindús, objects of contempt but not of persecution. How long they might have continued in this obscure state is uncertain, had not the energetic but intolerant Aurangzíb, amongst other vast projects, undertaken to reform religion, and, with this view, instituted an inquiry into the various faiths professed by his subjects. In the Panjâb, a land it would appear in all ages fruitful in heresies, there were abundance of innovations and abuses needing the strong arm of the monarch to repress ; and the Síkhs, with their doctrines, which by him must have been deemed inconceivably impious and absurd, would naturally call for the decided exercise of his zeal. His attempts, by coercion, after argument and command had failed, to compel them to renounce their tenets, induced them, as I before noted, to arm, and by revealing to them their strength and powers of resistance, effected an entire change in the constitution of their community. I

am unacquainted with the particulars of Aurang-zib's persecution of the sect, but the Síkhs say, that their gúrú, Govind Singh, fell into his power. He may have made many martyrs, but we need not the testimony of his history to be certain that he made little progress in the reclamation of the infidels. When death delivered the Síkhs from so terrible a persecutor the anarchy which attended the succession must have been in every way favourable to the augmentation of their numbers, and consequently we find them exciting tumults, which required the presence of the Delhí sovereigns to repress. From this time they were most likely, according to the temper of the age, or of the governor over them, subject to more or less oppression, as the course of events had made them too prominent to escape notice ; and as yet being unable, from want of unity, to keep the field against their adversaries, they adopted the plan open to them, of irregular annoyance, and fell into the condition little better than that of banditti, in which they were found when the campaigns of Ahmed Shâh again bring them forth to observation. During this time, however, they had resolved into a multitude of little bands under various leaders, and had established strong-holds and places of refuge without number. Their subsequent aggrandizement is so well known, that an allusion to it suffices. The rapid decline of the Dúrání empire, and the appearance amongst them of Ranjit Singh, enabled them

to assume a regular form of government, and to erect a powerful kingdom from the wrecks of the states and principalities around them.

It must be obvious, that the religious opinions of the Sîkhs are no less at variance with the dogmas of Hindúism than they are in opposition to those of Islâm. Still, the inveterate hostility with which they regard the professors of the latter faith have induced an involuntary inclination in favour of the votaries of Brâhma, which these,—although it cost some efforts to overcome their repugnance, allured perhaps by the splendid successes of the Sîkhs, and indulging bright expectations from their growing power,—have at length thought prudent to reciprocate. By establishing colleges of their sect at Benâres the followers of Nának have, in some degree, ceased to be a peculiar class, as they have thereby evinced the desire to be incorporated with the great body of Hindús; and the Brâhmans who accorded the permission to do so must have anticipated some overweaning advantages, or they would scarcely have admitted amongst them a people whose main principle of conversion, and doctrine of equality, alike strike at the very roots of the system they uphold. We may suspect that the crafty hierarchy, conscious of the very little chance of the re-establishment of Hindú supremacy, and anticipating the probable extension of the new and vigorous sect, and its eventual domination in Hindústân, were willing, in such a case,

to associate themselves with it, and, for the preservation of their own dignity and position to adopt it—as in times of yore they did the victorious race of Katrís, or Rájpúts.

In ordinary intercourse with Hindús the Síkhs treat them with little courtesy, and the banya, or trader, seldom receives a more delicate appellation than koṭá, or dog. The Brâhman, however, is more respected, and forms a part of the establishment of every chief, assisting in religious offices. As the number of gúrús, or teachers of the sect, was limited to nine, who have long since passed away, the Granth, or sacred volume containing their precepts, is now the subject of veneration, and for it they have a very great respect. It is lodged on a table, in a spacious apartment, in most of their villages. All come and make obeisance to it; and any one qualified may open it, and read aloud a portion of it. The Síkhs are not enjoined to observe many forms or prayers. I observed that generally in the evening they offered up a short orison, which, in conformity to the military complexion thrown over all their acts, they repeated, firmly grasping with both hands their swords, and which concluded with a vociferous invocation to their gúrú for victory, and the extension of the faith. The cattle they employ as food are slaughtered by having their heads severed by a stroke of the sword. They wear the Hindú string, or cord, around their

necks, and use the tasb́, or rosary. They generally style the Supreme Intelligence Sáhib, and call themselves Singhs, or Lions. Those who respectfully address them, salute them as Khâlsajís, or men of the commonwealth.

It was long since foretold, by a celebrated traveller, Mr. Forster, that the Síkhs would become a powerful nation, whenever some enterprising chief should, by the destruction of their numerous petty leaders, unite them under his sole control. We have witnessed the accomplishment of this prediction by Ranjit Singh, and the Síkhs have become an independent and powerful people. The system of numerous distinct but confederated chieftains arose from the patriarchal institution recommended by Nának, who merely directed that his followers should, in any particular crisis, assemble at the holy city of Amritsir. Hence the assumed authority of Ranjit Singh must be considered as an infraction of the fundamental laws of the Síkhs; and although it has been rendered agreeable to the majority of them by their advancement to wealth and command, in consequence of his manifold and splendid conquests, its establishment was long strenuously opposed, and was effected only by the subversion of a multitude of chiefs, attached to the old order of things. Ranjit Singh's policy has led him to make a new creation of chiefs and leaders, selecting them, generally, from the lower classes,

thereby forming a set of men attached to himself; and the new system to which they owe their elevation. That the usurpation of Ranjit Singh has been favourable to the increase of Sikh power no one can doubt; for, anterior to him, so far from having any common object or bond of union sufficient for the preservation of tranquillity amongst them, they were, if not coalesced by the necessity of providing against danger from abroad, perpetually engaged in strife with each other. That the consolidation of their power, and their subjection to authority has improved the state of society with them, is also undeniable, as it has conferred upon them a reputation to sustain, which they did not before enjoy. Time was that a Sikh and a robber were synonymous terms; now, few thefts are heard of, and seldom or ever those wholesale forays, to which the chiefs were once so much addicted. If the predatory propensity still lurk amongst some of them, the restraints of justice prevent its indulgence. At this day the operation of the laws is so effective, that there are few eastern countries in which the solitary traveller can pass with more safety than the Panjâb.

In the reign of Ahmed Shâh, the first Dûranî sovereign, the Sikhs were prodigiously increasing the number of their converts, and were excited by all the frenzy and confidence of aspiring sectaries. That great prince gave it as his opinion, when urged to attempt their control, that it was prudent to de-

fer attack upon them until the fervour of their religious enthusiasm had diminished. Zemân Shâh, in pursuance of his designs upon Hindústân, several times visited the Panjâb, and was extremely anxious to have duly subjected the Sîkhs. He seems to have employed both harsh and conciliatory measures, and so far succeeded that the several chiefs, and amongst them Ranjit Singh, who was even then powerful, were prevailed upon to visit Lahore, and pay homage to him. The prince farther conceived (or it was suggested by some of his advisers) the project of making Lahore his capital, an arrangement which, if carried into effect, would have materially changed the train of events, but which was overruled by his principal sirdârs, who would not consent to abandon Khorasân. In one of Zemân Shâh's expeditions Ranjit Singh, with his troops, it is said, sought refuge at Patíála, east of the Satlej, and repaid the Rájá for the asylum granted to him by the seizure of many of his guns and other warlike implements, with which he had before been unprovided. It is commonly asserted in the Panjâb, that the Sîkhs became masters of arms and horses by the plunder of the Máhrátta armies, which flying from the pursuit of Lord Lake, entered within their borders. From the deposition of Zemân Shâh, the politics of the Afghâns were too distracted to permit them to interfere with the Sîkhs, who finally defeated and slew the Dúrání governor, located at Lahore, and possessed themselves of the city. Ran-

jit Singh, who had received a kind of diploma as chief of the Síkhs from Zemân Shâh, had no ostensible part in this transaction; and, eventually, as I have already related, acquired the city from those who had. The capture of the capital led to the general acknowledgment of his authority, and besides reducing the contumacious of his own sect, he directed his arms against the petty Máhomedan rulers bordering on the Satlej, and always contrived to subdue or to circumvent them.

It is certain, that during the reign of Shâh Sújah the Síkhs called their great military chief, Pádshâh, or king. The expulsion of that Dúrání prince, and the confusion in the countries of the west, presented opportunities of aggrandizement too tempting to be neglected by the Lahore ruler, whose authority at home had become sufficiently established to allow him to direct his attention abroad. Yet, even under these circumstances, he displayed much forbearance and moderation, and it was only after much provocation that he commenced to profit by the anarchy prevalent in the states of the Afghân empire. He possessed himself of Atak and Káshmír, of the provinces of Múltân and of Líya, and constituted the Indus the boundary of his kingdom, while he made tributary the several petty chiefships on the western banks. He also seized Déra Ghází Khân, and Déra Fatí Khân, which had been in a manner evacuated by their owners. While thus employed in the south and west, he was equally industrious and

successful to the north amongst the various independent Hindú states of the hills, subjecting Jamú, and establishing his claims to tribute in Mandéh, &c. He, moreover, obtained the strong hill fort of Kot Kângrah, which he much coveted, from Rájá Sensár Chand of Sújahânpúr, as the price of expelling an army of Gûrkas, that besieged it. On the demise of this Rájá some two years since, he invaded the territory of Sújahânpûr, on the most unjustifiable plea, and annexed it to his own dominion; the son of Sensár Chand seeking an asylum in British Hindústân. Ranjit Singh has, moreover, invaded Bahâwalpúr under pretence, that the khân had assisted his enemy, Shâh Sujah ul-Múlkh; and he has exacted a tribute of nine lákhs of rupees, or one-half of the revenue of the country. The fertile province of Pesháwer has also been devastated by the Máharájá, who not only requires an annual tribute of horses, swords, jewels, rice, &c., but sends large bodies of troops to ravage the country, apparently with the view of keeping it depressed. In the same manner his hordes annually visit the Yúsaf Zai districts on the plain, and carry off a tribute in horses. In most cases, if the proportion of tribute be fixed, it is little acted upon, and in the instance of the petty states west of the Indus, is very much dependent upon the will of Harí Singh, Ranjit Singh's commander on the western frontier. At Pesháwer the evil of collection is seriously felt, for ten or fifteen thousand men sometimes march, and destroy

the whole cultivation. The levy of the Bahâwalpûr tribute also calls for the despatch of a large force, which does not, however, pass beyond Milsa, on the northern bank of the Gárra. To the east, Ranjit Singh cannot pass the Satlej without violating his engagements with the British; on all other sides he is at liberty to act, and contemplates the conquest of Sind, from which he has been in the habit of receiving annual presents since his invasion of Bahâwalpûr, when his troops were pushed on to Sabzal Kot, the frontier post of the Sindian territory. Since I was at Lahore, the treachery which put him possession of the Baloch provinces of Hárand and Dájil, has materially advanced the prosecution of his designs, by laying open to him the road to the wealthy city of Shikárpûr. This important acquisition has induced a complete change in the arrangements hitherto adopted as to the conquered states in that quarter. The town and territory of Déra Ghází Khân, before farmed to the khân of Bahâwalpûr, have been resumed, and M. Ventura has been appointed governor, with orders to build a strong fort, evidently intended for a *place d'armes* in the intended operations against Sind. The petty chief of Sang-ghar has been also expelled, and his lands annexed to the government of Múltân.

The revenue of Ranjit Singh, I believe, may be accurately estimated at two and a half crores of rupees, or about two and a half millions sterling.

It is calculated, that after defraying the expenses of his government and army, he is enabled to place in deposit one crore of rupees annually. It is farther believed that he has already in his treasury ten crores of rupees in money; and his various magazines of military arms and stores are annually increased in a certain ratio.

The military force of Ranjit Singh demands attention; and I believe it may be estimated, in round numbers, at seventy thousand men; of whom perhaps twenty thousand are disciplined, after the French and other modes. I do not pretend to speak positively as to the position and numbers of the Sikh troops, but generally speaking the following particulars may be nearly depended upon.

Regulars.	In Káshmir . . .	10000	Under orders of Súparsád, the
	With the King . . .	3000	Bráhmaṇ governor.
	Karak Singh . . .	2000	} Sons of the king.
	Shír Singh . . .	3000	
	Tárah Singh . . .	1500	
	Rájá Daiyân Singh . . .	5000	Prime Minister. [Indus.
	Harí Singh . . .	10000	In command of the frontier on
	Khúshíâl Singh . . .	3000	Gúrcherís, generally near the king.
	Shâm Singh . . .	800	One of the old chiefs.
	Fatí Singh . . .	500	In authority towards the Satlej.
	Ganda Singh . . .	800	Garrison of Múltân.
	Officer commanding at Mankírah . . .	500	In garrison.
	Nájíb Regiment . . .	1000	Ranjit's first raised Battalion.
	M. Allard's Cavalry . . .	3000	1 Regt. Lancers, 2 Regt. Dagr's.
	M. Ventura's Infantry . . .	4000	2 Battal. Regt. 1 Regt. Light Infant. & 1 Regt. of Gúrkas.
	M. Court's Infantry . . .	1000	Battalion Regt.
	M. Avitabile's Infantry . . .	1000	Battalion Regt.

Regulars.	M. Mevius's Infantry	1500	Battalion Regt.	
	Mr. Campbell's Cavalry	1200	These officers were dismissed when I was at Lahore: the Regts. Light Cavalry.	
	Mr. Garron's Cavalry .	600		
	Dowkal Singh's Paltan	1000	Battalion Regt.	
	Newly raised Battalion	1000	Under drill.	
	Camp of the late M. Amise. Infantry .	4000	Battalion Regt.	} at present with- out commander or Europ ⁿ . Chief.
	Cavalry	2000	Light Cavalry.	
	Artillery, reckoning broadly ten men to every gun, and sup- posing 200 Guns .	2000	} Principally horse artillery, and now in course of train- ing by M. Allard.	
	Allowance for the troops of Rájá Gúláb Singh of Jamú and the several petty Síkh chiefs dispersed over the country, and not otherwise included .	10000		

Total 73400

The disciplined troops of Ranjit Singh have a highly respectable appearance, are well clothed and equipped, and appear to be in want of no necessities. Their value in the field remains yet to be ascertained. On the few occasions they have seen service their enemies have not been of a stamp to establish a criterion. The regiments are indiscriminately filled with Mússulmâns and Síkhs, and wear for head-dresses the pagrí of the Panjâb, each regiment adopting a distinguishing colour, as red, blue, green, &c. In other respects they are clothed similarly to the native troops in the British Indian

service. The Gúrkas alone wear caps. As soldiers, the natives of the Panjâb are extremely patient of fatigue, and capable of making prodigious marches with apparent ease; on this point they pride themselves; and they evince not only willingness, but pleasure and mutual emulation in learning military exercises. But they are prone to plunder, and it is invariably their custom at the close of a march to separate from their camp, and to rove over the country for four or five miles, armed with cudgels, and making booty of anything that falls in their way.

As men, physically speaking, the natives of the Panjâb are superior to those of Hindústân Proper. Their limbs are muscular and well proportioned, and they have a stoutness of leg and calf, seldom seen in the Hindústání. Instances of very tall stature may be rare, the general standard being a little above the middle size. The Síkhs are certainly a fine race of men, particularly the better classes. Their females, being seldom permitted to go abroad, I can scarcely speak decidedly concerning them, but the five or six I have by chance met with, would justify the supposition that they are very attractive. They wear extraordinary high conical caps, producing a curious effect, with trowsers. The dress of the men is peculiar, but not inelegant, consisting of the Panjâb pagrí for the head, a vest, or jacket, fitting close to the body and arms, with large, bulky trowsers, terminating

at the knée, the legs from the knee being naked. Chiefs occasionally wear full trowsers, which, however, are recent introductions, and many people remember the time when the Máharájá and his court could scarcely be said to wear trowsers at all. Over the shoulders, a scarf is usually thrown. Generally speaking, these articles of dress are white. The Síkhs, to their honour, are very cleanly in their linen, in which particular they advantageously differ from their Mússulmán compatriots. Their scarfs are usually trimmed with a coloured silk border, and sometimes scarlet shawls, or other showy fabrics, are employed. The Síkhs allow the hair of their heads to attain its full growth, and gather it up into a knot at the crown, agreeably to the old Jetic fashion. By pressing it tightly back from the forehead they somewhat elevate the upper part of the face, which imparts a peculiar cast to the countenance.

The Síkhs are almost exclusively a military and agricultural people. They pay much attention to the breeding of horses, and there is scarcely one of them who has not one or more brood mares. Hence, amongst the irregular cavalry—a service to which they are partial—nearly every man's horse is *boná fide* his own property, and even in the regular cavalry a very trifling proportion of the horses belongs to the Máharájá. It must be confessed that the Síkhs are barbarous, so far as the want of information and intelligence can make

them, yet they have not that savage disposition which makes demons of the rude tribes of the more western countries. They are frank, generous, social, and lively. The cruelties they have practised against the Máhomedans in the countries they have subdued ought not, I think, to be alleged against them as a proof of their ferocity. Heaven knows, the fury of the bigoted Máhomedan is terrible, and the persecuted Síkhs, in their day, were literally hunted like beasts of the field. At present, flushed by a series of victories, they have a zeal and buoyancy of spirit amounting to enthusiasm; and with the power of taking the most exemplary revenge, they have been still more lenient than the Máhomedans were ever towards them. Morality, I believe, is scarcely recognized amongst them, and chastity, I have been told, is neither observed nor expected to be observed by their females. It is no unusual arrangement for the many brothers of a family, to have a wife in common; and I have known the soldiers of M. Allard request permission to visit their homes, alleging that their brothers had gone on a journey, and their wives were alone. The plea was considered a good one. Such customs must not be imputable to them as Síkhs, they are rather the remains of an ancient and rude state of society. It must also be observed, that trespasses on the rules of decency must be made by themselves, and amongst themselves; liberties taken by strangers

would be held as crimes, and resented accordingly. Should the Síkhs continue an independent nation, it may be supposed that increased civilization will gradually remove these traces of barbarism. Though professed converters, they are perfectly tolerant, and though singular in some of their usages, they never require others to imitate them. On the whole, having seen the turbulent tribes of Khorasân, and the milder races of Sind and Bahâwalpúr, I was pleased with the Síkhs, and could believe that, when in course of time they grow a little more enlightened, they will become a superior people.

The Sîkh irregular cavalry have a peculiar exercise, at which they are very expert. In action, their reliance is not so much upon the charge, as upon a desultory species of warfare, to which they are well trained. It consists in advancing upon their enemies until their matchlocks can take effect, discharging them, and precipitately retreating to reload, and to repeat the same manœuvre. They are considered good shots; and their plan has generally answered, but they have had to encounter no opponents provided with strong divisions of artillery. Yet it must not be forgotten, that in two or three actions with the Afghâns, when these latter thought fit to fight, the Síkhs have been unable to withstand the fury of the Dûrání charge.

There is amongst the Síkhs a class of military fanatics, called Akâlias, who clothe themselves in

black, and are always armed in a most profuse manner. Some of them have half a dozen swords stuck about them and their horses, and as many pistols, and other arms. They carry round the top of their pagrí a circular steel disc, with a rim, perhaps an inch broad, the edge of which is very sharp. I, at first, supposed this instrument was intended to break the cut of a sword, but learned that it was an offensive weapon, thrown by the hand; and I was assured that these men could eject it with such force that they could divide the leg of a horse, or even of an elephant.

The pay of the troops, provided for by jághírs, or the assignment of lands, is, of course, very variable. That of the regular infantry, is said to be one rupee higher to the private soldier than in the British service. The pay of the officers in the regular battalions is also fixed, but still fluctuates, as those made by the Máhárájá himself receive extravagant allowances, while those promoted by the commanding officers receive only the regulated stipend. The troops are not paid with punctuality, but they are certain of receiving all arrears once during the year. The Síkhs are allowed every year the indulgence of leave for three months, to visit their homes. They return at the annual festival of Dassérah, when the Máhárájá reviews the assembled force of his kingdom. Amritsir is usually the spot selected for this review. The Síkhs, being permitted the free use of wine,

it is much to their credit that during the nine months they are present with their regiments the greater part of them abstain from it, and make up for their forbearance during the revelry of the liberty season.

Ranjit Singh is the son of Máhá Singh, and was born at Gújaránwála, a small town about sixty miles west of Lahore. In his early infancy he manifested a predilection for war, and all his amusements had reference to that art. Such was the barbarism of the Síkhs at that period, that the young son of a chief was not taught to read or to write, accomplishments which he has never since acquired. On the demise of his father, being yet a minor, his mother assumed the authority; but suspecting that she intended to keep his patrimony from him, he slew her, and by so terrific a deed acquired the government of his native town, and the command of two thousand horse. From that moment he commenced his plans of aggrandizement. It was one of his first objects to raise a disciplined regiment of foreigners, a singular proof of sagacity, in a country where every one was a horseman. This regiment, his present Najíb Pal-tan, was of eminent service to him, and now enjoys many privileges. He was some years employed in the reduction of his own countrymen, and finally, by taking advantage of the disorders in Afghânistân, has become a powerful prince; and the only absolutely independent one in what

may be termed Hindústân. Ranjit Singh owes his elevation to his own ability and energy, favoured by the concurring circumstances of the times. He has always been his own counsellor; and at present, surrounded with officers and ministers, he takes no opinion on important state affairs. As a general, setting aside his good fortune, he has exhibited decisive proofs of great personal valour, quickness of conception, and promptitude of execution. He exemplified in the investment of Múltân an acquaintance with stratagem, and in the siege of Mankírah remarkable perseverance, and a possession of resources to meet difficulties, that would have done honour to any general. In his campaigns on the Indus his achievements were of the most brilliant kind, and no commander could have surpassed him in the beauty and celerity of his movements. In his relation with his troops he appears to great advantage, enjoying the general esteem, which his kindness and liberality have secured. Not a day passes without thousands of fervent aspirations for the continuance of his life. He is equally popular with the generality of his subjects, and rules with an equal hand both Mússulmân and Hindú. The only hardship of which the former complains is the interdiction of azân, or summons to prayers. His devastation of countries, on their subjection—a measure seemingly injurious to his own interests—does not originate so much in cruelty as

in obedience to a barbarous system of warfare, long established in these countries.

The annual visits to Pesháwer, and other dependent states, are evidently made with the political view of keeping them depressed, and of preventing the possibility of reaction. Although himself illiterate, he has a respect for acquirements in others, and when occasion presented itself, during his first visit to Pesháwer, of showing his esteem for literature, he did not neglect it, and issued positive orders for the preservation of the extensive library of the Mússulmán saint at Chamkanní. He must be deemed charitable, if we may judge from the large sums daily lavished upon fáquírs and others, and his bounty extends to the Máhomedan as well as the Hindú. He is undoubtedly gifted with liberality of mind, as evinced in his deportment to his Máhomedan subjects, who are admitted to all posts and ranks. His confidential physician is fáquíř Azzíz-al-Dín, and no man perhaps is more trusted by him. Although he has elevated some of his menial servants to the highest commands in the state, it must be admitted that they have proved men of high merit, as Harí Singh, Khúshíál Singh, and others. The former of these was, however, a towns-fellow, and playmate of the Máhárájá in his childhood; and the prince has not a more devoted subject or a more intrepid general. Mír Dhaiyân Singh, it is said, was found a stripling in the jangal on some ra-

vaging expedition; his personal attractions pleased the Máhárájá; and his subservience to his impure desires has effected his promotion to the dignity of minister and rájá, and the advancement of all his family. He has not proved deficient in talent, although much so in moral excellence, unless he be belied. Mír Dhaiyân Singh has two brothers, Gúláb Singh and Súchít Singh; both have been created rájás; and Gúláb Singh, as governor of Jamú, possesses very great power. Súchít Singh, it is asserted, was once as much a favourite of the Máhárájá as his brother, Dhaiyân Singh. These three brothers, called the Rajás, have been raised to more influence than perhaps is agreeable to Ranjit Singh, but it was his own act; and however repentant, he scruples to acknowledge his error by degrading them. Yet it is popularly believed, that if he could get them together he would not hesitate to seize them; but they, aware of the probability of such an accident, take care never to attend the court at the same time.

Ranjit Singh has but one son, Karak Singh, who is considered legitimate, or who is believed by himself to be so, according to report. This prince has proved incapable of command; and his father has been obliged to remove most of the troops he placed under him, owing to the disorders his son permitted, or was unable to control. He is esteemed imbecile, but, I suspect, is merely of a mild, placid disposition, averse to cruelty as to

exertion. He has frequently remonstrated against the violent measures of his father, particularly against the occupation of Sújahânpúr, with the young rájá of which he had contracted friendship by the exchange of turbans. Rájá Dhaiyân Singh, it is said, presumed to intrigue with his wife, an injury which might have passed over unnoticed by him, but was resented by Shír Singh, who castigated the offender in open darbár. Karak Singh has a young son, Noh Nihâl Singh, of whom Ranjit Singh, and the Síkhs generally, entertain great hopes and high expectations.

Shír Singh is the son of one of Ranjit Singh's wives, whom he married for political purposes, and whose turbulent spirit has occasioned him much trouble. In his cups, the Máhárájá declares her offspring to be due to some dhobí, or washerman. The young man has, however, merit, which procures his being treated with respect. He is brave and generous, and very popular with the soldiery. He attaches himself a good deal to the French officers, and to Europeans generally; and many people, looking at the incapacity of Karak Singh, consider his prospects favourable; but he is extremely dissipated.

Besides these, there are three others, Tárrah Singh, Pesháwar Singh, and Káshmírí Singh; by universal opinion pronounced supposititious, the sons of various females, whose fortune has located them in the Máhárájá's háram. By the little notice he

takes of them, the prince plainly shows that he coincides with the public sentiment.

It is already foreseen, even by the Síkhs, that the succession will be disputed; and the death of Ranjit Singh will, inevitably, involve the Panjâb in all the horrors of anarchy. In person, the Má-hárájá is a little below the middle size, and very meagre. His complexion is fair, and his features regular, with an aquiline nose. He carries a long white beard, and wants the left eye. Though apparently far advanced in years, I believe he has not completed fifty. On the right side of his neck a large scar is visible, probably the effect of a wound. In his diet he is represented to be abstemious, but has always been perniciously prone to copious cups of the strongest spirits, which, with his unbounded sensuality, has brought on him premature old age, with a serious burthen of infirmities: for some ailment, he makes daily use of laudanum. Simple in his dress, which is of white linen, he wears on his arm the celebrated diamond Koh-í-Núr, of which he deprived Shâh Sújâh al Múlkh, who had promised it to him, but first attempted to dupe him, and then to withhold it altogether. His attendants, domestics, &c. are splendidly clad, and display a profusion of gold and jewelled ornaments. Although Ranjit Singh, in his relations with the Mússulmâns to the west, assumes a high tone, at home he simply styles himself Sirkâr. In his affairs with the Afghâns

he has always received ample provocation; and the shameless deceit and perfidy, constantly played off upon him by their short-sighted and unprincipled chiefs and politicians, deserved the vengeance he has inflicted upon them.

To sum up his character as a public man, he is a prince of consummate ability, a warrior brave and skilful, and a good, but crafty statesman. In his private or individual capacity, he has many shining qualities; but they are obscured by many failings, and by habits so grossly sensual that they can scarcely be excused by the knowledge that they may be attributed to the barbarous period at which he was born, or by the fact that in such respect he is not worse than many of his compatriots. If there be a prince of antiquity to whom he may be compared, I think it might be Philip of Macedon; both claim our admiration as public characters, and our censure as private men. On a review, however, of their actions, their means, and advantages of birth, it may be conceded that the more splendid career has been run by the conqueror of the Panjâb.

CHAPTER XX.

Decline to see the Máhárájá.—Service of the Máhárájá.—Routes from Lahore.—Sikh females.—Baloches.—Meeting with Thákúr Singh.—Sikh villages.—Thákúr Singh.—His bright expectations.—Mission of Thákúr Singh.—His party.—State of country.—Occupations of Thákúr Singh.—His darbárs.—His attentions.—Harípah.—Tradition.—Local features of Harípah.—Identity with those of Arrian's Sangala.—Site of Alexander's altars.—Euthydemia.—Distressed by gnats.—Night march.—Chicha Watní.—Túlumba.—Ancient fortress.—Conjectures thereon.—Kindness of Thákúr Singh.—The Kattí.—Patán villages.—Sketches lost.—Take leave of Thákúr Singh.—Re-meeting at Pesháwer.—Friendly Mogal.—Fázilpúr.—Mír Mobáarak.—Fatí Máhoméd Ghorí.—His salutation.—Shikárpúr.—The evil eye.—Nazzar Máhoméd.—Ladkhána.—Maihota.—Séhwán.—Kotlí.—Haidarabád.—Fort.—Antiquity.—Rulers of Sind.—Revenue and military force.—Mír Ismael Shâh.—His reputation and diplomatic talent.—Anecdote of Mr. Hankey Smith's mission.—Mír Ismael Shâh's dilemma.—His means of extricating himself.—His dexterity and increased repute.—Residence at Haidarabád.—Determination.—Leave Haidarabád.—Fray.—Tatta.—Modern history.—Decline in trade.—Country between Tatta and Karáchí.—Landís.—Adventures on the road.—Pâli opium kâfila.—Karáchí.—Port.—Castle of Manároh.—Port of Alexander.

THE Máhárájá was at Lahore when I arrived, but soon departed for Amratsir, to celebrate the annual festival of the Dassérah; on which occasion he re-

views the collective force of his kingdom, being exceedingly fond of military display. He did not return until the close of the rainy season, and I declined the honour of an interview with him—which General Allard was willing to have brought about—as I did not purpose to remain; and I was aware that if by chance the Māhārājā should be pleased with me, he would propose, in course, that I should engage in his service. The general had wished that I should have made a sketch of Lahore, for presentation to the Māhārājā, as, he observed, that it was necessary to amuse, as well as to be useful to him; but I did not do so for the reasons just stated.

I could plainly see that the Māhārājā's service, however lucrative, had disadvantages; and not the least of them, in my opinion, was that of being compelled to minister to the gratification of his caprice and vanity, or to become the instrument of his vengeance and exactions. Even General Allard condescended to serve the Māhārājā's views in such respects, and while I was there had in charge two Brâhman prisoners, who were most ignominiously treated, and tortured with thumb-screws, under the notion of forcing them to disgorge the wealth they were accused of having amassed in Káshmír. The men may have been guilty; but I grieved to hear that their religious prejudices as to food had been purposely violated, and to witness them occupied, under terror of the bayonet, in the degrading labour

of bringing baskets of earth on their heads into the general's gardens.

If I left Lahore with regret, after the favours I had received, I was glad to escape from the oppressive heat, and the plague of flies, more annoying there than at any place I remember to have seen. I had the choice of dropping down the Râví in boats, or of taking the land route on the eastern bank of the river, by Sâtgharra and Túlumba; the direct one by Saiyadwâla, which I had before travelled, being impassable from rains and inundations. I preferred the land route, and from Lahore rode, —for I had purchased a small horse—to Níázpúr. Here one Júár Singh, a Síkh, took me to the daram-sâla, and my horse to his own dwelling. As I followed him through the village I had an opportunity of seeing many of the Síkh females, who not expecting an intruder, were taken by surprise, and had not time to conceal themselves. They were generally very well-looking. Júár Singh furnished my repast, and in the morning refused an equivalent.

To Mangah, five cosses distant, there was excellent pasture land; and on the road I was overtaken by a respectable Máhomedan party of mounted Baloches, natives of Mangah. They were gaily attired, with silken shawls, of gaudy colours, loosely bound round their heads, while their glossy black hair, in luxuriant ringlets, and duly oiled, depended upon their shoulders. About two cosses beyond Mangah

I found a walled-in village, where I put up at a takía. Two or three Sîkh villagers had tendered their hospitable offices, when a person arrived with a message from Thákúr Síng, a young Sîkh sirdár, encamped near the village. I went to him, and was most civilly received by a handsome intelligent youth, apparently sixteen or seventeen years of age; and, as he was going to Múltân, it was instantly agreed that we should be companions for the journey. I left him, promising to be ready in the morning when he and his cavalcade marched. During the night a heavy shower of rain fell and disquieted me, as I had no place of shelter, and my effects were completely soaked. In the morning, proceeding towards the Sîkh camp, I fell in with a servant of the sirdár, whom I accompanied in advance, but learned, afterwards, that the party was behind. We passed a variety of villages, principally inhabited by Sîkhs; and in all of them were substantial brick houses. They had generally small bazars, and around them, more or less, cultivated land; yet the whole country was essentially a grazing one. There is no Sîkh family that has not a brood mare or two, and the number of horned cattle was extraordinary. Over the jangal bushes and trees I was pleased to observe, twining and in bloom, the convolvulus major. The Sîkhs as we passed along were evidently disposed to be merry at my expense; a Feringhí, for the first time seen amongst them, being naturally considered a *rara avis*; and I had reason to

congratulate myself that I was in company sufficient to restrain their propensity to mirth. To their honour, it must be allowed, that their villages are particularly clean, and a certain quietude reigns amongst them, which causes the traveller to regret that he passes them so quickly. On reaching the spot intended for encampment, at some distance from a village, we were soon joined by Thákúr Singh and his party. My nag was directed to be placed in line with his own horses, and to be taken equal care of, while, I was informed, that I should not be permitted to incur any expense, however trifling, during my stay in the camp. The sirdár was son to Shâm Singh, one of the few old Síkh chiefs not absolutely pauperized by Ranjit Singh. It was said that the father of Shâm Singh, by name Níhâl Singh, was warlike and powerful, and that Ranjit Singh fearing him, courted his friendship. On his demise, however, the Máhárájá alienated much of the family property, Shâm Singh being of milder disposition, and therefore less respected. He, nevertheless, enjoys a revenue of three lákhs of rupees, from a tract of country between Lahore and Jamú, and keeps in pay about eight hundred followers, chiefly horsemen. It was now contemplated by Ranjit Singh to unite his grandson, Noh Níhâl Singh, (son of Karak Singh,) with the daughter of Shâm Singh. Such an alliance induced flattering expectations, Noh Níhâl Singh being presumptive heir to the Síkh throne. This union did eventually

ensue, but was dissolved on earth by the death of the young Noh Níhâl, occasioned by one of the most surprising accidents it has been the fate of the Síkhs to witness.

At this time, Thákúr Singh was proceeding to arrange differences which had arisen between the Súbahdár Sohand Mall and the Khân of Bahâwalpúr. He was accompanied by his uncle, Khúshâl Singh, a highly respectable old chief, and, besides his personal attendants and múnshís, had about one hundred and fifty horsemen, a small field-piece drawn by bullocks, and six camels carrying swivels. Amongst his followers were a band of musicians, two falconers, and a Brâhman, who daily performed some mystic rites connected with his superstitions. One of his múnshís, Haiyât Khân, a well-informed Máhomedan, was directed to see that I needed nothing, as he was supposed to be best acquainted with European habits, and on that account was accustomed to transact business with the French officers at Lahore.

We made three or four marches, usually of eight or ten cossés each, passing numerous villages with Síkh castles and towers, the largest of which was Sâtgharra (the Seven Castles), the country abounding in pasture, and the jangal more or less wooded. Besides dwarf tamarisks and mimosas, bér and pípal trees only occurred in number, two or three cypress trees being observed near villages. We always

halted at some distance from the villages ; and a grove of pípals was generally selected, the shade thereof obviating the necessity for erecting tents. This tract of country was held in jághír by Rájá Mír Dhaiyân Singh.

On reaching our encampments Thákúr Singh always repeated some prayer over a basin of warmed ghee, produced by the Brâhman, who alike mumbled something, and at the conclusion dropped into the fluid a pais, or piece of copper money. He was extremely inquisitive on all points connected with Europeans ; and during my stay with him I enabled him to arrange a voluminous vocabulary of the English language ; he in turn teaching me his Gúrús alphabet. I was surprised at his acquaintance with Christian tenets, which I found he had acquired from tracts, translated into the dialects of the Panjâb ; and he one day asked for an explanation of that portion of the discourse on the mount in which it is stated, " If an eye offend thee, pluck it out," &c. In the evenings a darbár was held, at which the soldiers presented themselves, and saluted with the customary Síkh exclamation of " Wâh ! Wâh ! Gúrú-jí ! Fatteh !" or " Bravo ! bravo ! oh, Gúrú ! victory !" Amongst these were one or two of the fanatic Akâlias, or immortals, distinguished by their dark dresses, and a peculiar energy of manner and expression. At these darbárs Thákúr Singh always placed me on the same seat with himself and uncle,

and held my hand within his, so assiduous was he to show attention, and so politely did he acquit himself.

When the periods of repast arrived, the viands, &c. intended for me were placed separately on a kind of tray, and submitted to the young sirdár's inspection, that he might see no delicacy was omitted which his travelling stores contained, or which could be procured in the neighbouring villages.

A long march preceded our arrival at Harípah, through jangal of the closest description. East of the village was an abundance of luxuriant grass, where, along with many others, I went to allow my nag to graze. When I joined the camp I found it in front of the village and ruinous brick castle. Behind us was a large circular mound, or eminence, and to the west was an irregular rocky height, crowned with remains of buildings, in fragments of walls, with niches, after the eastern manner. The latter elevation was undoubtedly a natural object; the former being of earth only, was obviously an artificial one. I examined the remains on the height, and found two circular perforated stones, affirmed to have been used as bangles, or arm-rings, by a fáquíř of renown. He has also credit for having subsisted on earth, and other unusual substances, and his depraved appetite is instanced in testimony of his sanctity. The entire neighbourhood is embellished with numerous pípal trees, some of them in the last stage of lingering exis-

tence; bespeaking a great antiquity, when we remember their longevity. The walls and towers of the castle are remarkably high, though, from having been long deserted, they exhibit in some parts the ravages of time and decay. Between our camp and it extended a deep trench, now overgrown with grass and plants. Tradition affirms the existence here of a city, so considerable that it extended to Chicha Wâtní, thirteen cosses distant, and that it was destroyed by a particular visitation of Providence, brought down by the lust and crimes of the sovereign.

We were cautioned by the inhabitants, that on the plain we were likely to be assailed by makkahs, or stinging-gnats; and in the evening we ascended the circular mound behind us. There was ample room on the summit to receive the party and horses belonging to it. It was impossible to survey the scene before us, and to look upon the ground on which we stood, without perceiving that every condition of Arrian's Sangala was here fulfilled,—the brick fortress, with a lake, or rather swamp, at the north-eastern angle; the mound, protected by a triple row of chariots, and defended by the Kathí before they suffered themselves to be shut up within their walls; and the trench between the mound and fortress, by which the circumvallation of the place was completed, and whence engines were directed against it. The data of Arrian are very minute, and can scarcely be misapplied to Harípah, the

position of which also perfectly coincides with what, from inference, we must assign to Sangala. I have made public my convictions on this point, but repeat them, as I doubt not they are just; and the identification of Sangala gives a point from which we may safely calculate upon the site of the celebrated altars of Alexander, which, in all probability, were in the neighbourhood of Pâk Pattan, on the Satlej, two marches from Harípah, Alexander having there gained the high road into India, which was afterwards followed by Taimúr.

The verification of the site of Sangala is farther important, because, subsequent to its destruction by the Macedonian leader, it again rose into consequence under the name of Euthydemia, clearly referring to a renowned king of Bactria, and which change in its fortunes is supposed to be owing to one of his sons; and we know of no other than Dêmétrius.

Our precautions were vain against the swarms of our tiny antagonists, the gnats, and at sunset they so annoyed us, and particularly the horses, which became absolutely frantic, that we had no alternative but to decamp, and march throughout the night.

Towards two or three o'clock in the morning we reached the small village of Chicha Watní, seated on the Râví. Our entire course had been through close jangal, in many parts under water, and just before reaching the village, part of the company, with whom I had preceded the rest, came upon a

small arm or cut from the river, which we crossed on horseback, the depth of the water barely permitting us. On this occasion, on attempting to ascend the further bank my horse fell back with me into the water, and besides being myself well ducked, my saddle-bags were completely soaked. We had mistaken the road, as Thákúr Singh, who followed it, avoided this obstacle. At this village we missed the pípal groves and occupied houses. The inhabitants were chiefly Máhomedans; and there were two Síkhs stationed, as we afterwards found was the case in every Máhomedan village. There was a large ferry-boat here, in which, in company with Thákúr Singh and his band of musicians, we were rowed up and down the river in the evening. Some of the men took idle shots at alligators basking freely on the banks.

From Chicha Watní we made a long march of fifteen cosses, once touching on the river, through jangal less close and drier. Another march brought us to the neighbourhood of Túlumba, surrounded with groves of date-trees, and, to appearance, a large, populous and walled-in town. I did not visit it, for although we stayed three or four days in its neighbourhood, I fell sick. Close to our camp was, however, the ruins of a mud fortress, with walls and towers unusually high and thick. I cannot call to mind the name it bears. It was considered so extraordinary, that Thákúr Singh, with all his Síkhs, went to inspect it, and I, being then well, accompanied

them. It needed not the murmurs of tradition to assert its antiquity, and must have been in the ancient time a remarkably strong fortress. Like Harípah, its destruction is ascribed to the crimes of its rulers.

If my view of the operations of Alexander in this part of the country be correct, Túlumba represents the capital of the Mallí, which could not have been Múltân, even though its name be rightly Mállis-thân, as that only tends to prove that it was one of the confederated towns, which may be readily granted without admitting that it was the principal. There is a chance that in the old mud fortress we have the remains of the fort held by Brâhmans, whose defence was so obstinate, and so fatal to themselves, and which was evidently immediately contiguous to the capital of the Mallí.

I made the first march from Túlumba on horseback, but grew so unwell, that the second I was accommodated in the state-carriage, drawn by two fine horses, belonging to Thákúr Singh; and so obliging was the young sirdár, that he made it a point to be my companion during the latter half of the journeys we made. In this manner we reached Múltân, and encamped near the zíárat of Shams Tábrézí. Between Chicha Watní and Túlumba, and from the latter place towards Múltân the country is inhabited by the Kattí tribes, apparently the descendants of Alexander's determined opponents. They are a pastoral people, dwelling

in temporary villages, and keep amazingly numerous herds of horned cattle. For every head of cattle they pay a tax of one rupee to the government. They traffic largely in ghee; but although they are rich in rural wealth, they have not the most honest or peaceable reputation. As Múltân is neared, the soil, which from Túlúm̄ba had become light and sandy in a degree, is now decidedly so, and fixed villages again commence. In each of them is a square tower, the indication of former Patán rule. Near these villages the píp̄al is generally superseded by the ghaz, or tamarisk, which attains an enormous growth, but yields an insufficient shade.

We remained many days at Múltân; but my disorder, a bilious fever, grew upon me, and I was little able to enjoy, or to benefit by my stay. I had made a sketch of the town, which showing to Haiyât Khân, he conveyed it to Thákúr Singh, who smiled, and said, I was sent by the Sahib loghs to take sketches of the country. It was returned at the time, but at night was taken from under my pillow. When at Harípah I had also sketched the old fort. The paper was handed from one to the other, and I have now to regret its loss.

At length Thákúr Singh continued his march to Sújah Kot, and encamped in the garden of Mozafar Khân. I remained many days with him, and ridded myself of the fever, which, nevertheless, left me extremely weak; on which áccount he wished me to prolong my stay, but I was anxious

to proceed. With difficulty I procured his consent, and took leave of him and his uncle, having received the most friendly attention while in their camp. Thákúr Singh had even purposed to have presented me with a sum of money, and Khúshâl Singh had approved of it. It was not offered, because I had told Haiyât Khân, in the most positive manner, that I would not accept it. He had also frequently wished me to remain with him altogether, as far as I could judge, with sincerity, stating, that he could not be so munificent as the Great Sirkár, (Ranjit Singh,) but that he could give one thousand rupees per month, and when the marriage of his sister took place he might be able to do more.

I often remembered Thákúr Singh and his kindnesses; but years had elapsed, when at Pesháwer, in 1838, I had again the pleasure to meet him. He was as friendly as ever; we exchanged presents of horses; but I departed without bidding him farewell; an omission occasioned, and I trust to be excused, by the knowledge that he had prepared a costly parting present, which I did not choose to accept.

Once more alone, I reached Pír Jelâlpúr, and thence proceeded to Uch. From which place, on the road to Allahabád, I missed my way, an accident which led me to a village, Gúgújarwâla, where the principal, a Mogal, as he said, by descent, treated me handsomely, and detained me a day

to feast on venison. Thence I passed on to Allahábád, and by the road I had before travelled to Fázilpúr, where I remained a few days with Ráhmát Khân and his party. On leaving I took one of his men to accompany me to Khairpúr, because I was aware, from what I had before seen of the administration in Sind, that, being mounted and a stranger, I should be searched at every post where government officers were stationed, and that altercation might arise, unless I had some one to explain. I arrived at Rohrí without any serious interruption, and found Mír Mobárák, a son of Mír Sohráb, about to take boat for Haidarabád. One of his suite accosted me, and, finding that I was going there, spoke, untold by me, to the Mír, and obtained his consent that I should take my place in the boats. The Mír departed, amid the benedictions of his brothers and crowds assembled on the banks, but when I was about to put my horse into one of the boats, it was objected that the animal could not be received, although I might go if I pleased. I would not assent to this arrangement, and therefore proceeded to Khairpúr, where I now stayed a few days, the guest of Fatí Máhoméd Ghorí, who, while he took no notice of me when I was there before, did not think me unworthy of his civilities when I did not need them. I went to visit my old friend Múlla Háfíz, when Fatí Máhoméd observed me, and beckoning me to him, he said, "Why not come and stay at

my house, where you and your horse shall be taken care of. Feringhís, when they pass through Khairpúr, always put up with me." After a few days, in which I learned that the direct route from Khairpúr to Haidarabád was perilous at the point where the frontiers of the two territories unite, from the feuds of the border tribes, encouraged, perhaps, by the policy of the mírs themselves, I adopted the suggestion of going to Ladkhâna, with the expectation of finding there Afghân merchants, with whom I might drop down the river. I did not take the nearest road, but returned to Rohrí, and there crossing the river, passed on to Shikárpúr, where I stayed again a few days. I was received by an Afghân in the service of Kâsim Shâh, and lodged in the house with his family. One of his neighbours, an Afghân, I believe, also, either had, or pretended to have, a great dread of me, for a reason I had never before heard advanced; viz. that as a Feringhí, I possessed an evil eye, and could at pleasure bewitch his wife and his daughter. My host treated the allegation with ridicule, though his neighbour insisted that he was right, and cited book authorities; and the affair only ceased when the former threatened to consider such an injurious suspicion as an insult to himself.

Ladkhâna, or Lárkhâna, was twenty-one cosses from Shikárpúr, and as the road leads through jangal, and is unsafe, my Afghân and his brother accompanied me. We passed a night at a village

on the road, and immediately preceding the town crossed a large canal, on which it is situated. My horse, never a very good one, had become of little use to me, and I parted with him to the Afghâns for a trifling consideration, having met with, as I expected, a fruit merchant of Kâbal, Nazzar Máhomed, who brings annually supplies for the Haidarabâd Amírs. A government boat was waiting for him and his party at the bandar, or river station, and he was agreeable that I should avail myself of it.

Ladkhâna was a large, populous, and commercial town, the bazars exhibiting great activity. It was governed by the Nawâb Walí Máhomed, of the Lígharí, a Baloch tribe, who is styled the Vazír of Sind. He is very popular, and his sway is mild. In company with Nazzar Máhomed, I started for the bandar, six or seven cosses distant, but we missed our road, and were wandering nearly throughout the day. We crossed the Nárí, a cut or branch of the Indus, which, with a singularly irregular course, winds through the beautiful country west of the main river to Séhwan, where it rejoins, after forming the lake Manchúr. On the banks of the Nárí, near Ladkhâna, are the remains of an ancient fortress, on a huge mound, called Maihota, a name not unknown to the ancient inhabitants of our isle, being yet preserved by an ancient castle in the northern counties, or in Scotland.

On gaining the bandar we found the boat

waiting, and thence we quietly floated down the river, once or twice touching on sand-banks in our course. Opposite Séhwan we halted, that the party might visit the celebrated shrine of Láll Shâh Báẓ, and I accompanied them, that I might see the town and old castle adjacent to it. The site was plainly an ancient one, if we may not accede to the popular belief that it was founded by Shísh paigambar, or the inspired patriarch Seth.

From Séhwan we pleasantly descended to Haidarabad, with the Lakkí hills on our right. The bandar, or boat station, is, indeed, three miles distant from the town, and there is a small village at it, while on the opposite bank is the larger one of Kotlí, belonging to Ahmed Khân, chief of the Búlfút, a Lúmri tribe.

Haidarabád is built on a low calcareous elevation, stretching at first north and south, the direction of the buildings, and then sweeping round towards the river, where it is surmounted with several large tombs of Gúlám Shâh, Kalorah, Mír Kerím Alí, and others of the past and reigning dynasties. The houses are meanly constructed of mud, and the bazar forms one long street, the entire length of the town. A good deal of commerce is obviously carried on, and towards evening, when the Hindús assemble, there is much bustle, and it may be supposed much business transacted. At the southern extremity of the town is the fort, a large irregular building, with lofty walls and towers conforming to

the outlines of the scarped eminence on which they stand. It is built of kiln-burnt bricks, and, with its various lines of loop-holes, has a singular and interesting appearance. The several Amírs have their residences within it, and strangers are not permitted to enter. The ancient name of the fortress was, I believe, Nirang, but the town is probably of more recent date. As the capital of Lower Sind it became distinguished under the later Kalorah princes, the earlier ones residing at Khodâbâd, whose remains now exist north of Séhwan. The last sole prince of Sind was Gúlám Nabbí, Kalorah, a Jet family, claiming descent from the Abbássíde caliphs. He and his family were dispossessed by their sirdárs of the Tâlpúrí, a Baloch tribe, whose descendants now reign. There were at this time at Haidarabâd, the Amír Morád Alí, his sons, Núr Máhomed, and Nassír Khân, the Amírs Sohabdár and Mír Máhomed. Morád Alí is the principal, and may be said to govern the country, although all of them have shares in it, and Amír Sohabdár, his nephew, is somewhat contumacious. Morád Alí is not beloved, and in no country is oppression more generally complained of than in Sind; but, although I resided three or four months at Haidarabâd, I never witnessed or heard of any cruelties or exactions practised there; on the contrary, there was perfect freedom and security of persons and property.

If I inquired as to the revenue and military force,

I was told exaggerated stories of a crore of rupees, and a lákh of bandúks, or firelocks, with Baloches, to use them—complete fire-eaters. I never saw any thing in the shape of troops, save the few mounted attendants who accompanied the amírs on their hunting excursions. I observed, indeed, that nearly every male at Haidarabád was a núkar, or servant, receiving certain allowances in grain and money, but never attending darbár, and engaged in ordinary trades and occupations. There are, however, many sirdárs who must have followers, and the Baloch tribes hold their jághírs on condition of military service. Of their quotas the Sindian armies may be composed, but I understood it was ruinously expensive to draw them out, as in that event the amírs, who at other times treat them most niggardly, are obliged to be equally lavish, so that it is cheaper for them to buy off an enemy, than to collect their hordes to repel him.

I was introduced to Mír Ismael Shâh, a Shíá saiyad, of Shíráz family, and living in distinction at Haidarabád. In the confidence of Morad Alí and his sons, he was usually employed in embassies of importance, and had been deputed to the Vazír Fatí Khân, in Khorasân, and to the government of Bombay. He had a reputation for ability; and, as a proof of his “onar,” or dexterity, an anecdote was related to me, which threw light on the insult offered to the British mission under Mr. Hankey Smith, at Táтта. It appears, Mír Ismael

Shâh had been sent elchí, or ambassador, to Bombay, where he was allowed five thousand rupees monthly, provided with a handsome house and carriage, and otherwise so highly honoured that, after his business, if he had any, was concluded, he slighted the intimations made to him from time to time that he might return, very naturally desiring to profit, as long as he could, by British munificence. It had, however, been proposed, that a mission should accompany him on his return, in acknowledgment of the politeness of the amírs; and, as these important chiefs declined to treat with the subordinate government of Bombay, it was got up by the supreme government of Calcutta, in deference to the scruples of their highnesses. The amírs had no wish to receive a mission at all; and, not supposing that the supreme government would condescend to despatch one, had raised objections, under the hope of saving themselves from its infliction. Mír Ismael Shâh found himself in a dilemma, as, the better to ingratiate himself with his English friends, he had been representing that the mission was just the thing desired by the amírs; while, to them he had been writing, he had done all he could to prevent it. After a variety of delays on the part of Mír Ismael Shâh, he was at last informed that a vessel was ready to convey him to Karáchí; and, sore against his will, he was compelled to leave Bombay to prepare for the reception of the mission, and to excuse

himself to the amírs for having brought the visitation upon them. The mission, in due time, also arrived at Karáchí, and their old friend, Mír Ismael, was ready to receive them as Mihmândár. He wrote to his masters, that the Feringhís were very elate, and it was necessary to humble their pride; and he particularly noted the circumstance of hoisting the British flag, suggesting, that at Táтта, Walí Máhomed, Líghárí, should be sent with a force to strike it, after which the humiliated mission might be allowed to proceed to Haidarabád, as their pretensions would be lowered with their standard. The amírs were shocked at so bold a proposal, and were disposed to reject it as too hazardous, being fearful it might cause the return of the mission, and lead to war; but they were overruled by Mír Ismael Shâh, who pledged himself to provide against the return of the mission, and any evil results from the act he recommended. At Táтта, therefore, while the mission was encamped, Walí Máhomed, with a large party of horse, dashed unexpectedly amongst the tents, cut their ropes, and those of the flag-staff. The escort turned out, and a few lives were lost; but the object had been gained. The gentlemen of the mission were, of course, indignant, and talked of retracing their steps; but Mír Ismael Shâh was at hand to explain that the assault was the deed of the wild Baloches of the jangal, and committed without the cognizance of the amírs. Nor had he mistaken his powers

of persuasion: such excuses were accepted. He had cleared himself of the suspicion of having brought the mission, and obtained great credit for having so dexterously managed the delicate affair.

Mír Ismael Shâh was very courteous to me, and offered me money if I needed it, and then to introduce me to the amírs; but I declined so much honour, having nothing to say to them. In course of conversation he talked so indulgently of swine-flesh, that I fancied, while at Bombay, he might have gratified curiosity at the expense of his Máhomedan prejudices.

I resided at Haidarabád in the house of Mírza Khúrbân Alí, a Mogal, in the service of Amír Nassír Khân; and so cheap was subsistence that I did not expend more than three rupees, or about five shillings monthly. It being winter, the climate was also cool and agreeable, and, on the whole, I passed my time pleasantly. The month of Rámazân again occurred; and reflecting that the warm weather would soon open, while I had now spent four years in wandering in the countries on either side of the Indus, my attention became directed to my future course, and I decided upon gaining the port of Karáchí, and thence to make my way, in the best manner I could, into Persia. I therefore passed down the river to Táтта, touching at, on the western bank, the Baloch village of Ráhmat, and on the eastern, that of Alma-di-Got. At the latter place a serious dispute, I knew not on what

account, arose between our boatmen and the villagers. Stones and sticks were freely used, and swords were drawn, but fatal consequences were averted by our cutting our ropes, and falling down the stream.

Tátta lies some four miles from the river ; it is in decay, but has abundant vestiges of former celebrity. To the west are elevations, crowned with a multitude of tombs. Some of these, constructed of yellow stone, curiously carved, are more than usually handsome, particularly that of Mírza Isâ, Túrko-lâní, who, in rebellion against the Súbahdár of Múltân, called in the aid of the Portuguese. They afforded it, and subsequently sacked the city themselves, about 1555, A.D., from which date it has probably declined. It is advantageously situated in a country naturally productive, and is complaisantly spoken of by the natives of Sind, particularly by the Hindús ; though, during its recent occupation by British troops, the mortality amongst them would seem to belie its reputation for salubrity. It is said, the town has seriously suffered during the last fifteen years, when its cotton fabrics gave way before the superior British manufactures. It yet makes lúnghís, and shawls of mixed silk and cotton, which are esteemed. The bazar is tolerable, and provisions reasonable ; its gardens are numerous, producing mangoes and ordinary eastern fruits in some quantity, with small apples.

From Tátta to Karáchí the road leads over the

elevations to the west, which gradually subside into the level country; and a course of three or four cosses from them leads to Gújar, a small bazar town, with pools, or deposits, of rain-water. Hence, a generally sterile, and somewhat sandy tract, is passed to the Júkía town of Gárrah, seated on a salt-water creek. A little before reaching it there are large deposits of rain-water, just to the left of the road, and between them and the town are rocks full of imbedded fossil-shells. The salt-water creek of Gárrah has a communication with Karáchí, and I found three dúnghís, or small vessels, lying in it. A dreary sandy tract continues to Karáchí, the road, tolerably good, passing over a level surface; but there are no villages, and a very few Baloch hamlets of huts. Water is found in wells at particular spots, where the Hindús of Karáchí have erected buildings for the convenience of their kâfilas, and of travellers, called landís. The four or five cosses preceding Karáchí are somewhat troublesome from sand.

I walked alone from Táтта to Karáchí, and armed with a sword, which accident had thrown in my way at Haidarabád. I had seldom travelled with a weapon, and think the solitary traveller is much better without one. In this journey, on several occasions, I was obliged to put my hand on my sword, when, without it, I might probably have passed without so much notice. At a hamlet between Gárrah and Karáchí the people, I dare

say being afraid of me, disliked my passing the night amongst them, when I joined an opium kâfila, *en route* to Karáchi, from Pâlí in Márwâr, and went on with it without sleeping. On the road one of the armed attendants grew suspicious of me, and, under cover of his shield, approached in a menacing attitude. I know not what might have happened had not some of his associates interposed. The next morning we reached Kará-chí, where I had the great satisfaction to behold the sea, a sight which I had not enjoyed for many years.

Karáchí, although not a large town, has much trade; it is surrounded with dilapidated mud walls, provided with towers, on which a few crazy guns are mounted. The suburbs, extensive, and generally comprising huts, are inhabited by fishermen and mariners. The port has one hundred vessels, of all sizes and descriptions, belonging to it, and its dúnghís venture to Dáman, Bombay, and Cálícat, also to Gwâdar and Maskát. The harbour is commodious for small craft, and is spacious, extending about two miles inwards, at which distance, from its mouth, the town is seated. On a high hill, or eminence, overlooking the entrance to the harbour on the left hand, as it is approached from the sea, is the fort or castle of Manároh, garrisoned by a small party of Júkiás; it is said, there are many guns in it, but it is unexplained who are to work them. The eminence slopes to the beach, on

the town side, where there is a circular tower, on which four guns are said, whether truly or not, to be placed. These constitute the defences of the harbour, whose entrance is well defined, having, opposite to the hill Manároh, five detached rocks and a sand-bank, exposed at low water. Karáchi has a cool climate, and may be regarded with classical interest, there being little doubt that it is the port of Alexander, which sheltered for some time the fleet of Nearchus, the first European admiral who navigated the Indian seas.

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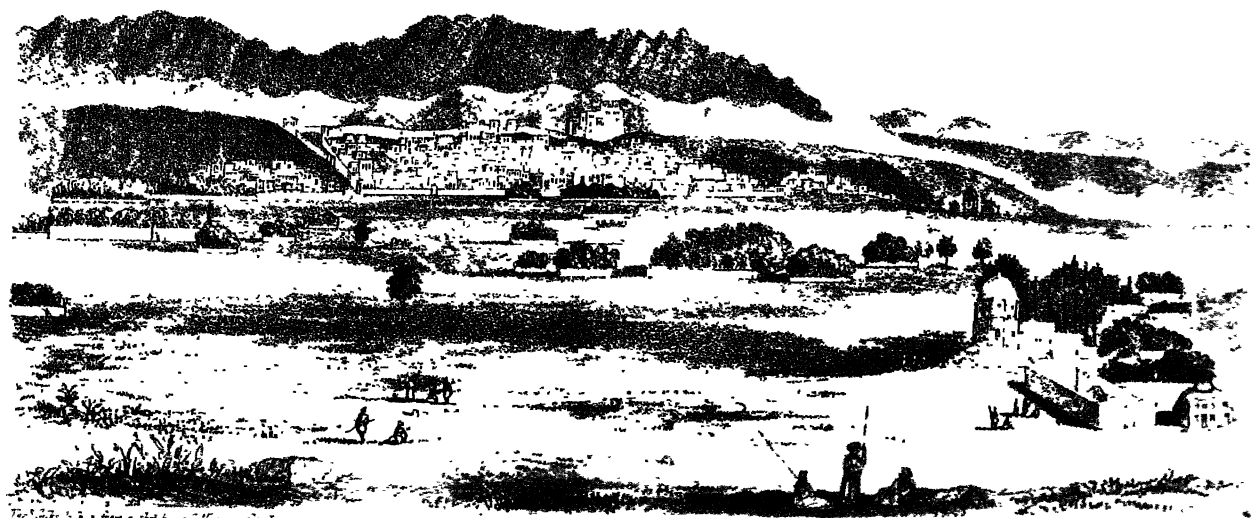
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JOURNEYS

IN

BALUCHISTAN, AFGHANISTAN, AND THE PANJAB.

CHAPTER I.

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FROM Karáchí I crossed the sea in a dúng hí to Maskát, and thence, in an Arab bagala, sailed

for Kishm, in the Persian Gulf, when, crossing the island, I reached Bassador, then an English station, where I was cordially welcomed by the few of my countrymen residing there. A cruiser of the Honourable Company some time after touching, the politeness of her officers gave me the opportunity of proceeding to Búshír, where I continued for three or four months, under the hospitable roof of the late lamented Major David Wilson, at that time the resident; and a gentleman of a mind so superior, that to have possessed his friendship and esteem is a circumstance of which I shall never cease to be proud. I there drew up, from materials in my possession, and from recollection, a series of papers relating to my journeys, and the countries through which I had passed, which were forwarded to the Government of Bombay, or to Sir John Malcolm, then the governor. I was not aware that such use would be made of them, nor am I quite sure I should have wished it; and I doubt whether it has not proved more hurtful than beneficial to me. I may justly lament that these documents should have been artfully brought forward in support of unsound views and ambitious projects. I may also be dissatisfied, in a less degree, that the information they contained has served the purposes of men wanting the generosity to acknowledge it.

From Búshír, a two months' journey led me to Tabréz, the capital of the late Abbás Mírza, but

then desolated by the plague. Before setting out the sad intelligence of the decease of the envoy, Sir John Macdonald, had reached Búshír, and I found Major, now Sir John Campbell, in charge of the mission. My obligations to this gentleman are more than mere words can express, and far greater than might be seemly to relate in these pages—yet, I may be permitted to record, that if my subsequent labours have proved advantageous to science, it was owing to his generosity that I was placed in the position to prosecute them. With Sir John Campbell were Mr. now Sir John M'Neil, and Captain Macdonald, nephew of the much regretted envoy. Nearly, or quite two months I enjoyed the society of the friendly circle, at Tabréz, at the hazard of acquiring a distaste for the rough pleasures of a rude and rambling life. I then accompanied Captain Macdonald to Bagdád, where for some days we profited by intercourse with Colonel Taylor, the resident, and passed down the Tigris to Bassorah, having been joined by the late Captain Frank Gore Willock. From Bassorah we gained Kárák, which has since become remarkable from its occupation by a force from Bombay, and thence crossed over to Búshír, where I had again the satisfaction to meet Major David Wilson, who was preparing to proceed overland to England. Captain Macdonald arranged to return with him, and Captain Willock and myself took our pas-

sages, in a merchant vessel of Bombay, for Maskát, and a pleasant course of eleven days brought us to anchor in its haven. We took up our abode at the house of Reuben ben Aslan, agent of the Bombay government; and a few days were agreeably passed in visits to the Imâm, and in intercourse with the inhabitants.

Captain Willock hired a vessel to convey him to Mándaví, and I took my passage in an Arab bagala, destined to Karáchí. I sailed the day preceding that fixed for the departure of Captain Willock, in April 1831, and that excellent and kind-hearted gentleman accompanied me to my vessel, and remained with me until it was put under weigh. We parted, never to meet again.

The shúmál, or north-westerly winds, raged with considerable violence,—a circumstance in our favour,—and the seventh day after leaving Maskát we came in sight of the castle of Manároh, on the height commanding the entrance of the harbour of Karáchí. It being night when we neared it, we anchored off the land.

During this trip I suffered from lock-jaw, and my teeth were so nearly closed that I could with difficulty introduce between them small portions of halúâh, a sweetmeat of Maskát, so called, of which I luckily had a few baskets, part of a present from the Imâm to Captain Willock; and which for four or five days was my only sustenance. As the trismus arose from cold, its symp-

toms gradually decreased, without the aid of medicine, and on approaching Karáchí the rigidity of my jaws had somewhat diminished, although it was a long time before I could extend them to their full and natural extent; and I have since found that I am liable to a recurrence of this malady. The passage otherwise had been a brisk and pleasant one.

The Arab nâqúdâh, or commander of the dúnghí, was an intelligent and civil young man. Willing to impress me with high opinions of his nautical proficiency, he daily took up the skeleton of a quadrant, without glasses, and affected to gaze intently upon the sun; after which, with a pair of compasses, he would measure distances upon his map. On one occasion some of the crew attempting to adjust the rudder, which was in a very crazy condition, wholly unshipped it. Availing themselves of their dexterity as swimmers, after much trouble, they succeeded in replacing it. The dúnghí, it may be observed, is the common trading vessel of the ports of Arabia, the Persian Gulf, Mekrân, Sind, and Málabár. The proper Arabic appellation is, however, *bagala*, or the coaster, from *bagal*, the side, or shore. It is of low tonnage, and is impelled by a cumbersome látín sail; in changing the position of which it is also necessary to shift part of the cargo from one side to the other, to cause a counter-balance, or the vessel runs the chance of being capsized. From

six to twelve hands, make up the crew of a dún-ghí, which is probably the form of vessels employed in these seas from remote antiquity.

On the morrow we weighed anchor, and stood in for the harbour. On gaining its entrance, the height of Manároh being immediately to our left, we were assailed by the shouts of the garrison located in the castle on its summit. The nâqúdâh, not understanding the meaning of these shouts, and continuing his course, the soldiers, or armed men, descended the rocks, and fired a few musket-shots over us *in terrorem*. Being sufficiently near to be perfectly audible, they peremptorily commanded that we should anchor, and lower down our boat. The nâqúdâh did so, and sent his boat to the shore. It returned with a party of soldiers. It appeared that I was the cause of these movements; but how these people should know I was on board could only be accounted for by supposing that some vessel must have sailed from Maskát, during the few days of my stay there, and have brought intelligence that a Feringhí, or European, was at that port, intending to embark for Karáchí.

The grand cause of alarm I afterwards discovered, when informed that two European gentlemen were at one of the mouths of the Indus, anxious to proceed to Lahore by the river route, but that the amírs of Sind had hitherto not decided to allow them to pass. These gentlemen, I

subsequently learned, were Captain Burnes and his party.

The principal of the soldiers who came recognized me. He embraced my feet, and told me that he would go to Hássan Khân, the governor of the town, and acquaint him that an ancient guest had arrived. He added, there was little doubt but that I should be permitted to land. He went, and without delay returned, bringing a message from the governor that the orders of the amírs were positive, not to allow any European to land at Karáchí, or even to enter the harbour, but that I should be duly supplied with wood, water, and other necessaries. I explained, that the amírs' orders had reference to ships of war, not to individuals; but this view of them was not admitted. I then requested, that notice of my arrival, with a letter from myself, might be sent to Amír Nassír Khân at Haidarabád. This was objected to.

Finally, the soldiers departed, three of them remaining on board as a guard over me, so far that I was not to be suffered to quit the vessel. The nâqúdâh repaired to the town, and on his return at mid-day, with the sanction of the governor, ran his dúnghí into the harbour, and so close to the shore on the right hand that at low water it was left on the sand.

Two of the three soldiers with me were so little inclined to be civil, and were so much impressed

with a sense of their own consequence, that I ordered the crew to give them nothing to eat; therefore, after enduring hunger for two days, they were constrained to hail a fishing-boat, into which they stepped, and regained the garrison at Manároh, one soldier only remaining. As he was tolerably respectful his wants were duly provided for. In the course of two or three days, however, observing my medicine-chest, he would not be satisfied unless I gave him medicine, without having need of it. Judging the opportunity a good one to rid myself of him, I administered a smart dose of jalap, which producing very sensible effects, he was also glad to hail a fishing-boat and to rejoin his companions. We remained two or three days more in the harbour, but I was no longer honoured with a guard.

This adventure at Karáchí, unexpected on my part, somewhat disconcerted me. I saw no alternative but to return to Maskát; and thence, if possible, to reach Bandar Abbás, and from that point viâ Kermân and Yezd, to gain Sístân, Kândahár, and the Afghân countries. The shúmâl winds were, moreover, exactly contrary, and we had to calculate upon a tedious and even dangerous return voyage to Maskát. I learned at Súnmiání, some months afterwards, that the governor of Karáchí had despatched tidings of my arrival there to his masters at Haidarabád, who had sent him orders (received after my departure) to expedite me with

all honour to Haidarabád, and to allow me to incur no expense on the road. They also severely rebuked him for not permitting, in the first instance, a defenceless and unassuming stranger to land, who had, by his own account, neither servants, arms, nor *boxes*. In justice to the amírs of Sind, it must be averred, that however politically jealous of the European, they are not so deficient in common sense or humanity as to offer any interruption to the unprotected stranger, whom chance or necessity may conduct to their territories. Of this I had before experience. I passed freely through their country, and resided in perfect liberty and security at their capital. Their political jealousy of the European is owing to their fears of his power; and these fears are artfully kept alive by a few interested persons about them. It must be conceded, that the ignorance and credulity of the amírs render them easy dupes. It would surprise many to know that these rulers of a kingdom believe that a regiment of soldiers may be lodged in an ordinary box: whence there is no article in the possession of an European that they view with so much distrust. Such idle notions, it is obvious, would be dispelled by increased intercourse and better acquaintance.

Our *nâqúdâh* did not wait for a cargo, and we weighed anchor and put to sea, with the wind fairly in our teeth. We made, however, little way, passing, while it was yet daylight, the small rocky islet noted as Chilney's Isle on our maps, which the

Sindians call Charna, and at sun-set, on looking behind us, we could faintly descry the white walls of the castle Manároh. Towards night we made for the land and came to anchor.

The shúmâl incessantly raged ; so that after many days passage, working on a little by day, and edging in to the shore and anchoring by night, we arrived off the port of Ormára, into which we sailed to procure water.

The nâqúdâh went on shore, and, it would seem, told the tale of my repulse at Karáchí ; for presently a boat put off, bringing one Chúlí, on part of the governor, Fatí Khân, who had sent me as present a basket of eggs, also an invitation to land. The country, it was told me, was independent of Sind, and that I should be expedited in safety to Kalât, or to any other place I might prefer.

I accompanied Chúlí, and was introduced to the governor, whom I found sitting under an old wall, with a circle of the inhabitants around him. Among these was the nâqúdâh. The governor appeared about forty years of age, spare, and dark-featured, with anything but a prepossessing countenance, in no wise improved by his long lank black hair. He renewed the offers of service conveyed to me by Chúlí, and desired me to consider the country as my own, and himself as my slave,—an ordinary but hyperbolical mode of expressing welcome, and of imparting confidence. I determined at once to remain at Ormára, hoping thence to be able to

reach Kalât; and although I foresaw the probability of an adventure, confided in my good fortune to get over it.

Seeing the miserable state of the huts composing the town, I inquired concerning my lodgings; and an old tower of a dilapidated fort was pointed out to me; the other tower (there being but two) was occupied by Fatí Khân himself, while within the area of the enclosure was a hut, the residence of Baloch Khân, who, I afterwards found to be joint governor with Fatí Khân. My apartment was very crazy, and was reached by a ladder, yet, such as it was, it appeared to be the most eligible that presented; besides, it had the advantage of forming part of the government house, therefore I accepted it. My effects were sent for from the dúnghí; and the young Arab nâqúdâh took his leave, recommending me strongly to Fatí Khân's care, telling him that I was a particular friend of the Imâm of Maskát, and that he would come the next mosam (season) to inquire how I had been treated. I found myself alone at Ormára, among new acquaintance.

I soon discovered that Fatí Khân's principal object in making me his guest was, to be relieved from a complaint, which afflicted him occasionally, viz. an inflation of the abdomen, which happened whenever he indulged in dates, halúâh, or other improper food. I desired him to abstain from such food, but this he said was impossible. I therefore

administered drugs to him; but these he found unpalatable, and discontinued. My presence, therefore, did not much benefit him, he persisting in the indulgence of his Apician appetites, and retaining their consequence in his pot-belly.

Being considered a *tábíb* (physician), I had numerous patients, some of whom I contrived to cure. At length my reputation began to decline, having recommended to a person, who applied for a *júláb* (purge), (my 'drastics being exhausted,) to drink a tumbler of sea-water. At night, when seated in my tower, and Baloch Khân, with a party, were sitting in the area below, I found the circumstance was a topic of conversation with them. "Ap deriáh bor," (drink sea-water,) said one. "Ap deriáh bor," said another, and all burst into laughter, in which I could not refrain from joining, although at the chance of being overheard by them. Baloch Khân suggested, and all agreed with him, that I was no *tábíb*, but that my object was to examine the country.

I remained above a month at Ormára, occupying myself as well as I could, to beguile the weary days. Baloch Khân had two sons, the younger of whom, a youth of about seventeen years of age, was my companion in the tower, and in mystrolls. He was of good disposition, and could read and write Persian; while, by his assistance, I framed a small vocabulary of the Baloch dialect. With the inhabitants of the small community I was on the best terms, and

they omitted no occasion to show me civility and attention. I had, moreover, made friends with two or three Baloch families, who resided in tents near the wells without the town. They kept goats; and whenever I visited them, I could depend upon being treated with a bowl of milk or buttermilk. Occasional visitors would come from the jangal, and I made inquiries of them as to their localities, their tribes, and their neighbours. Twice I made the ascent of the high hill Mount Araba, which terminates the peninsula on which Ormára is situated; but at other times was compelled to confine my excursions to the sandy beaches on either side of the peninsula.

When the shúmál raged, and it generally did with extraordinary violence, I had no resource but to keep my tower and amuse myself as well as I could with my papers and the conversation of my friends. I carefully refrained, while at Ormára, from exhibiting money, asserting, that I depended upon medicinal practice for the supply of my necessities, although I took care to make more than an equivalent return for any kindness shown to me, and to suffer no service to pass unrequited. I was enabled to acquit myself on these points, having in my possession a few knives, and a variety of trifles, which also were prized beyond money. The two governors were of the Mírwârí tribe of Baloches, the most respectable of that community, and which in one of its branches, the Kambarári, gives a khân

to Kalát. They were both natives of Kolwa, in the province of Jhow, to the west of Béla; and although Fatí Khân stood in relation of son-in-law to Baloch Khân, there was ill-will between them, perhaps owing to the jealousy and rivalry of power. The family of Baloch Khân resided with him at Ormára, and consisted of his wife, a respectable woman, two sons, and a daughter; the last, a personable young maid, named Gabí, was affianced to a young man at Passanní, a neighbouring small port to the west. The family of Fatí Khân resided at his native place of Kolwa. It chanced one day, that intelligence arrived of a son being born to him, on which two or three old ship guns, lying in front of the gateway of the fort, were loaded. On the first discharge down tumbled the greater part of the gateway, and my old tower so tottered over my head that I leaped into the area without making use of the ladder. Seeing the disaster of the gateway, the other guns were dragged to a considerable distance, and then discharged. I was thinking in what manner I should depart from Ormára, when Baloch Khân informed me that he was about to proceed to Jhow, and if I chose to accompany him, he would expedite me thence to Béla in Las. I had a wish to visit Jhow, having heard from my young friend, his son, that the ruins of an ancient city existed there, among which coins, &c. were found, also the remains of an extraordinary fortress. It occurred to me, as just possible,

that they might indicate the site of the city founded by Alexander among the Oritæ, and which he peopled with Arachosians. I expressed to Baloch Khân the satisfaction I should have to accompany him to Jhow, and requested him to hire a camel for me.

When my intended departure became known, many inhabitants of the town conjured me not to trust myself in the power of Baloch Khân. Chúlí also represented to me that I was about to take a fatal step; that he was convinced the intentions of Baloch Khân were evil, particularly as the camel he pretended to have hired for me was actually his own, and its conductor his slave. Finally, Fatí Khân sent for me, and urged, that as I was especially his guest he felt himself responsible for my safety, and that he did not like the thought of my proceeding with Baloch Khân. He added, that if I would wait another month or two, he should be going to Jhow himself. I yielded to such representations, and the old sinner, Baloch Khân,—for his hairs were silvered by age,—departed on his journey. When it was known that I remained, congratulations were made me by all, and it seemed universally agreed that I had escaped destruction. The sons of Baloch Khân, I had observed, were not so pleased at the idea of my accompanying their party, as, from the friendly feelings subsisting between us, I might have expected; and when I was apprised there was danger I construed

the reserve of the young men into a dislike that any evil should befall me, while their duty, and regard for their father, prevented them from informing me that I had reasons to distrust.

Some days after, a Súnmiání dúnghí arrived from Maskát, and I resolved to sail in her to her destination. I accordingly took leave of Fatí Khân and my Ormára friends; the former requested me to oblige him with a lancet, which I gave him with pleasure. We weighed anchor about nine in the forenoon, the shúmâl blowing strongly, but in our favour, and we had a brisk passage along the coast. By ten or eleven o'clock the next day we had neared the harbour of Súnmiání, the entrance being impeded by sand-banks, over which is a constant surge. Our nâqúdâh had a little erred in his course, and brought his dúnghí directly upon the sand-banks; he saw his danger, but crying "Takowal Khodâ," (By the favour of God,) manfully dashed the vessel amid the surge. A momentary struggle followed, and the next moment we found ourselves floating in the calm waters of the harbour, the nâqúdâh elate, and congratulating himself on his successful experiment, for he said there was not a gaz (yard) of water on the bank. The passage had been as pleasant as quick, and was to me a gratuitous one, for being reputed a tábííb, I was held a privileged person, and was not so much as asked for a passage fee. I took up my abode at Sún-

míání, at the house of Jamál, a companion in the dúnghí, and as the tidings of the arrival of a Feringhí tábíb soon spread, I began rather vigorously to enter upon the practice of physic. I made some unexpected and extraordinary cures, for if I felt myself safe, and knew the disorder I had to treat, I did not neglect the opportunity to do good, and my fame so much increased that I was visited by patients from the distant hills. I had a singular case from the hills, of a personable female, the wife of a wealthy Lúmrí, part of whose face had become white. The husband proffered two camels, if I could by my skill induce the return of the original tint. I remarked, that the lady would look better if she became white altogether. They both smiled, but were not to be persuaded that black was not a preferable hue. This case of course exceeded my ability. I removed from the house of Jamál to a hired apartment in the bazar. The door was latticed, so that I lived rather in a cage than a house. I had made numerous acquaintance, and many of the Hindús were very obliging, particularly two, Tâh Mal and Kimjí. I resided in perfect security and freedom.

During my stay the reigning Jám, or chief of Las, the province of which Súnmiání is the port, arrived, in charge of his mother, from the capital, Béla. I visited him, and found an intelligent child of six or seven years of age. As instructed, he

saluted me with a “Khúsh Amadíd,” or “You are come welcome,” and I sent him a few pictures, which much pleased him.

This accession of the court contributed to extend the circle of my acquaintance, and I found among the officers of the government many simple and rude, but yet good and worthy men. Arab Vakíl, one of the principal men of the little state, was of this description, and Jám Dínár, a relative of the Jám, joined to his other good qualities considerable suavity of manners.

Having one day taken the likeness of a young Hindú, the son of my friend Tâh Mal, by the assistance of a camera lucida, the fact was reported to a lady, the dhái, or nurse of the young Jám; and she could not rest until she had her likeness taken. How this was to be effected was a difficulty. It is not the custom for a lady of the standing of this fair dhái to admit a male stranger to her presence, and she, moreover, was held in singular repute for propriety and delicacy of conduct, upon which she much prided herself. It was farther, as I discovered, necessary, that I was to be fully impressed with the conviction of her purity of mind and elevated feelings, and in no wise to suspect that so common a failing as vanity made her desirous of seeing her fine features on paper. I readily promised everything; and the ingenuity of a Júkía Mírza, a platonic admirer, as he represented him-

self, of the lady's beauty and accomplishments, and who officiated as the *entremise* in this affair, brought about the desired end. She was to believe that she had weak eyes, and that they could be cured only by my placing the camera lucida at a certain distance from them, and I was to believe, that on consideration only of my being a *tábíb* the lady had been induced to infringe etiquette and admit a male to her presence. I was farther to believe, that she was not aware that her picture was to be taken, but that, as the *Júkía* had explained to her, by means of the camera lucida her sight was to be benefited. When all was arranged, and a convenient opportunity presented, the *Júkía* introduced me to this lady; and I found a female of very respectable appearance, if not so handsome as his flattering reports had led me to expect. She was very courteous and dignified, but, like myself, preserved her countenance with some trouble. She spoke fluently in Persian, and was, for such a country, a superior woman. I contrived to get over the business tolerably well, and produced a picture, which I perfected at my lodging, and which, I was told by the *Júkía*, answered the purpose of pleasing her. I had to correct a certain prominence in the nasal feature, which, however, was not owing to an error of myself or my lucida, for it existed in nature.

The season of the year was not the most favourable, yet did I not find the heat inconvenient at

Súnmíání; I was, nevertheless, somewhat suffering in health, and gradually weakened in strength, although without positive or definite ailment.

I was, therefore, thinking of quitting Súnmíání, and was about engaging an armed party of Lúmrís, for the consideration of one hundred rupees, to escort me to Shikárpúr. These men, while willing to have undertaken the task, frankly confessed that they were at enmity with some of the tribes through whose limits they must pass; and that there was the possibility of collision. They assured me, in such an event, I should be the last to suffer, which I could believe, and was on the point of ratifying a bargain with them, and committing myself to chance, when some Patán merchants of Kalât arrived at Súnmíání, from Karáchí. This was a fortunate occurrence, as it gave me an opportunity of visiting Kalât, and I indulged the hope of renewing my health and strength in its fine climate, when I could proceed to Kândahár, Kábal, or elsewhere, as occasion or inclination might prompt.

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CHAPTER II.

Facility of forming acquaintance.—Merchant's surprise.—My metamorphosis.—Exchange of salutations.—Conversation.—Resolution.—Assurance of protection.—Kâlikdád.—Hindú civility.—Composition of party.—Leave Súnmiání.—Líárí.—Country.—Pattí.—Usmán dí Got.—Neighbourhood of Béla.—Appearance of Béla.—Jam's residence.—Tombs.—Advance of party.—Good-will of Kâlikdád.—His anxiety.—Departure from Béla.—Mishap on road.—Return of Kâlikdád.—Arrival at Walipat.—Kâlikdád rejoins.—Walipat.—Puráli.—Remarkable burial-place.—Hills.—Scenery.—Koharn Wat.—Ping.—Halt in the hills.—Trees.—Samshír Khân.—Baloches.—Kâlikdád's greetings.—Meeting with our party.—Troublesome night march.—Ornach river.—Túrkábúr.—Hills, &c.—Water.—Visitors.—Storm.—Barân Lak.—Burial-places.—Wad.—Kairát.—Population of Wad.—Sirdárs.—Plain of Wad.—Náll.—Its reputed antiquity.

THE mode in which my acquaintance commenced with the Patán merchants may illustrate the ease, as well as security, which, in most instances, obtains, of making acquaintances, if not friends, amongst the trafficking classes of Afghâns.

I was sitting alone in my hired apartment in the bazar of Súnmiání, when one of the merchants, a stout well-dressed person, came in front of my abode, evidently with the intent to address me, but after a short gaze, he turned about and went

his way. The fact was, I was sitting cross-legged on my *cháhárpâhí*, or cot, and, according to the fashion here, without a shirt; and not being in the best humour with myself and the world, my appearance was not very prepossessing. I guessed the cause of the merchant's abrupt departure; and to be prepared, in case of another visit, clad myself in clean white linen, and, preparing coffee, seated myself a little more gracefully. The beverage I drank from a sparkling tumbler, in default of china, and before me I had two or three books. In a short time the *Patán* reappeared, probably without any notion of accosting me, whom he had rejected as beneath his notice, but chancing to direct a glance towards me, he seemed astonished at my metamorphosis; and before he could recover from his surprise, I addressed him with a courteous and sonorous *Salám Alíkam*. He, of course, gave the responding salutation, *Alíkam Salám*, and advanced to me. I invited him to sit down, and a short conversation followed, in which I expressed my desire to leave *Súnmíání*, and he said, "Why not accompany me to *Kalât*?" I asked when he would start, and he said, "This evening," and left me. My resolution was instantly fixed, and I set about packing my effects. Soon after, I was visited by four other *Afghâns* of the party, and they testified their pleasure that I was about to be their companion. I next went into the bazar, arranged some money matters, and hired a camel for two rupees,

to carry me to Béla. I was anew seated in my apartment, when the merchant whom I had first seen again passed, and observing my effects arranged for motion, asked me, "In God's name, are you going with me?" I replied, "In God's name, I am," when he took my hands, and placing them with his own upon his eyes, assured me that he would do my "kistmat" on the road, and would from Kalât provide me with trustworthy companions for Kândahâr, Kâbal, or elsewhere, as I might think proper.

The name of my new friend was Abdúl Kâlik, and he proved to be the principal person of the party. Another native of Kalât, named Iddaitûla, also paid me a visit; and I had never reason to change the favourable opinions of his character I then formed.

Towards evening, having been previously regaled with a parting feast by my worthy Hindú friend Tâh Mal, who had during my stay been invariably attentive, I mounted my camel and joined the Kalât party, who occupied an old daramsâla near the wells behind the town. My other Hindú friend, Kimjî, accompanied me thither, and on the road inquired of me whether he should speak in my favour to the Patâns. I said, I was so satisfied with them that it was unnecessary. On arrival the good man could not restrain himself, and made a few remarks, which elicited a renewal of protestations of service and attention from Abdúl

Kálik and Kalífa Iddaitúla, the latter asserting that he never saw a Balaití but his heart rejoiced.

The party which I had now joined was composed of inhabitants of Kalât, excepting one Yúsaf, a native of Kândahár. The first was Kálíkdád. He was portly and good-natured, and was temporarily mounted on a camel, a mare belonging to him being at Béla, where it had been left for the sake of pasture. I afterwards found that he was one of four brothers, who in partnership with a wealthy cousin, Faiz Ahmed, were engaged in trade, and that they had saráis at Karáchí and Kândahár.

The next was Kalífa Iddaitúla, a very respectable young man; he was mounted on an excellent mári, or running camel, which carried also his companion, Pír Baksh, who was returning from a pilgrimage to Mecca. He had seen Bombay, and was full of the wonders there. Under the protection of Kalífa Iddaitúla was a young lad of Kalât, Nasírulah, who had resided for some time at Karáchí.

We had also one Máhoméd Rafík, who rode singly on a good mári, and was a good young man; he was apparelled rather coarsely on our journey, but I found, at Kalât, that he had a handsome competence; and expressing surprise at the favourable change in his costume, was told that he had lately married.

The above were all Afghâns of the Bábí zai, or tribe, and with them I was in company, as was also Yúsaf, the Afghân of Kândahár. This lat-

ter person was corpulent and good-humoured, and seemed to act as cook to the party. We ate in common, and considered ourselves especially companions.

There was besides, one Faiz Máhomed, a respectable merchant of Kalât, mounted on a good horse, who had with him two or three servants, mounted on as many camels. Attached to him was one Nawâb, who rode, or drove before him, an ass. Faiz Máhomed was of lonely habits, or being of another zai, did not mix much with the Bábís. He only kept as near to us during the journey as was requisite for his safety.

We left Súnmiání, and, clearing the low sand-hills which encircle it, entered upon the level plain of Las. It was overspread, more or less, with the magnificent *dédár*, a large bush of dark green hue, called *lární*, and the gaz, or tamarisk—here a bush. After three or four cosses, the *dédár* was replaced by the *karít*, or caper-tree, and still farther on the vegetation became more luxuriant as we neared Líárí, where we halted in a grove of *mimósas*, east of the village.

We had marched ten cosses, or fifteen miles. In this distance we found water only in one spot, a slough, and there unpalatable. Líárí is a small village, containing about twenty mud-houses, inhabited by Hindús, and eighty huts, the abodes of Máhome-dâns. It has a manufacture of salt.

Beyond Líárí the jangal is formed of gaz-bushes,

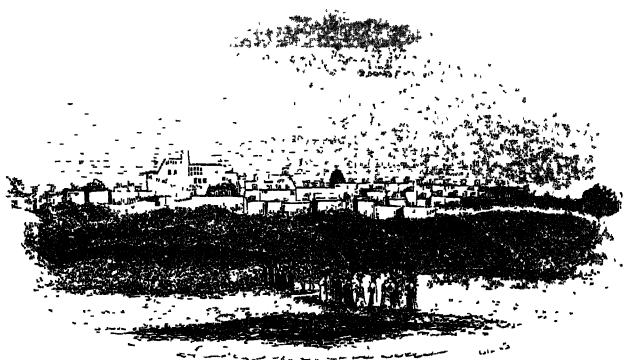
mixed with high grass. After three or four cosses it diminishes, and the plain becomes speckled with the caper-tree. Parroquets, doves, mainas, and other birds, are seen. In two or three spaces we passed land which had been once cultivated, but at this time there were no crops, or indications of them. Occasionally a few Lúmrí huts occurred, and excepting a few bábúrs, or mimosas, and mounds of earth in certain spots, which might denote the sites of former villages, there were no more positive proofs that the country had ever been better populated. We at length reached the Púrálí river, and crossed its scanty stream, flowing in a wide bed, confined by high banks, and halted under the shade of some large gaz-trees. This spot was called Páttí, and was considered ten cosses distant from Líárí. About two miles to our right was the small town of Utal.

Passing the jangal on the river bank, Utal became clearly discernible. A short course brought us again near the river to our left, but we did not cross it. The country bore the same features of level surface and jangal; the latter perhaps a little more wooded. We halted, finally, at Usmân dí Got, having marched fourteen cosses. Here were some sixty huts, of sorry appearance.

The road to Béla led through a lane, formed either by pérú trees naturally, or artificially of thorny bushes. Cultivation on either side of the road was pretty general, but the ground was now mostly fal-

low. A few fields of júár and cotton only displayed productive vegetation. The jangal-trees were of finer growth, bespeaking an improved soil; and among them the pérú predominated, and was conspicuous from its dark and close verdure. A few huts are passed on the road, constructed of straw and matting, in a conical form. About a mile from Béla the jangal first permits a glimpse of it, which is rather attractive, the residence of the Jám towering pre-eminently above the other houses of the town. The large dome of the Jám's masjít has also a fair appearance. The jangal again closes it from the view, until we reach the ancient course of the Púrálí, on the opposite bank of which it stands. From the near bank it has still an interesting aspect. We crossed the deep and wide bed of the old stream, which is now the seat of much cultivation, and took up our quarters in a masjít on its bank, and west of the town, which it overlooked, being built on a mound. The residence of the Jám is of mud, and surrounded by lofty castellated walls, flanked with circular towers at the angles. The houses of the town are also of mud, and have but the ground-floor. They are all provided with chimneys for the admission of air, as is usual in the pakka villages of Las, also at Karáchí in Sind. These convenient appendages face the south, and are either the rude originals or awkward imitations of the more elegant structures, called bádghír (wind-

gatherers), at Bandar Abbás, Búshír, Shíráz, and other towns in Persia.



BELA, CAPITAL OF LAS.

Béla contains about three hundred houses, one-third occupied by Hindús. Supplies of common necessities are procurable, but articles of luxury are scarce, and consequently high-priced. There are in its vicinity some old Máhomedan sepulchres. One, west of the town, covers the remains of Músa Naiání, and has a handsome cupola. The town derives its water from wells, some on a level with it, and others in the old bed of the Púrálí, where are fields of vegetables and tobacco, with a large cultivation of rice. To the west of the town are a few date-trees, bearing indifferent fruit, but producing an excellent effect in the scenery of the place. The Púrálí flows a little to the west of Béla, and its waters are seen from it. About a mile north of the

town is the garden of the Jám, stocked, principally, with mango, plantain, orange, citron, and olive trees.

From Béla the party proceeded in advance about a coss, for the convenience of forage ; Kálíkdád, Máhoméd Rafík, and myself, who stayed behind, were to join the following day. It was on my account this separation took place, the camel hired to carry me to Khozdár not being forthcoming, as promised. Kálíkdád, who took great interest in my affairs, particularly, as he often said, from the prompt and unhesitating manner in which I had placed myself under his protection, would not listen to my being disappointed in my journey to Kalát, although I protested against his incurring any inconvenience. Three days passed, and the fellow who had engaged his camel, and received a portion of the hire, did not appear. It so happened, we could not procure another. The journey from Béla to Khozdár is dangerous, and no one without connexions, or personal acquaintance with the hill tribes, will undertake it. Kálíkdád was in considerable anxiety lest his companions, from their limited stock of provisions, should have been forced to proceed ; still he could not think of abandoning me, alleging, that the passage through the hills might be difficult to me, unless in good and responsible company.

At length the man brought his camel. We secured the animal, and its owner on some pretence returned to his village, vowing to be ready to start

with us in the evening. He was not punctual. In possession of the camel, we left Béla; I seated thereon, while Kâlikdád had his mare, and Máhoméd Rafík, *pro tempore*, was on foot. I was but indifferently accommodated on my new beast, his saddle being an awkward one, and had not proceeded very far ere, twisting round, it precipitated myself and luggage to the ground. Kâlikdád, as soon as laughter at my comical situation had ceased, said it would be really better that he should return to the town, and purchase a camel, for which we had before been in treaty. The chance was, that on the hired beast I should daily be served in the same manner, while, being a bárdár (camel of burthen), it was doubtful whether it would keep pace with the rest of the party, it being intended to gain Kalât by long and hasty marches. I assented, and the good-natured merchant trudged back on foot, giving me his mare, while Máhoméd Rafík arranged himself on the camel. We two went on for Walípat, about three cosses distant, where we hoped, but hardly expected, to find our companions. Kâlikdád, with his purchase, was to join us in all speed. About a mile from Béla we passed a small village of a few mud-huts to our right, and at length, it being fairly night, crossing the dry bed of a mountain-torrent, halted on its opposite bank. Máhoméd Rafík took cognizance of the mare, and, with the camel's rope fastened to my arm, I wrapped myself up in my Arab cloak and went to sleep. During

the night we were awakened by shouts, which proved to be from Kâlikdád, who was hailing us. We returned them, and he joined us with an excellent mári, accompanied by the vender, a young saiyad of Béla. The latter received the price of his camel, sixty rupees, and left us. At daybreak we repaired to some houses adjacent, where Kâlikdád was courteously received, but we learned with regret that our party had proceeded on their journey. Walípat, with the cultivated land around it, was the property of Jám Dínár, before noticed as a relation of the Jám of Las. He was absent, but being a friend of Kâlikdád, his orders had anticipated our arrival, and we were plentifully regaled. Here were a few mango-trees, also mimosas, and two or three pípals, here called doghúrí. There was a good cultivation of rice, the land being watered by a canal derived from the Púrálí, which was sufficiently copious and powerful to turn a flour-mill.

In the afternoon we left Walípat, Kâlikdád on his mare, and I and Máhoméd Rafík on my recent purchase; the hired camel being left with Jám Dínár's people until reclaimed by its owner. We soon approached the low hills in front, under which were a few huts, and a little cultivation. Hence we traced for some distance the bed of the Púrálí, overspread with the trunks and branches of trees, victims of its fury when swollen by rains. In many parts were clumps of living tamarisk-trees and

bushes, forming islands when the stream is full. At this season it was trifling, not exceeding twelve to fifteen yards in breadth, and not above knee-deep. Leaving the river, the road led for some distance through a place of burial, remarkable for its extent and the multitude of its graves; these were constructed in all forms, square, circular, and oblong. Their limits were defined by fragments of grey limestone, while the interior surfaces were laid out in divers patterns, composed of the small black and white pebbles found in the bed of the Púrálí. These are not recent monuments, but from the frequent admixture among them of spots described by larger stones, and clearly intended for masjíts, they are of Máhomedan origin; and to account for the great number of graves, we may suppose some serious conflict has taken place here.

Beyond this silent city of the dead, we entered the jumble of low earthy hills, bounding to the north the plain of Las, and through which the Púrálí works its destructive course. Towering over them, on either side, were superior ranges. The one to the east, some six or seven miles distant, forms the boundary between Sind and Balochistân. In front we had two detached eminences of singular appearance, one having a perpendicular fissure breaking from its perfectly square summit, and the other closely resembling a tower. On approaching them they proved masses of earth in the bed of the stream. This we again follow-

ed, repeatedly crossing the river in its devious windings. The crumbling hills displayed many fantastic shapes, but the scenery afforded by the spacious bed of the river, its small islets, and its banks, shaded by thick tamarisk bushes, if interesting, was not particularly impressive. Finally, we bade adieu to the Púrálí, and entered the hills on our left by the defile of Koharn Wat. This was a strong position. Marching the greater part of the night, we halted in a dara, or spacious water-course, called Bohér. Resuming our journey at daylight, we proceeded up the same water-course for a long distance. We passed in it a spot called Píng, where were a few bér-trees and abundance of spring-water; here we saw parroquets, and the variety of kingfisher called mítú. The dara closing, we crossed a low hill, into another, up which we proceeded until the sun was very high, when filling our massaks, or skins, with water, which was plentiful and of excellent quality, we stole from the road, and rested in a retired spot during the heat of the day, and prepared our food. Our retreat was among large quantities of the físh-plant, a variety of aloe; and, for the first time, I saw the flowers of the plant. Snugly as we were secreted, some camels straying by us, reminded us that we had neighbours, but we did not see them. The trees prevalent among the hills were, the tamarisk, pérú, dédár, nim, the black and white bábur, and other

mimosas, with the useful fish. The kénattí, or palma-christi, also sometimes fringed the rivulets. We occasionally started a wild hog; and partridges, or tittars, abounded. During our progress this day we met a man walking without shoes, who, I was told, was Samshír Khân, son of Alím Khân, a chief of the hill tribes, and one who could assemble a large force. He was acquainted with Kâlikdád, and joked with him on meeting him in so convenient a place. We afterwards fell in with two small parties of Baloches, armed and mounted on márís. Nothing occurred beyond the usual routine of salutations and inquiries. Kâlikdád always prefaced his intercourse with these people by holding up his hands, and repeating fatíah. In these rencounters we could learn nothing of our friends.

In the forenoon we again started; and leaving the dara, passed through a remarkably narrow defile, not that the enclosing hills were high, but that the road was so contracted. Clearing it, to our great satisfaction we joined our party, who had on our account travelled slowly. We halted awhile, rice being prepared for us. I was civilly received by all, although the delay in the journey might have been imputed to me; and my purchase of the camel was applauded.

We left this spot, called Khânají, and marched the whole night. This was the most troublesome part of our journey hitherto. We passed a suc-

cession of ascents and descents, and on one occasion we were compelled to dismount. The night, however, did not permit us to select our road, and occasionally we may have deviated from it. For a considerable part of the march we did not meet with water on the road: the first we reached was the river Ornátch, running at the foot of hills of some elevation, which separate the Míngchal and Bízúnjú tribes. The Ornátch, with little breadth, has a fair volume of water, and a rapid course. We passed nothing in the shape of a habitation; but on one occasion the barking of a dog induced our party to keep silence. At daybreak we halted at a spot called Túrká-búr. Here we had a small stream flowing in a deep and spacious bed to our right, an arm from which ran in front of us. To our left was a broken plain, but we were on all sides surrounded by hills, some of them of magnitude. These hills, and generally the hills between Las and the Kalât territory, are of limestone formation. Trees were not very plentiful, yet one or two accessions marked our progress northward. To the tamarisk, the bábur, bér, and físh, were joined hishwarg, a plant prized by the Baloches for its medicinal qualities, and gíshtar, a favourite food of camels. In the beds of the torrents and water-courses, if water be not actually visible, it may be readily procured by making small cavities or pits, when the latent fluid oozes forth, and

fills them, while, undergoing at the same time the process of filtration, it is beautifully clear.

At Túrkábur we were visited, at various times, by a few individuals, all of them Míng-hals. They were not numerous enough to make exactions, under pretence of duty, or sang, as they term it, and therefore were contented with small presents of tobacco, and other trifles, which Kâlikdád and others thought fit to make. In return, they entertained us with the melodies of their pipes of reed, with which all were provided. A party passed us, dragging after them a sheep, which it seemed was destined to be a kairát, or offering at some shrine, to which they were conveying it.

Towards evening much rain fell, and, being unprovided against such an accident, we were miserably drenched: thunder and lightning accompanied it. The streams beneath us were promptly augmented; their torrents rolled with impetuous rapidity. On the cessation of the storm the body of water also decreased, but, by filling the hollows in the bed, our progress became somewhat embarrassed in our next march, which, for some distance, led up it.

We kindled fires, and dried our apparel, &c. as well as we could, when, night drawing nigh, we put ourselves in motion. Tracing the bed of the torrent, we at length left it, and commenced the ascent of a kotal, or pass, called Bárân Lak.

Surmounting it, we came upon an excellent road in a fine level valley, four or five miles in breadth, parallel ranges of low hills enclosing it ; its length was more considerable. We perceived no habitations ; but the soil was dotted by small trees, the olive, *bábúr*, and *perpúk*, the latter rich in its lovely orange blossoms. Occasionally, we passed large burial places, with *masjíts* amongst them, defined by stones, as we had formerly seen ; and hinting that these sequestered seats had been, at times, disturbed by the din of war, and defiled by the slaughter of contending hosts. The sun was above the horizon ere we had reached the end of the valley, where low eminences, abounding with the *físh*-plant, separate it from the plain of Wad. We soon traversed these, and passing, first a detached rock, and then a small rivulet, arrived at the dry bed of a water-course, on whose farther bank stands the town, if it must be so called, of Wad. This we gained, and took up our quarters in some unoccupied tenements.

We halted at Wad ; and—as we had now cleared the Minghal hills, and had arrived at a place where, if the *Khân* of *Kalât*'s authority is not much respected, the chances of danger on the road had much abated, and the road onward to *Kalât* is considered comparatively safe—my companions, to testify their gratitude, killed a sheep by way of *kairát*, or offering, and consumed it themselves. Wad is a small town, comprising two parcels of

mud-houses, distant about one hundred yards from each other. The western portion contains about forty houses, principally inhabited by Hindú traders; the eastern portion contains some twenty-five or thirty houses, tenanted by Máhomedans. Among these are the residences of the sirdárs, or chiefs, of the great Minghal tribe, Isâ Khân and Walí Máhomed Khân; for the town, such as it is, is the capital of one of the most numerous tribes of Balochistân. The house of Isâ Khân is distinguished from the others by a single tree within the walls, and none of the houses have a second story.

From north to south, the plain of Wad has an extent of five to six miles; from east to west it is more considerable; indeed, to the west the country is open, and no hills are visible. Contiguous to the town were no signs of cultivation; but under the hills, to the east, much wheat and júár are grown. About fifteen miles west, a little south of Wad, is Náll, the little capital of the Bízúnjú tribe, and generally, as at this time, at enmity with the Minghals. The former had now for allies two other tribes, the Samalárís and the Mámasanís. Náll is said to resemble Wad in size, but has a castle, or defensive structure; and by the Bízúnjús themselves is reputed a site of great antiquity. It is probable that, being seated more immediately than Wad on the skirt of the plateau gained by the passage of the Bárân Lak range, the high road from the coast to Khozdár

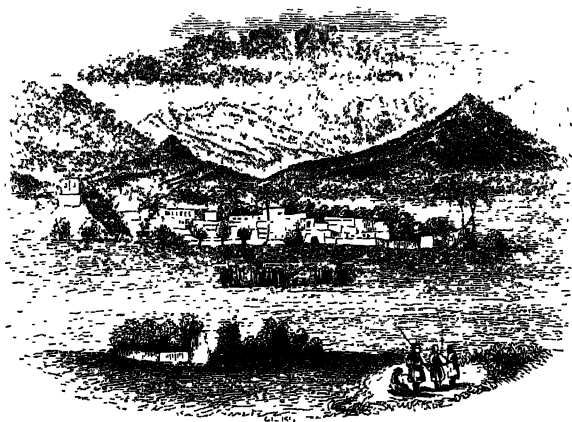
and Kalât anciently led by it. That it should be disused now, is explained by the bad reputation of the Bízúnjús, who, in ferocity and proneness to rapine, are said to exceed the Minghals; and they are, if possible, less under the control of the government of Kalât.

CHAPTER III.

Samân dara. — Mîân dara. — Khozdâr. — Scenery. — Town. — Gardens. — Lead-mines. — Khappar. — Zidî. — Advantageous site of Khozdâr. — Antiquity. — Vestiges. — Shower. — Obelisk. — Bâghwân. — Turk. — Chiefs. — Change in temperature. — Lâkoriân. — Anjîra. — Gohar Basta. — Oleanders. — Sohrab. — Road to Kalât. — Súrma Sing. — Damb. — Rodinjoh. — Sheher Kúki. — Recourse to the toilette. — Approach to Kalât. — Met by friends. — View of Kalât. — Distant prospect. — Faiz-Ahmed — His respectability and notions of me — His political acumen. — Hâjî Abdúlah. — Kâlikdád. — Abdúl Hab. — Abdúl Wahad. — Mehráb Khân's absence, and designs. — Dárogah Gúl Máhommed. — In-different health. — Occupations. — Propose to visit Chehel Tan.

RESUMING our journey from Wad, we passed a garden belonging to Isâ Khân, well stocked with apricot-trees, and watered by a fine canal. Beyond it we crossed the wide bed of a mountain stream, but dry, and a little after entered a dara, or valley, called Samân. To our left the rocks were of a dark reddish brown hue, those to the right were agreeably tinged with light pink and purple shades, as they reflected the rays of the setting-sun. We marched the entire night, crossing at intervals the beds of many torrents and rivulets: in some of them water was found in cavities, and in two or three were continued streams. Samân dara was of great length, and widened towards its northern extremity.

Here the soil had obviously been cultivated, but no huts were seen. A spot occurred, called Míân Dara, a usual halting-place for kâfilas. Where the dara closed, low hills commenced, when the morn overtook us, and most of our party were so exhausted, that they halted, but Kâlikdád, Máhoméd Rafík, Yúsaf, and myself, pushed on, and from a high table space we at length descried the plain of Khozdár. About us were small patches of cultivation; and still proceeding, we neared the town, which, after the dreary country we had traversed, in despite of its actual insignificance, was sufficiently attractive.



Its environs were embellished with date-trees, and adjacent to it were two or three gardens. The greatest extent of the plain was from north to south. It had much cultivated land, and a verdant chaman, or pasture, through which meandered the

slender rivulets, supplied from many springs. Over the surface, besides the town and ruined fort, seated on and about a small mound, were sprinkled several hamlets, of two and three houses each, water-mills, groves of mulberry-trees, with the *búnhís*, or matted huts, of the pastoral Baloch families. Such features, with the grazing flocks of sheep and goats, and herds of camels, formed the scenery of the plain of Khozdár; but it derived its chief interest at the time of the morning I first gazed upon it from being under the shadow of the very high hills of abrupt and singular outlines, which bound it to the east and south-east, and which effectually exclude the sun's rays from it, while the rest of the country around is illumined by them. It was not less interesting to view the gradual diminution of the shade thrown over the valley from the hills, and to observe the contrast of its gloomy and sunny parts. Descending into the plain, we crossed the dry bed of a nalla, or *rúd-khâna*, whose waters, when filled by rains, flow into the Hab river, and halt under some trees a little east of the town.

Our friends joined late next day, and complained of the long march we had made from Wad. The town contained about sixty houses, among them only three inhabited by Hindú traders. Formerly, as many as thirty dwelt here, when the place was esteemed flourishing. There is a small artificial tappa, or mound, on which are the ruinous walls of a modern structure. Its gardens yield grapes,

apricots, melons, mulberries, and pomegranates; the latter are said to be good. Of vegetables there are, métí, kolfah, bâd-rang, and bádinjân. Wheat is raised in large quantities, and is exported, procuring a good price, from its superior quality. The rivulets are fringed with mint, star-flowers, and two or three varieties of iris. In the hills near Khozdár lead is found, which, being easy of fusion, is smelted by the Bráhúí tribes to make bullets, but no advantage beyond this is taken or derived from the presence of the metal. Antimony is also said to occur.

West by a little north of Khozdár, and distant about ten miles, is the small town of Khappar, capital of the district inhabited by the Kaidrání tribe. About fifteen miles north-east is the small town of Zídí, held by the Sáhólí tribe. The site of Khozdár would seem to be an eligible one, as to it converge many roads; and with its facilities of communications with the neighbouring regions, it is difficult to account for its complete desertion. Besides the roads which lead to it from the coast, the western provinces, and Kalât, one exists from Gandáva; another leads from Júi in Sind.

Khozdár, figuring in Persian romances, and having been formerly, beyond doubt, a place of note, I cast my eye over the plain to ascertain if there was any object which might be referrible to a remote epoch. My attention was directed to a considerable tappa, or mound, north of the town, and towards it I bent

my steps. On the way, I found the soil strewed with fragments of burnt brick and pottery over a very large space; indeed I could not define its full extent. I strolled for some time over it, in the hope of picking up a relique, perhaps a coin. In this I was disappointed, but met with numerous lumps of slag iron, and fragments of dark-coloured glass, or some other vitrified substance. The tappa itself had the remains of mud-walls, comparatively modern, on its crest, and at its base were sprinkled a few mulberry-trees.

In the evening rain fell in torrents. The rúd khâna was instantly filled by a stream, of surpassing violence and rapidity, which diminished and disappeared as speedily. In the morning its bed was again dry.

From Khozdâr we followed the bank of the rúd khâna. The soil in this direction was alike strewed with fragments of burnt brick and pottery. We reached a rude obelisk of mud, twenty to twenty-five feet in height; the base of cemented stones. This might be a boundary mark, or probably a sepulchral monument, the form being observable in some burial places near Kalât. It stands on the edge of the rúd khâna, into which, at this point, the road leads. In front was an old building, which, on reaching, I conjectured to have been a masjît, and it stands in an old place of burial. It is the only erection in the plain of Khozdâr built of kiln-burnt bricks. Beyond it we crossed a fine chishma, inter-

secting our road. The course from Khozdár to Bâghwân lies through a spacious *dara*, not of uniform level surface, but of undulating character. On entering the plain of Bâghwân we passed among its several small villages, mingled with which are the ruins of an old fort, of substantial construction, with some *zíárats*, and tombs of singular appearance. We halted at the northern extremity of the plain, near a mill-stream. Bâghwân has a cluster of small villages, interspersed with gardens and trees. The fruits are figs, apricots, grapes, pomegranates, apples, plums, and melons. There is a cultivation of the grasses, and an extensive one of wheat. On entering the plain we were delighted with the fragrance of the plant (now first occurring) called *terk*, in Pashto, and *búntí* in Kúr Gâlí, so general over the regions of Khorasân and Afghânistân. Bâghwân is enjoyed by four brothers, of the *Eltârz Zai* branch of the *Kambarári* tribe, the principal of whom are *Kamâl Khân*, and *Chapar Khân*. They are related to the *khân* of *Kalât*. About five miles west of Bâghwân a line of trees under the hills denoted the locality of *Sheher Mír*, a small village, where the *khân* of *Kalât* resides when he visits this part of the country.

We halted at Bâghwân during the heat of the day, and at evening resumed our journey, entering low hills, which are here considered the limits between Hindústân and Khorasân. The climate and vegetable productions of Bâghwân, indeed, assimilate to

those of the latter region ; and during this night's march we experienced a sensible depression of temperature. I had no means of verifying the latitude of Bâghwân, or of any other place, which I regretted, as precisely the same change in climate and productions distinguished it as marks so strongly Gandamak and Jigdillak on the road between Pesháwer and Kâbal, and both are the limits of the fragrant terk. Our journey was over a bleak sterile country, intersected by ravines and water-courses. Patches of cultivated land now and then were met with, and we crossed an occasional chishma. By daybreak we had reached the level valley of Lákorîân, where were some curious remains of walls, parapets, and bands, constructed with care, of stones, which appeared to have been fashioned. My opportunity for observation was too slight to enable me to form any decided opinion as to the object of these works of labour, but it was apparent they were vestiges of other days. On leaving the plain of Lákorîân, which is considerably elevated, a short defile connects it with the more extensive plain of Anjíra. Over this defile nature had interposed in part a wall of rock, and the deficiency has been supplied by works of similar materials and workmanship. The dreary plain of Anjíra has at the skirts of the hills surrounding it near Lakorîân the same kind of walls, parapets, &c. Tradition has no surmise to offer concerning these memorials of the past. The natives call them Góhar Basta, or the works of in-

fidels. I have since learned that analogous structures are found in the dara of the Múllöh river, along the line of road from Sohráb to Panjghúr, and in the vicinity of Kalât, particularly in the daras of Kirta and of Rodbár, between Kalât and Kirta. The plain of Anjára has a descent from Lákoriân. We halted at a chishma, where was a little ploughed land, but over the plain was neither village nor hut.

Having reposed and refreshed ourselves at Anjára, we started in the afternoon for Sohráb. We crossed the dry bed of a water-course, in which were numerous bushes of the gandéri, or oleander, now charged with their splendid tufts of red blossoms. These plants, I remembered, embellish the rivulets of the hills between Khist and Kamarej in Persia. Their leaves are said to be poisonous to cattle, and the Bráhuís have a saying, “Am chí tálen ka jor,” or, As bitter as jor, the latter word being their name for it. The road to Sohráb was pretty good; to our right, or north, we had the range Koh Márân, extending from Anjára. On reaching Sohráb we saw, some distance to the west, a line of trees, the site of the village of Nigghár, by which leads the road to Panjghúr and Kej. Passing the village of Dan, amid some well-cultivated land, and with a good canal of irrigation, we struck off the road for the village of Sohráb, where we halted. Faiz Máhoméd and his party proceeded a little farther on to Rodaní, a small village embosomed in mulberry-groves. At

Sohráb were two or three Hindú residents, but they are not to be found at any other of the six or seven villages clustered in this plain. The night air here was very cold, as was the water.

From Sohráb the ascending and spacious valley was bounded on either side by parallel ranges of hills. Those to the east, of sharp and fantastic outlines, but of moderate height; those to the west, of more elevation, and a continuation of Kóh Márân. Under them we first observed the little village of Hâjíka, and beyond it that of Dilwar-sheher. Still farther, some red hills at their base, were pointed out as the site of the village of Kísandún, where parties from Kalât are wont to repair to enjoy the pastime of the chase. In our progress we had crossed the dry bed of a rúd khâna, which afterwards attended us on our right hand. We passed some rocky elevations immediately left of the road, called Súrma Sing, where, it is said, after rain antimony may be collected — whence their name. The rocks have, in truth, a dark blue, or purplish hue. Beyond, at a spot called Damb, where water is found in a hole, or well, in the bed of the rúd khâna, we rested awhile; after which we continued our course to Rodinjoh, a village of twenty-five houses; and here we halted for the night.

At this place were two or three neglected gardens, as many sanjít and willow trees on the borders of a canal of irrigation, and a little cultivated land. On the plain west of the village was a tappa,

on the summit of which were a few ruins of mud walls, and again, under the nearer hills east of it, were vestiges, as asserted, of a city, by tradition famous, called Sheher Kúkí. On the same authority, it was destroyed by Jinghiz Khân, who has, also, the credit of having dammed up a variety of springs, from which water, it is believed, once issued and fertilized the plain. Certain it is, that both here and at Kalât the springs have the appearance of having been wilfully closed. As the next march would conduct us to the capital, and my companions to their friends and families, recourse was had to the assistance of the toilette. Razors were put in requisition, heads were duly shaved, and beards and mustachios appropriately trimmed, while linen, which had been unchanged during the journey, was replaced by cleanly supplies in store. Kâlikdád alone made no change in his apparel or appearance, and entered Kalât the following day as dirty and good-natured as he had been throughout the journey.

Our course to Kalât led through a wide, even dara. The hills to the west, called Kâlaghân; those to the east, Koh Kúkí and Saiyad Ali; the latter being succeeded near Kalât by Kóh Zoár. The dara itself is named Régh, and produces some wheat in rainy seasons. About midway low eminences close the dara, and among them is a spot called Takht Bâdshâh, or the King's Throne. Approaching Kalât, we were met by Abdúl Wáhad, a brother

of Kâlikdád, and afterwards by several other persons, who came to welcome their relatives and friends, notice of their arrival having been given by Faiz Máhoméd, who had pushed on before us from Rodinjoh. Nearing a hill, called Koh Mirdân, to the west, Koh Zoár being immediately to the east, we had the first view of the gardens of Kalât, and after rounding Koh Mirdân we had a fine view of the town, which, with its lofty Mírí, or fortified palace, had a striking appearance; nor did the eye less delighted dwell upon the verdure of the gardens which studded the plain. The expanse of plain and hills in front, over which the peak of Chehel Tan was distinctly visible, suggested many ideas of novel scenes and future gratification. These contributed to increase the satisfaction with which I first viewed Kalât. We moved on to the house of Kâlikdád, a little south of the town, in the suburb occupied by the Bábí Afghân tribe. His first care was to provide me with a distinct and comfortable lodging.

On arrival at Kalât one of my first visitors was Faiz Ahmed, the most wealthy and respectable of the Bábí merchants, and cousin of Kâlikdád. He highly approved of the latter's attentions to me during the journey. Kâlikdád was one of four brothers; Háji Abdúláh being the eldest, after whom was my friend; to him succeeded Abdúl Hab and Abdúl Wáhad. The four were in a kind of commercial partnership, to which was joined Faiz Ahmed; and so intimate was the union of these five persons that

they had a common table. I had now become their mutual guest. Faiz Ahmed was held in universal respect, and deserved to be. He had conceived the notion that I was an agent of the British government, and although he did not press his ideas upon me, after I had told him they were incorrect, he would frequently seek to entrap me, sometimes offering large sums of money, taking in return drafts on Bombay; and at others, urging me to accept a valuable horse, which, he observed, might answer my purpose as a present to the hákam, or governor of Bombay. Faiz Ahmed was well thought of by the Khán of Kalât, who had more than once the wish to have deputed him on a mission to Bombay. The honour was declined, principally because the merchant had a dread of the sea, which he had determined only to encounter when his religious duty should lead him across it, in pilgrimage to Mecca. To give an idea of his political tact I may note, his once asking me, in talking of the party proceeding to Lahore *viâ* Sind, (which I afterwards learned to be that of Captain Burnes,) whether the doctor attached was not sent to examine Ranjit Singh's pulse, and to ascertain the length of his life.

Hâjî Abdúlah, the elder brother of Kâlikdád, was a singular character; a fanatic, little short of a madman. He pretended to a dash of búzúrghí, or inspiration, and acted at times very tyrannically, setting on fire the huts of Hindú fáquirs, and pro-

scribing the use of tobacco. He was wont to ride on a white ass, which he had taken to Mecca with him. A present of coffee I made him much pleased him, as its decoctions, by dispelling sleep, enabled him to sit up the greater part of the night and read the Korân. The Hâjî was, from eccentricity, accustomed to clad himself strangely, and was sakht, or stingy, to a degree. Kâlikdád, as will have been already known, was a portly, good-humoured personage, who seemed to have no desires beyond sustaining his corpulence, passing quietly through life, and making one rupee two in the ordinary routine of commerce. Abdúl Hab was a very sober, staid, and good person. He was better educated than his brothers, and was the learned clerk of the family. He sometimes journeyed to Sind and Kândahâr, on the commercial business of the firm.

Abdúl Wáhad, the younger of the brothers, although receiving a small share in the profits of the trade, concerned himself in no mode with it. He led what may be called the life of a gentleman; that is, was always idle. He soon attached himself to me, and having nothing better to do, generally spent the greater part of his time in my company. With Látíf, a younger brother to Faiz Ahmed, he became the most constant of my companions.

. On reaching Kalât, its chief, Mehrab Khân, was said to be at Gandává, in Kachí, but a day or two after we learned that he had arrived at Sohráb,

where he intended to assemble an army, either to be prepared against any movement of the Sirdárs of Kândahár upon the northern province of Jhálawân, or to reduce the rebellious tribes to the west, and to put the province of Kej in order. The city was in charge of the khân's young brother, Mír Azem Khân, but the actual authority was vested in the Dárogah Gúl Máhomed, a man much respected. My appearance was reported to the Dárogah, and it was suggested that I was a jásús, or spy. He replied, it was very probable, but my object could not be with his country of hills and rocks. I soon found that I was likely to be detained for some time at Kalât, waiting for companions to prosecute my journey northward. I could have passed my time very agreeably in a place so quiet, and where the inhabitants of all classes were so civil and obliging, had my health not, unhappily, failed me. Its bad state prevented me from making many excursions I had contemplated, and I was compelled to limit my endeavours to ascertaining facts, and collecting information, illustrative of the portion of country into which my fortune, or, to use a Máhomedan term, my nasíb, had led me.

It chanced that Gúl Máhomed, a respectable native of Khânak, a village at the foot of Chehel Tan, who had been for some time a guest of Faiz Ahmed at Kalât, was about to return to his home. I conceived the desire to accompany him, as well anxious, if possible, to reach the summit of Chehel

Tan, whose taper peak continually tantalized my sight whenever I moved abroad, as hopeful to benefit my health by change of air and exercise. I mentioned my wishes to Faiz Ahmed, who approved of the trip, recommended me to the attentions of Gúl Máhoméd, and charged him to conduct me to the house of Shádí Khân at Mastúng.

CHAPTER IV.

Departure from Kalât.—Tomb.—Bábá Walí.—Villages.—Malgozár.—Zíárat.—Ghiddarân.—Káréz Garâni.—Baloch family.—Repast.—Shepherd's bounty.—Baloch — His intentions — Abandons them.—Ghwen-trees.—Mangarchar.—Baloch hospitality.—Plain of Mangarchar.—Ambár.—Kúr.—Tomân.—Civil welcome.—Fatí Máhommed.—Wounded man.—Brahúi gratitude.—Dhai Bíbú's garden.—Hindú dwelling.—Zard.—Hindú's hospitality—His rivalry in generosity.—Kénittí.—Gúl Máhommed's pious offices.—Contorted hills.—Flowering plants.—Fine view.—Ab-Chotoh.—Yellow ochre.—Hills of Khad.—Disagreeable night.—Sir-í-âb.—Illaiyâr Khân.—Reception.—Shádí Khân.—His wounded relative.—Fray.—Baloch obligations.—Gardens.—Tombs.—Mastúng.—Chammari.—Farewell to Shádí Khân.—Mir-Ghar.—Mahomed Khân.—Tíri.—Shékh Lánghow.—Gúl Máhommed's relatives.—Shamé Zai.—Gúl Máhommed's residence.—Kairát.—Sultry weather.—Tomân.—Society.—Preparatory measures.—Apprehensions.—Start for Chehel Tan.—Ascent.—Difficulties.—Surmount them.—Halting place.—Baloch repast.—Its excellence.—Bonfires.—Farther progress.—Ascent of peak.—Zíárat.—Discontent of party.—Extensive view.—Dasht-bí-dowlat.—Hill ranges.—Koh Dohjí.—Peak in Khárân.—Bráhuí panic.—Return.—Memorials of visit.—Descent.—Fossil shells.—Their varieties.—Separation of party.—Water.—Gúl Máhommed's vigilance.—Quick perception.—Discharge of pieces.—The object.—Defile.—Pálléz.—Animals and plants of Chehel Tan.—Variations of temperature.—Zones.—Enthusiasm of Bráhuís.—Altitude of Chehel Tan.—Snow.—Peaks.—View.—Facilities for survey.—Zíárat of Chehel Tan.—Legend.—Házrat Ghous.—His benediction.—Bráhuí credulity.—Juvenile commemoration.—Announced return to Kalât.

IN company with Gúl Máhomed, I departed by daybreak, having taken temporary leave of my Kalât friends the preceding evening. Skirting the walls of the town at a little distance, we passed the tomb of the son of the Vakíl Fatí Máhomed, slain by his relative, Khodâbaksh, the former sirdâr of Jhálawân. It is one of the usual octangular monuments surmounted with a cupola, and although constructed but fifteen or sixteen years since, and still one of the most conspicuous objects of the kind near Kalât, it is, from the perishable nature of its materials, and from the little skill of its architects, fast falling into decay. About a mile beyond it, we had to our left, under a detached hill, the zîarat and gardens of Bábá Walí. Here is a fine spring of water, and holiday parties from the town frequently visit the spot, particularly the Hindús. In a line with Bábá Walí to our right, was the village of Kóhing, consisting of dispersed groups of agriculturalists' houses, with three or four adjacent gardens. Our road neared the northern extremity of the hill of Bábá Walí, under which is a water-course, which we traversed until we came upon the villages of Malgozár and Malarkí, the road leading between them. They comprised respectively numerous scattered houses, a large proportion of which were in ruins, and had many small gardens, with an extensive cultivation of gáll, gállarchí, aspúst, and tobacco. The plain was open and well irrigated. Passing the last habitation of Malgozár, prettily

situated in its garden around a huge mass of rock, we had a range of low hills immediately to our right. The plain ascended, and was covered with the usual wild and fragrant plants of the country. About three cosses from Kalât we came in line with the village of Zíárat, seated under low hills, to our left, about a mile distant. A coss farther, brought us on a line with Garúk, also to our left and on the opposite face of the hills, but visible through an aperture in them. The rivulet of Ghiddarân issued from the hills on our right: this stream, turning five or six mills, flows westerly across the plain to Zíárat, whence it winds through the hills into the plain of Chappar. It has a good volume of water, and is crown property. A mill occurred at the spot where we crossed it, where we sat a moment or two under some magnificent weeping-willows. The banks of the rivulet were plentifully fringed with odorous púdína, or mint, in great luxuriance of growth. About half a mile from this spot we came upon a collection of scattered houses, called Káréz Gárâní. Here was some cultivation, and many groups of mulberry and apricot-trees, but nothing that could be termed a garden; neither could the houses be termed a village, as they were generally in ruins, and untenanted. Here were many detached búnghís, or black-tented abodes, and north of the cultivation a pretty large tomân—a term applied to an assemblage of búnghís. Water was abundant. We rested awhile under the shade of some noble

mulberry-trees, near some ruined houses, where we found a Baloch family. The females were pretty and civil, and readily consented to prepare bread for us, Gúl Máhoméd thoughtfully having brought flour from Kalât. A question arose as to what was to be eaten with the bread, Gúl Máhoméd taking care to represent that I was too important a personage to put up with bread alone. The males of the family denied having any gallús, or melons; but the females made signs to us, that they would bring some when the surly fellows went away. The bread, excellently cooked, was brought us, with roghan, or clarified butter; but the men sitting with us during our repast, our fair hostesses had not the opportunity of testifying their complaisance by the production of melons. After we had finished our meal the men left us to repose, and alike to take their accustomed mid-day nap.

We took our leave, and proceeded over a bleak ascending plain, until we entered some low hills, among which our road was to lead until we reached the plain of Mangarchar. We found no water on our road, but on one occasion a foot-path to our left conducted, as Gúl Máhoméd informed me, to a spring of water. We were not, however, left to suffer from thirst. A shepherd, crossing our track with his flock, liberally supplied us with buttermilk. Gúl Máhoméd, who was in years, did not always move so quickly as I did, and was frequently some distance behind. This was the case when in

progress this day I had gained the summit of a small eminence, from which observing a Baloch coming towards me, I halted. The good man arrived, and at once saw that I was a stranger. He rudely put two or three questions; one of which was whether I was alone; my answers were unintelligible to him, and he was evidently considering the possibility of taking the liberty with me, that nearly every barbarian of these countries thinks justifiable with the unprotected stranger,—to appropriate his property. He had only a stout stick, and I had a similar weapon—a present from Captain Willock—and a sprig from a tree at Waterloo. I was therefore at ease, in event of attack, for if I had even the worst of it I had only to direct the fellow's attention to Gúl Máhomed, slowly creeping along in the rear, and he must have desisted or decamped. I believe he had brought his courage to the determination of assault, when catching a glance of my companion, he instantly seated himself on the ground, being uncertain whether I had a friend, or he a partner in the spoil. I also seated myself. Gúl Máhomed joined; and leaving him to reply to his countryman's queries, I again sauntered on my way. These hills were generally low, and covered with soil. A few stunted trees were sometimes seen on the higher ones, which were probably ghwens, a variety of mastich, common on the Balochistân hills, also on the Persian hills, between Persepolis and Yezdíkhást, where it is called baní.

Fine porcelain earth was abundant at one spot. At sunset we cleared them, and entered the plain of Mangarchar. Here we fell into the high road from Kalât to Mastúng and Sháll, which, during the entire day we had to our right, separated from us by hills. Gúl Máhoméd represented it as perfectly level, leading up a valley marked by parallel hill ranges, but deficient in water. We made for the nearest tomân; before reaching which we came to a pool of rain-water. As soon as the Baloches saw strangers approaching they spread carpets without their tents. We were civilly received, and towards night furnished with a supper of good bread and roghan. I was very weary, having left Kalât purposely on foot, that I might benefit fully from exercise. Our hosts were of the Langhow tribe, and are poor, subsisting chiefly on the profit derived from the hire of their camels, which they let out to the merchants. The plain of Mangarchar had a very bleak desolate appearance. A few houses and trees were, indeed, seen in solitary spots, but it was everywhere intersected by bands, or mounds, intended to detain rain-water for the purposes of irrigation. The tomâns of the Baloch tribes who inhabit it were everywhere dispersed over it. Many of these were on the skirts and acclivities of the surrounding hills, and from their black forbidding aspect rather increased than dispelled the gloom of the sterile landscape.

We thence proceeded to a spot called Ambár,

where we found two or three mud houses, and some mulberry-trees. Here also was abundance of water in canals, and a large cultivation of aspúst. This was decidedly the most fertile part of Mangarchar. Hence we struck across the plain north, towards a prominent tappa, or mound, passing in progress thereto, through the division called Mandé Hâjí, having to our left, or west, that called Kúr. From Kúr leads a road to Núshkí. Bounding Mangarchar to the east was a high hill, named Kóh Márân. On reaching the tappa we found it, as well as its environs, strewn with fragments of pottery. We thence made for a tomân a little to the east of it, where resided some relations of Gúl Máhomed. As soon as we were near enough to descry the actions of the inmates of the búnghís, we observed them busy in sweeping and arranging their carpets, they having noticed strangers approaching, and having, probably, recognised my companion. We were most civilly welcomed, and a cake was produced that we might break our fast. We had brought rice with us from Kalât, which was here prepared for our repast.

On taking leave towards evening our host, Fatí Máhomed, a respectable aged man, kissed my hands and craved my blessing, remarking, that visitors of my importance were rare. He also entreated me to pay a visit to a tomân on our road, where a young man was lying, who had been wounded in the hand some days before by a musket ball,

and who was in danger from a hemorrhage. We accordingly went to the tomân; and I was so fortunate as to stay the hemorrhage by the application of cold water, cobwebs, and pressure. I was not aware to whom these tents belonged, but subsequently discovered, at a time, and in a manner so remarkable, as to merit notice, if but to do justice to Bráhuí gratitude. After the surrender of Kalât to the insurgents, in 1840, when Lieutenant Loveday and myself were made prisoners and taken to the Mírí, on being led through the apartments preceding the Deriáh Khâna, some forty or fifty swords were drawn upon us, a man threw himself between me and the assailants, and, had matters been pushed to extremity, would probably have preserved me. I found it was Máha Singh, the Langhow chief, and that it was at his tent that I was successful, as here noted; a circumstance which he reminded me of, and said, that he recognized me;—I did not recollect him. Between these two tomâns we passed a good garden, the only one on the plain, belonging to Dhái Bíbú, the dhái, or nurse of the Khân of Kalât in his infancy, an ancient lady, now famed for wealth and liberality, and formerly as much so for personal beauty and political influence. This garden stands in the division called Zard, the most northern portion of the plain of Mangarchar. At some distance beyond it we passed another ancient tappa, and around it was much cultivation. We finally reached the

dwelling of a Hindú, an acquaintance of my companion, where we halted for the night. East of us were the ruins of the village called Zard, which was represented as having been flourishing but two years since, when Meháb Khân, with an army, encamped at it. The presence of a protecting or invading force is equally noxious to the unfortunate inhabitants of these countries. The Hindú, our host, was the only remaining evidence of the population of Zard. This poor fellow supplied us with clothing for the night, and with a supper of bread and milk. Gúl Máhoméd here learned that two of his sons had brought their camels to Mangarchar this day for the sake of grazing, and he sent to them, desiring that one of them would join him with a camel. The elder came, and after saluting his father, returned, it being fixed that the younger one was to attend in the morning with a camel.

Being about to take leave of our Hindú, I directed Gúl Máhoméd to make him a trifling acknowledgment for the night's entertainment, when it proved that he had intended his hospitable offices to have been gratuitous. He now, as if determined not to be surpassed in generosity, immediately ordered his wife to heat the oven, and would not allow us to depart until we had breakfasted, setting promptly before us cakes of bread, buttermilk, apples, and dried mulberries. Gúl Máhoméd's younger son had arrived with a camel; and a seat

on the animal's back was arranged for me. We traversed the plain northward for about six miles, when we reached Kénittí, a village now of only fifteen inhabited houses, but with many more untenanted ones. Its ruin, as that of Zard, was attributed to the presence of the khân's army. Between it and Zard are no habitations; water is found in two or three places, and there is a water-course in the centre of the valley, supplied with running, but brackish water, the soil being charged with nitre, and covered with dwarf tamarisk-bushes in some places. At Kénittí were some mulberry and apricot-trees: and it is the southern division, in this direction, of the district of Mastúng. A little after passing Zard, Gúl Máhoméd abruptly left the path. I asked where he was going, and he replied, to the graves of his forefathers. On reaching the burial place, he stood at the heads of many of the graves, and with his hands upraised to heaven, repeated short prayers, afterwards replacing very carefully any stones which might have rolled from their original position. We did not halt at Kénittí, but kept on our course up the plain, having on our left the water-course just mentioned, whose bed widened, and became overspread with tamarisk-bushes. We at length entered the hills on our right, by an opening formed by the dry and stony-bed of a hill torrent, up which we proceeded for a long distance, or until we reached the core of the hills. They displayed every variety

of contorted stratification, and were composed of thin layers, connected by intervening lines of cement. The plain we left was open to the front, or north, and would have conducted us to Khânak, but our object being first to gain Mastúng, the route we now followed was the more direct one. In the dara the common fragrant plants of the country abounded, and the contrast of their red and blue blossoms gave a most pleasing effect, as they occurred in masses or beds. The only trees were ghwens. As our progress up the dara had been continually on a gradual ascent, our transit to the crest of the hill was speedily, and without much toil, accomplished; indeed, I had not been obliged to dismount the camel, though I did so on seeing the very long and steep descent before me; and I sat for some time to enjoy the prospect around. The view was very fine of the surrounding hills; beyond which little else could be seen. Midway down the pass, we arrived at a spring of water, where there is a table-space sufficient for a large encampment. It is called Ab Chotoh, as the hills themselves are called Koh Chotoh. On reaching the bottom of the pass, the lower hills were formed of excellent yellow ochre, and small square smooth clinkers thereof were spread about in all directions, and for some distance over the swelling plain at their foot, as if on the elevation of the hills above the surface their superior strata had burst, and been dispersed in fragments. We were now

in the northern extremity of the plain of Khad, which stretches from Mangarchar to Mastúg, and lies on the high road from Kalât. It is a long narrow valley, without village or houses, and the hills to the east are remarkable for the smooth and sloping surface they present towards the plain. In front we observed two or three trees, indicative of our approach to Mastúg, but neither it or its gardens were visible. We had contemplated to have spent the evening at the town, but towards sunset the sky became obscured with clouds, and much rain fell. My companions sought shelter in a ravine, which in reality afforded none; nor could I induce them to proceed. Thus we passed the night here, exposed freely to the rain, which at intervals fell smartly. Gúl Máhomed and his son kindled a fire, which engrossed all their attention to keep alive. Its flame occasioned the arrival of two men, natives of Khárân, and they also remained with us the night. I seated myself under a canopy, formed by my Arab cloak, the threads of which swelling, when fully saturated, admirably resisted the rain; yet I was cold and comfortless.

In the morning I found that Mastúg was not above two miles distant; also that there were dwellings about half a mile in advance of the ravine. I could not forbear secretly deprecating the bad taste of my companions. We presently arrived at a rivulet, flowing amid high banks, and called Sir-í-âb, which we twice crossed in a short space.

Hence we had an indistinct view of Mastúng, in our progress to which we passed the village of Khwoja Khél, and a large burial-ground. My friends at Kalât had directed Gúl Máhoméd to conduct me to the house of Shádí Khân Mír-wârí, one of the most respectable men of the place. We were met accidentally by his son, Illaiyár Khân, who took the string of the camel, and acted as guide to his father's residence. We were well accommodated in a small garden-house; excellent musk and water-melons were instantly set before us, and, shortly after, a more substantial repast of bread and krút. Our host, Shádí Khân, a plain elderly man, made his appearance. He was suffering from fever, but kindly welcomed us. Here was a relative of Shádí Khân, who had been wounded in the foot by a musket-ball, in the same fray which had caused a similar accident to my patient at Mangarchar. The quarrel arose on the subject of a quantity of aspúst. When I expressed surprise that blood should have been shed on so trivial a matter, and that the governor of the town had not interfered to prevent it, I was told that it was the Baloch mode of adjusting controversy, and that the governor had headed one of the belligerent parties, both being people of the town. The poor fellow at Mangarchar was a stranger, of another tribe, and in nowise concerned in the issue of the contest. Chance made him a mímán, or guest, at Mastúng, at the time of dis-

pute; and the same barbarous custom which dictated an appeal to arms, as imperiously compelled him to espouse the cause of his host. In the afternoon I visited the gardens of the town, many of which are sunk two or three feet beneath the surface, the abstracted soil having probably been used in the construction of the town buildings.



MASTUNG.

I also inspected two ancient Máhomedan sepulchres, eastward of the town. These were built of kiln-burnt bricks; and although injured by time, had still a picturesque appearance. The larger and more perfect is said to be the tomb of Khwoja Ibráhím, and the interior of its walls is covered with scrawls, in Persian and Hindú characters, mementos of those whose curiosity or

piety may have led them within the hallowed precincts.

The next morning I repaired to an eminence south of the town, and made a sketch of it and of the mountain Chehel Tan. Afterwards I moved to an old tower on another eminence, from which I took bearings, and made my observations on the plain, and on the objects in sight. Returning to our quarters, we breakfasted on bread and cham-marí, a dish made by boiling dried apricots to a consistence with roghan, seasoned with spices; it is at once grateful and sanative. Afterwards we prepared for departure to Khânak, where resided the family of Gúl Máhomed, he being anxious to join them, and I equally so to accelerate my visit to Chehel Tan. On inquiry for Shádí Khân, that farewell might be taken of him, we were told that he was sitting at the town gate. This was on our road; and, on reaching it, the good man started as if surprised. He took my stick from me, saying, "Where are you going? I supposed you would have remained with me some days; you have not become troublesome. I was going to kill a sheep on your account in the evening." Gúl Máhomed, whose desire to see his family predominated, replied negatively to all Shádí Khân's entreaties, and we were reluctantly permitted to proceed.

From Mastúg the plain gently slopes, and we passed the village of Mírghar, a few hundred yards

east of which is an enclosed mud house, with dependent garden, where resides Máhoméd Khân, chief of the Shirwâní tribe of Bráhuís. This man, by the murder of Lieutenant Loveday's múnshí, and a party of twenty-five or thirty sipáhís, struck the first blow in the Bráhuí rebellion of 1840, and near this very spot. The political agent at Quetta told me, that he considered there were extenuating circumstances in the conduct of Máhoméd Khân, as, having been appointed Naib of His Majesty, Shâh Sújah-al-Múlkh, the múnshí should have treated him with more respect.

Beyond is crossed a deep ravine, with running water, but brackish, from which the plain again ascends towards Tírí. The soil now becomes sandy. Beyond Tírí, to the north and east, is a good deal of pure sand, as there is towards Feringabád, a village north of Mastúng; also on the skirts of the hills east of Mastúng. Tírí is a walled town with two gates, and although inferior in importance to Mastúng, stands on nearly as much ground. Its gardens are numerous, and its fruits plentiful. From Tírí we passed on to Shékh Langhow, a small village, so called from a zíárat of that name contiguous; it is pleasantly situated in a ravine, with numerous gardens and poplar-trees. Adjacent to this village was a small tomân, where resided a daughter of Gúl Máhoméd, the wife of one Sáhíb Khân; thither we repaired, and became guests for the day.

We should have started early this morning for Khânak, about three miles distant, but Sâhîb Khân was urgent that we should remain until evening, when we proceeded; and the plain descending, we arrived, about mid-way, at the small enclosed hamlet of Shamé Zai, at the entrance of the plain of Khânak. Thence we made for the tomân, where dwelt my companion. We were most courteously received by his wife, Máhí Bíbí. About two miles south was the village of Khânak, seated on and around a large mound. About half a mile to our north was the isolated residence of Assad Khân, the Sirdár of Sahárawân, at this time absent, having joined the Khân of Kalât's camp, at Soh-ráb. I purchased a sheep, as a kairát, or offering, on our prosperous arrival; on which we regaled ourselves, besides making a distribution to our neighbours. I was now at the base of Chehel Tan, which I longed to ascend, anticipating a splendid view of the surrounding regions. However, for some days the heat of the weather was intense, and the atmosphere was so obscured by clouds of dust and a kind of haze that neither the mountain nor surrounding villages were visible. I suffered extremely from the heat. The journey from Kalât had been favourable to my health, which again failed me when obliged to be inactive. The tomân in which I resided was a large one of some fifty búnghís, or black tents, and the people were generally in easy cir-

cumstances. There were few búnghís before which were not picketed one, two, or three horses. The flocks belonging to the tomân had been sent, about a month before, to Kachí, whither they would be followed by the tomân in the course of another month; the winter being spent in that province. I soon became on familiar terms with most of the good folks here, and had I been well, and the weather less warm, could have passed my time very agreeably. A wedding took place, and I was invited to the marriage feast. The men, as generally with the Bráhuís, were not remarkable for personal appearance, but many of the females were very pretty. The weather having at length cleared up, I grew impatient to ascend the hill. The peril of the journey was set forth, unless in good company. We therefore purchased a sheep, and with the view of procuring companions, circulated intelligence of our being about to undertake a pilgrimage to the zíarat on the crest of Chehel Tan. Gúl Máhomed had three of his sons, who with himself, were well-armed. The apprehension was said to be from Khâkas, who frequently visit the hill on fowling and hunting parties, as well as to wreak their vengeance on the Bráhuís, with whom they are at deadly enmity.

The morning appointed for starting we were joined by five young men, leading a goat as an offering to the Chehel Tan saints. Passing the residence

of Máhoméd Khân, we made for the hill, and came to a small brook of clear water, running across our path, with a little chaman, or grass-land, on its borders. The spot is the usual halting-place for laden kâfilas going from Shâll to Mastúng, and the rivulet itself divides the district of Khânak from that called Dolái. The usual road which parties follow going to Chehel Tan leads for some distance along the skirts of the hill and up the open valley of Dolái. We had not proceeded far from the brook, when one of the party proposed to ascend the hill at once, by a very direct and easy path, with which he was acquainted. Some debate followed, which ended in the proposer carrying his point, and we followed his footsteps as our guide. We soon found the passage more difficult than he had represented, and Gúl Máhoméd, an aged man, expressed much dissatisfaction. We were mostly obliged to creep along, while the ascent was so nearly perpendicular that we were frequently compelled to halt and recover breath. We had toiled on in this manner a good part of the day, amid a series of imprecations, our guide only in temper, and assuring us at every step that the worst of our road was over, when a most appalling perpendicular escarpment of rock presented itself. The impulse of necessity enabled us to surmount it, and we found ourselves on a large table-space. The guide now took credit to him-

self; and, joyful to have got over our difficulties, we forgot them, and did not dispute his claims. Some distance brought us to a spot where was a large apúr, or juniper cedar-tree, and a well of ill-coloured but palatable water. This was the usual halting-place for parties proceeding to the summit, and we arranged to pass the night at it. The tree was covered with rags and tatters, and around its trunk stones were placed, defining a masjít. The well was a hole, or recess, at the extremity of a sloping kind of dell, the margins of which were covered with wild white rose-trees; some few of these were in blossom, but the greater part sparkled with their scarlet hips. Here was also an abundance of fragrant mint. Fires were speedily kindled, the apúr, now plentiful on the upper hills, affording excellent fuel. Two enormous heaps were put in blaze; the sheep we had brought was sacrificed, and the entire joints, through which ramrods were inserted and served for spits, were placed between the two masses of living embers. It was delightful to witness how promptly and how perfectly the meat was roasted. Each person received his share, determined, according to Bráhuí fashion, by lot. Bread was cooked by rolling an oval stone, previously heated, in a piece of dough, which was also placed between the embers until ready. The repast, to my taste, was admirable, and I understood how justly the Baloches were proverbially famed for their kabâbs,

or roast meat ; besides, the fatigue of the day's journey had given me an appetite to which I had been long a stranger. At the fall of night some of our party repaired to a pinnacle in our front, where they kindled a prodigious fire, for the purpose of letting their friends at Khânak know that they had travelled thus far on their pilgrimage.

At daybreak next day we moved on, to gain the summit of the principal peak, on which stands the *zíarat* ; and the goat was led with us as a sacrifice on the spot. Our route was very difficult, chiefly over smooth surfaces of rock. I could not remark on the awkwardness of the path, as I was informed, that last year the mother of Assad Khân had ascended by it. On arrival at a certain spot our party disencumbered themselves of their upper garments and their shoes, which, with their weapons, they deposited in a heap. I, of course, foreboded a terrific passage in front. In fact, a little farther commenced the ascent of the peak : it was nearly perpendicular, and over a limestone rock, frequently as smooth as if the surface had been artificially polished ; but it was overhung on the left by another rock of more uneven nature, of which availing ourselves we were able to arrange our feet, creeping cautiously under it. On attaining the summit we found a small table-space, in a corner of which was the *zíarat*, marked by a rude enclosure of stones, and a few slender poles, with rags hanging loosely on them. On one of these, higher than the rest, a bell

was affixed, which tinkled when agitated by the wind. On taking out my compass, I discovered that my companions were averse to give information; even Gúl Máhoméd, who was otherwise willing, was diffident, seeing the discontent of the rest. The day was not a happy one for survey, the sky being somewhat hazy, particularly to the east. I could not discern the plain of Kachí, if it is to be seen at all from this point, and but dimly beheld the summits of Nágow and Bohár, conspicuous crests in the hills to the west of Kachí. Koh Toba, with its huge rounded summit was eminent in front, but closed the prospect to the north. South of it were two ranges, running east and west, and intervening between it and the valley of Sháll, which lay in miniature below us. To the east we had a fine view of the Dasht-bí-Dowlat, extending from the base of Chehel Tan, and beyond it of the jumble of hills stretching to Dádar. In a line with us was a range lying east and west, denoting, I presumed, the course of the Bolan river, and remarkable, as all the other ranges to the east, north, and south of it run from north to south. Indeed, I observed that the mass of hills dividing Kachí from Kalát was formed of three distinct parallel ranges. The more elevated and distant range north of the course of the Bolan, I was told, was called Koh Dohjí, and that it was in the Khâka country. South of us were the districts of Mastúng; but the state of the atmosphere did not allow us to recognize Kalát.

To the west the prospect was more extensive, and the horizon clearer. We had in view the plains of Khânak, Doláí, and Sher-rúd, with the hill range of Khwoja Amrân dividing the spacious valley of Peshing from Shoráwak and Búldak. South-west was a high peak, which was conjectured to be that of a hill in Khárân, which boasts, like Chehel Tan, its zíarat ; and my companions said, that had the day been propitious, I might have seen a confused dark mass in the north-west, which they inferred must designate Kândahár. I took a few bearings, when my friends proposed to return ; nor could I induce them to remain : apprehension of Khâkas was alleged, but I saw clearly that a panic had seized them on sight of my instruments. They conceived that they had been accessory to high treason against the khân, that my looking over his country was equivalent to the putting it into my pocket. Gúl Máhoméd, noting their murmurs, said it was "Húkam níst," or contrary to orders, to remain long upon the summit of the hill. The goat had been brought under the notion of making a repast here ; it was indeed killed, but it was decided that it should be cooked at the halting-place below. The men descending, I had no alternative but to follow them. Moreover, Gúl Máhoméd had become very careless in his replies to my queries, and I ceased to make any lest he might mislead me. Each person had raised a small pyramid of stones in commemoration of his visit ; and I being otherwise engaged, Gúl Máhoméd

had erected one for me. They were frail mementos, as it was necessary to appropriate the piles formed by former visitors, and succeeding ones would take the same liberty with ours. On the very summit of the hill was the wild rose. In descending we were forced to be as cautious as in our ascent, and I found the better plan was to lie on my back, and, as it were, slide down. On regaining the halting-place a repast was hastily prepared ; and it was determined, against the pleasure of Gúl Máhoméd and myself, to reach Khânak that evening. The former, however, persisted in following what may be called the high road, much to the discontent of the younger Bráhuís, who were willing to have returned by the road they came. Our course led north, over an uneven table-space with a constant but gradual descent. The rock was generally bare, and we came upon a spot, where I found shells and corals embedded in it. The rock was grey limestone, of polished surface, and so transparent as nearly to approach to marble. The shells were marine, of four varieties, and at once recognizable as identical with those now to be picked up on the sea-coast of Mekrân. The coral was as clearly the white coral, whose fragments strew the same coast, and which occurs so abundantly in beds on the opposite, or Arabian coast. The outlines of the petrifications were beautifully defined by minute crystallizations. After traversing a long distance we made an abrupt descent of some length ; but labour had been bestowed

on the road. Here our five friends quitted us, resolved to take a shorter road, as well as to fall in with fig-trees, said to occur in number. I had now with me Gúl Máhomed and his three sons. From the foot of the pass we had to pace along another unequal space, more cut by ravines and water-courses in the rock. In one mountain glen were immense fragments of rock; in it we discovered two or three fig-trees, and gathered the fruits, which were very palatable. Water, in cavities, presented itself in two or three spots, but was unavailable, from the masses of putrescent vegetable substances fallen into it. The tract we were tracing led into a broad gravelly water-course, on the opposite side of which was a steep earthy hill.

We had nearly gained the water-course when Gúl Máhomed heard a stone roll down the high hill, and as his imagination was full of Khâkas, he apprehended it might be a nishân, or signal. He accordingly, with his sons, adjusted their weapons, and moved on quickly. I for the time felt troubled with the thought that it might happen that the good old man and his three sons should be cut off in contributing to my gratification. However, I made no remark, as it was useless, and we reached the edge of the water-course, which was very deep and wide beneath us. My companions descried something on the opposite hill, and two of Gúl Máhomed's sons kneeling, levelled their pieces, and asked their father if they should fire.

He replied in the affirmative, and they discharged their pieces. Immediately after they all dropped on the ground, expecting, as I thought, a volley in return, for I supposed they had been firing at some unfortunate Khâkas. They then proceeded a little way with their bodies bent and their arms trailed, when, observing they did not reload, I asked why they did not do so, and discovered that the object of their attention was a mountain ram. We now descended into the bed of the water-course, which we traced westerly until it narrowed and led through perpendicular walls of rock of great height. There were many small orifices, the green slimy stains from which seemed to show that water had oozed and trickled from them. This sombre defile was of some length, and from it we emerged, to our joy, upon the plain of Dolái. It had now become dark. Our road led southerly to Khânak. The plain which we trod lightly was overspread with terk, as evident by the perfumed night-air. We passed a pálléz, or melon-ground. The fruits were not ripe, but we found numbers of them gathered and placed in heaps, as we afterwards learned by our friends who had preceded us, and who had arrived here by daylight. This they had done for our benefit, concluding that we should not reach before night, and that we should be thirsty. We finally arrived at Khânak, in a state that made repose desirable.

Chehel Tan abounds with objects interesting to the naturalist. Among the animals that range its

sides are the wild sheep and peshkoza. Among its plants are three or four varieties of ferula: the largest, called ashúk, yields a gum-resin, possibly the opoponax, or, as called in Persian, joáshír. The mashmúk is a large thorny bush with minute leaves, and produces a very pure gum, which might be collected in quantity, but is neglected. The síáh-chob is alike a good-sized bush, and in the hills north of Kâbal yields shírkhist, or manna. The ghwen is a variety of the mastich-tree; it produces a waxy resinous gum, and has berries, which besides being eaten, furnish, by expression, a bland oil. The apúrs, or juniper cedar-tree, is abundant, and valuable, being used both as timber and fuel. Its berries are also esteemed as medicines, and are sent to Hindústân. The gradations in the altitude and temperature of this mountain, are well marked by the zones of its various vegetable products. In the lower region we observe the pink, the tulip, several varieties of thistle,—one of them what we style in England the American globe-thistle,—and the several varieties of ferula. Above this the ferulas and thistles continue, but we find the ghwen and fig-tree. In a still higher altitude the ghwen disappears, and we meet with the mashmúk, síáh-chob, and apúrs. When the mashmúk and síáh-chob fail, the apúrs and wild-rose continue, to the very summit of the mountain. The ferula ashúk also prevails to a high elevation. We did not visit the hill at the best season to behold its natural

beauties. They would, of course, be better displayed in the vernal months. The Bráhuís, enthusiastic in their admiration of Chehel Tan, and its botanical treasures, imagine that the clove-tree, and the mysterious kímía-plant, are natives of its sides, while they relate a thousand tales, which their credulity induces them to credit.

The highest hill in this neighbourhood, Chehel Tan, possesses a very considerable elevation above the plain, as that must be four or five thousand feet above the level of the sea. Yet I dare not conjecture on its height. It takes a long July's day to ascend it. Snow does not remain on its summit beyond June, or the beginning of July, but is always to be found near it in the secluded cavities of the ravines, which break its eastern side. Opposite to the principal peak is another, of somewhat lower altitude, whose southern side displays every variety of coloured soil or rock. The view from Chehel Tan is vast and magnificent; and it stands preëminent as a station for ascertaining the disposition of the country around to the extent of one hundred miles. This part of the world offers many facilities for its survey on a grand scale, in the convenient sites of its principal hills, and of their peaks. North Koh Toba must command the major part of the country between it and the valley of the Tarnak. From any of the peaks conspicuous in the range bounding Kachí to the west, as Naghow, Bohar, or Tirkárí, a complete view of the great plain of

Kachí, extending southward to Shikárpúr, would be gained; also of the Súlímân range, dividing it from Hárând, Dájil, and the valley of the Indus. In the province of Khárân, a little west by south of Kalât, is a very high hill, terminating in a peak, which is plainly descried from Chehel Tan, from which an extensive view would be obtained of the countries between Jhálawân and Panjghúr. From the high hills of Sohráb south of Kalât, good notions could be gained of the province of Jhálawân. Due west of the peak of Chehel Tan is a prominent crest, in the range Khwoja Amrán, which would give an admirable view of the plain of Shoráwak, Núshkí, and the great desert spreading to Sístân. From the peak of Kótal Kózhák, of the same range, the features of the country about Kândahár could be correctly ascertained. I had fondly hoped from Chehel Tan to have caught a glimpse of the crest of Takht Súlímân, a mountain west of the Indus, in the parallel of Déra Ismael Khân, but besides that the view in that quarter was obstructed by clouds, it is probable that Koh Dohjí would intercept it.

The zíárat on the crest of Chehel Tan is one of great veneration among the Bráhuí tribes, and I may be excused, perhaps, for preserving what they relate as to its history. In doing so I need not caution my readers that it is unnecessary to yield the same implicit belief to the legend as these rude people do, who indeed never question its

truth. A frugal pair, who had been many years united in wedlock, had to regret that their union was unblessed by offspring. The afflicted wife repaired to a neighbouring holy man, and besought him to confer his benediction, that she might become fruitful. The sage rebuked her, affirming, that he had not the power to grant what heaven had denied. His son, afterwards the famed Hazrat Ghous, exclaimed, that he felt convinced that he could satisfy the wife; and casting forty pebbles into her lap, breathed a prayer over her and dismissed her. In process of time she was delivered of forty babes, rather more than she wished, or knew how to provide for. In despair at the overflowing bounty of superior powers, the husband exposed all the babes but one, on the heights of Chehel Tan. Afterwards, touched by remorse, he sped his way to the hill, with the idea of collecting their bones and of interring them. To his surprise, he beheld them all living, and gamboling amongst the trees and rocks. He returned, and told his wife the wondrous tale, who now anxious to reclaim them, suggested, that in the morning he should carry the babe they had preserved with him, and by showing him induce the return of his brethren. He did so, and placed the child on the ground to allure them. They came, but carried it off to the inaccessible haunts of the hill. The Bráhuís believe that the forty babes, yet in their infantile state, rove about the mysterious hill. Hazrat Ghous has left behind

him a great fame, and is particularly revered as the patron saint of children. Many are the holidays observed by them to his honour, both in Balochistân and Sind. In the latter country the eleventh day of every month is especially devoted as a juvenile festival, in commemoration of Hazrat Ghous. There are many zîárats called Chehel Tan in various parts. Kâbal has one near Argandí. I made a farther stay of many days at Khânak, in deference to the wishes of Gúl Máhomed, who had arrangements to make in his family, about to proceed to Kachí. My abode was unpleasant from the heat of the weather, and I heard the announcement of my friend that he was prepared to return to Kalât with much pleasure.

CHAPTER V.

Departure from Khânak.—Spin Bolendí.—Kénittí.—Bráhuí custom.—Mangarchar.—Kárez.—Tomân.—Credulity.—Ancient dams.—Chappar.—Zíarat.—Arrival at Kalât.—Dín Máhommed Khân—his pursuits—his amusing anger—his request.—Shâhzâda Hâji Fírozdín—his boasting.—Reception at Kândahár.—His fate.—Khân of Kalât's conversations—his judgment of me.—Of Feringhí power.—Abdul Rahmân's story.—Fatality at Kalât.—Dhai Bíbú.—Entertainment.—Visit to Dhai Bíbú.—Her wishes.—Indulgence in opium.—Laudanum.—Arrival of Mehráb Khân.—Approach of winter.—Prepare to leave Kalât.—Kalât.—Mírí.—Bazar.—Suburbs.—Neighbourhood.—Royal sepulchres.—Inhabitants.—Eastern Balochistân.—Parallel.—Nassír Khân—his prosperous rule.—Taimúr Shâh.—Máhmúd Khân.—Zemân Shâh.—Mehráb Khân.—Dáoud Máhommed.—Disgust of tribes.—Confusion in the country.—Rebellious tribes.—Observance of treaties.—Forbearance of the Kalât Khân.—Their delicate policy.—Enmity of Kândahár Sirdars.—Disliked by Mehráb Khân.—Their expedition to Balochistân.—Seize Quetta.—Besiege Mastúng.—Negotiate a treaty.—Terms.—Harand and Dájl.—Saiyad Máhommed Shérif.—Replaced by Khodádád.—Flies to Bahâwalpúr.—Khodádád calls in the Sikhs.—They occupy Hárand and Dájl.—Extent of Mehráb Khân's rule—his revenue.—Military force.—Khanázâdas.—Levies.—Artillery.—Subjects.—Bráhuí tribes.—Produce of country.—Of Kachí.—Trade and merchants.—Base coinage.—Mehráb Khân—his character.—Mír Azem Khân.—Shâh Nawâz and Fatí Khân.—Their treatment.—Mehráb Khân's lenity.

AT daybreak we departed, carrying with us the prayers and good wishes of Gúl Máhommed's family.

We were accompanied as before, by Attár, and were provided with a camel. Our course led south-ernly, leaving Tírí on our left, and having Dinghar, a small village, on our right. We passed a mound, Spín Bolendí, whose formation is attributed to the joint exertions of the army of Nádir. Beyond it we reached a few scattered houses, with a little cultivation, and a good canal of water. Farther on we crossed the high road leading between Mastúng and Núshkí. It was well defined; and at this point was a ruinous ancient tomb, constructed of kiln-burnt bricks. At some distance from it we arrived at a fair chishma, or brook, intersecting the road, and now had entered the division of Kénittí; the hill Chotoh being on our left hand. On our right was the low range bounding Kénittí and Zard, and stretching on to Mangarchar. Our march to-day was long and tedious. At sunset we reached Kénittí, where we passed the night. No supplies were procurable. Gúl Máhomed, being much fatigued, oil was brought him to anoint his weary limbs; which is agreeable to Bráhúí custom.

The next day, on reaching Zard, we struck off to the house of the Hindú who had so civilly entertained us on our first visit. He was not at home. We then proceeded to the mound farther on, at the base of which, we were told, resided two or three Hindús. These had no supplies to give or to sell; and therefore passing the garden of Dhái Bíbú, we entered the plain of Mangarchar. We

here found Gúl Máhomed's eldest son, in charge of a mare he had brought to graze on aspúst, which is here cultivated in quantity. There was also a káréz of admirable water. The káréz is a subterranean aqueduct, a mode of conveying water common over Persia, Khorasân, and Afghânistân, as far as Kândahár. In Kâbal it prevails in a less degree, and ceases with the hills at Khaibar. In this direction it is not adopted beyond Kalât, and there partially. We had no shelter, but passed the day on the plain, shaded by cloths thrown over long sticks. A meal of bread and curds was provided for us. Towards evening we moved on to the tomân, where we were guests on coming. We were again courteously welcomed by the good Fatí Máhomed, and a supper was prepared for us of cakes and chammarí.

About to start in the morning, a horse was brought from another tomân, that I might write a tavíz, or charm, to hang around its neck, that it might be preserved from disease and sudden death. Its owner said, that he had lost two animals during the last few months. As on coming from Kalât we had traced the eastern divisions of Mangarchar, so now we traversed its western ones. Passing the more northern of these, named Kúr, which has a good chishma, we entered that of Bárétchí Nav. To our right and left were occasionally dams, or artificial mounds; which, if they represent the sepulchral places of ancient villages,

denote that the plain was, at some former period, covered with more substantial seats than the búnghís of the rude and migratory tribes that now inhabit it. Leaving Mangarchar, our dreary route brought us on the extensive plain of Chappar. No habitation occurred on the road, as a solitary deserted mud dwelling may scarcely be reckoned one. Gúl Máhoméd was, however, willing to have passed the night at it, as it was already dusk, but I objected. We therefore moved on to the small village of Zíárat, which we reached when it was fairly night. There was but one Hindú, and he declined to sell at unseasonable hours. We were, consequently, supperless, but found a snug place to repose in, under the branches of a large tree, with a canal of good water running close by us.

Gentle eminences divide Zíárat from Malarkí; and by a road winding around the low elevations to our right, formed of variously coloured earth, we came in sight of the town, at which we arrived before noon. Without the Mastúng gate I was met by one of my friends, Sâleh Máhoméd, who asked Gúl Máhoméd why he had brought me back so lâghar, or thin. I was cordially welcomed by my old companion Abdúl Wáhad, and learned that my friends Faiz Ahmed and Kâlikdád had gone to Sohráb, to remonstrate with the Khân against a proposed additional tax upon kâfilas.

While I was yet at Kalât our society was increased by the arrival of Dín Máhoméd Khân,

an Alekho Zai Dúrání. He had formerly been in the service of Shâhzâda Kâmrân, but a disagreement with the vazír, Yár Máhoméd, had obliged him to retire to Sístân, where he had for some time resided; thence he had reached Kalât. He gave me much of his time, and was a fair specimen of the Dúrání gentleman, combining a somewhat refined manner and good-natured sense, with a good deal of simplicity and credulity. He was a desperate kímíaghar, or alchemist; and I was amused to observe how courteously he would address every fáquí, or jogí, he met with. The more unseemly the garb and appearance of the mendicant the greater he thought the chance of his being in possession of the grand secret. He had particular veneration for Hindú jogís. I apprehend his attentions to me were, in part, owing to his idea that, being a Feringhí, I was also an adept in the occult sciences. It grieved me, aware that he was needy, to see him dissipating his scanty funds in silly and unmeaning experiments. On his arrival at Kalât a messenger had been despatched to Kotrú, in Kachí, to bring all the limes that could be procured; some bright idea had flashed across his mind that a decisive result could be obtained from lime-juice. At other times he was seeking for seven-years'-old vinegar. The acrid milky juices of the plants in the neighbourhood were all submitted to trial. Mehráb Khân had sanctioned a trifling daily allowance to him, but

could not afford to give sufficient salary to detain the Khân at Kalât. One morning I met him on his return from an audience at the Mírí. Remarking that he was excited, I asked him what was the matter. He replied by vociferating, in no very delicate terms, how he should be pleased to treat Mehráb Khân, and his wives, and his sons, and his daughters, and hoped that the devil would take Kalât, and the men and the women of Kalât. In a day or two he proceeded towards Haidarabád, in Sind, where he would meet an old friend in Samandar Khân, Popal Zai. Dín Máhoméd made two moderate demands of me,—to provide him with a son, and to instruct him in the art of making gold.

A more important visitor this year at Kalât was Shâhzâda Hâjî Fîrózdín, a brother of Shâh Máhmúd, and who had governed at Herát, until displaced by the management and address of the Vazír Fatí Khân. He had now arrived from Sind, and was attended merely by a few domestics; some twenty mules carried his baggage. He had not lost the arrogant tone which distinguishes too many of his family, and talked largely to the Khân of Kalât—wanting men—boasting that he would provide money, although, when here, he was obliged to sell a few of his mules. He remained but a few days, and took the road to Kândahár, the chiefs there having a feeling of sympathy towards him, as he rendered one of the brothers a good

turn, when the Vazír Fatí Khân was seized by Kámrán. They met him without the city, civilly entertained him during his stay, and on his departure westward presented him with a horse, richly caparisoned. We afterwards heard that the ill-fated Shâhzâda was slain in the neighbourhood of Meshed; it was said, through some mistake.

In course of time, Faiz Ahmed and Kâlikdád arrived from Sohráb, where they had been successful in persuading the khân to relinquish the proposed additional tax on kâfilas. The chief had much conversation with Faiz Ahmed on the impoverished state of the country, who imputed the evil to the increase of vice; instancing, that the masjíts were unfrequented, while wine-drinking and obscene vices, formerly unknown at Kalât, had been introduced. The chief asked how the evil was to be remedied; Faiz Ahmed replied, by appointing múllas to the masjíts, and by a vigilant watch over the morals of the community. The khân promised, on his return to Kalât to attend to these matters. He also made many inquiries concerning myself, and said I was a jásús, or spy. Faiz Ahmed assured him that I was not, and told him that I had formerly been at Kândahár and Kâbal, where I had been received with attention. The khân remarked, that every one would pay attention to Feringhís, because they were zurâbar, or all-powerful, but that, nevertheless, I was a jásús. He also inquired whether I was not a

kímíaghar ; and, on Faiz Ahmed replying in the negative, said, that his Akhúnd Abdúl Rahmân had told him I was, and that I had a box (alluding to a small medicine-chest) full of bottles, containing âksír. The khân added, that every Feringhí was a kímíaghar. I asked Faiz Ahmed whether the khân intended to take any notice of me, under his impression that I was a jásús ; he said " Oh, no ! " I felt that it was immaterial what he might think, if he did not interrupt me.

Kalât this year was very unhealthy, and an intermittent raged, which daily carried off in the town seven or eight persons. It at length reached the Bábí suburb, and we lost two or three persons daily. The disease was so violent that it proved fatal the second or third day, or, failing to do so, entailed a long and lingering disorder. I had a small supply of quinine, which I administered to those who applied for it, and always with success. I did not escape the malady, though I was enabled speedily to overcome it.

As I made it a point never to deceive any one, or to attempt what I knew to be impossible, I had constantly refrained from visiting Dhái Bíbú, an ancient lady of the first consideration at Kalât, who wished to be restored to sight. One morning, however, her son, called the Nawâb, having at some period held the government of Hárand and Dájil, waited on me, followed by many slaves, bringing the component parts of a sumptuous entertainment,

comprising every delicacy procurable at Kalât, and I was informed Dhái Bíbú had made me her guest. I sent for Faiz Ahmed, and entreated him to explain to the nawâb, that his mother's attentions pained me, as I felt it was expected I should do, in return, what exceeded my ability. Faiz Ahmed reasoned with the nawâb, and he urged the duty of a son. I was obliged to visit the old lady, whose house was close to the Mírí. She must have once been a very fine woman, and was now nearly seventy years of age. She wished me to accomplish one of two things, to restore her sight, or to free her from the habit of opium eating. She proffered all kind of remuneration, horses, gold, land, &c., and much wished me to come and take up my abode with her. To be collected for my reception, she had refrained from her morning dose of opium, and was very uneasy. She at length became so much so that she called a slave-girl and swallowed a most immoderate complement. Her conversation soon betrayed the effects of it, and I took leave. I sent a little laudanum as a wash for her eyes, for I was obliged to send something, and in two or three days I heard that she fancied she could see a little. I supplied more laudanum, praying her son to continue its application, if the least benefit was derivable from it. This lady's eyes were affected by what is called gúl, or gobár, a thick opaque film obscuring or coating the cornea.

Dhái Bíbú was living when the British forces

captured Kalât in 1839. Her daughter, married to Shâhghâssî Nûr Máhoméd, was put by him to the sword, with his other wives and female relatives, when the town was entered. So much disaster, with the fate of Mehráb Khân, upset the little reason she had left, and she sank into the grave.

In course of time Mehráb Khân arrived at Kalât from Sohráb, where he had assembled an army; and conceiving himself secure from any attempt the current year upon Sahárawân by the Afghâns, he decided to despatch it towards Kej, to reduce the rebellious chieftains in that quarter, particularly Rústam Khân Mamasani, and Mohím Khân, Núsh-írwâni. The army marched under the orders of Dáoud Máhoméd, the vazír, and was accompanied by Mír Azem Khân, the khân's young brother.

I did not visit the khân, as a fatality seemed to attend my health, and I had become reduced to extremity by a dysentery. The fall of the leaf had taken place, and winter, with all its rigours, was about to set in. I saw no chance of being able to reach Kândahár the present year, and my disorder had become so serious that I even began to reflect on the event of it. I was glad to hear that Kâlikdád was ready to start on his annual commercial journey to Sind, and I resolved to accompany him, and to regain Súnmiání. Kâlikdád had a large quantity of madder, the produce of Mastúng, and raisins of Kândahár, for sale in Sind and Las. The kâfila, it was decided, should take the route

through the valley of the Múlloh river to Jell, whence tracing the western frontier of Sind, it would reach Karáchí. Kâlikdád did not start with the kâfila, whose route to Jell was tedious and circuitous. He proposed to join it at that place, which he would do in three days from Kalât, by crossing the hills. He wished me to have remained, and to have accompanied him, but I had grown anxious to leave a place where I had been so unlucky as to health, and I decided to proceed with the camels and merchandize, expecting benefit from the exercise and change of air, as well as being desirous of seeing the Múlloh route.

Kalât, the capital of Balochistân, and the residence of the khân, is but a small town, seated on the eastern acclivity of a spur from the hill called Sháh Mirdân. It is in form oblong, and surrounded by a crenated wall of mud, chiefly of moderate height, and strengthened by towers. The western side of the wall traces the summit of the ridge, and is carried under the mírí, or palace of the khân. The last is an edifice of some antiquity, being referred to the period when Kalât was governed by Hindú princes. The town has three gates, one facing the east, and the two others the north and south respectively. It may contain about eight hundred houses, a large proportion inhabited by Hindús. The bazar is equal to the size of the town, and is fairly supplied. Kalât has two suburbs one to the south, inhabited solely by the Bábí tribe of

Afghâns, who fled, or were expelled from the seats of their ancestors, near Kândahâr, in the time of Ahmed Shâh, the first Dûrání king. The other is to the north-west, inhabited also by Afghân families, but



MIRI, OR CITADEL OF KALAT.

of various tribes, and generally recent emigrations from Kândahâr. These two suburbs may contain together three hundred houses. West of the town stretch ravines, and low barren hills, for a considerable distance. To the east is a cultivated plain, not exceeding a mile in breadth, through which stretches the bed of a mountain stream, without water, unless at certain times when filled by rains. It is bounded by hills of some altitude, called Harbûí, which intervene between it and the great plain of Kachí. Kalât is nearly useless as a place of

defence, being commanded by the hill of Shâh Mirdân, on which Ahmed Shâh, when he besieged it, stationed his artillery, and was only prevented from its capture by the intervention of his officers. Under the hills east of Kalât is the royal place of sepulture; and there are the tombs of Nassír Khân and Máhmúd Khân, with the cenotaph of Abdúlah Khân, their progenitor. Near this spot is a celebrated spring of water, which principally provides for the irrigation of the plain. The aboriginal inhabitants of Kalât would appear to be the Déhwârs, equivalent to the Tâjiks of Afghânistân and Túrkestân; and as with them their vernacular language is Persian, the Bráhúí pastoral tribes, belonging to whom is the reigning family, speak a dialect called Bráhúí, or Kúr Gâllí.

The extensive country of Eastern Balochistân, of which Kalât is the capital, is now subject to Meh-ráb Khân, the son of Máhmúd Khân, and grandson of the celebrated Nassír Khân.

There is observable a singular parity of fortune between the Baloch kingdom and the Dúrání empire, to which it acknowledged an easy dependence. Contemporary with Ahmed Shâh, who created the latter, and raised it to prosperity, was Nassír Khân at Kalât, who was indebted, in great measure, to the Dúrání monarch for his elevation to the Khânât, in detriment of his elder brother, Mohábat Khân, who was deposed. Nassír Khân was, beyond comparison, the most able chieftain who had governed

Balochistân; and the country under his vigorous rule prospered as it never did before, nor is likely to do again. He extended his arms in every part of Balochistân, and was always successful; and his kingdom grew from a very humble one to be exceedingly extensive. Aware of the turbulent disposition of his tribes, he kept them continually in the field, thus making use of those qualities in them which would have given him annoyance at home, to the increase of his power abroad. The fertile province of Kachí had been recently acquired from the Kalorah rulers of Sind, by a treaty which Nádir Shâh had imposed. Nassír Khân was not without apprehension that its recovery might be attempted; and in order to give his tribes an interest in its occupation, he made a division of the lands, by which all the Bráhuí tribes became proprietors.

To Ahmed Shâh succeeded his son, Taimúr Shâh, who, as is too often the case in these countries, lived on the reputation of his father, and passed his reign in pleasure, or the gratification of his sensual appetites. Coeval with him, at Kalât, was Máhmúd Khân, son of Nassír Khân, precisely under the same circumstances, neglecting his government, and immersed in hésh, or enjoyment. He lost the province of Kej, and his kingdom might have been farther mutilated but for the energies of his half-brothers, Mastapha Khân and Máhoméd Réhim Khân.

To Taimúr Shâh at Kâbal succeeded his son,

Zemân Shâh, whose brief reign was terminated by those convulsions which have wrecked the Dûránî empire. The present Mehráb Khân succeeded his father, Máhmúd Khân, and for the first three years of his reign displayed considerable decision. He recovered Kej, and seemed inclined to maintain the integrity of his kingdom ; but a series of internal conspiracies and revolts disgusted him, and led to the execution both of some of his own imprisoned relatives, and of the principals of many of the tribes. At length he lost all confidence in the hereditary officers of state, and selected for minister one Dáoud Máhoméd, a Ghiljí of the lowest extraction, and from that time his affairs have gone wholly wrong ; while, by putting himself in opposition, as it were, to the constitution and acknowledged laws of his country, he has provoked a never-ending contest with the tribes, who conceit themselves not bound to obey the dictates of an upstart and alien minister. It hence happens, that some of them are generally in arms ; and the history of the country since the accession of the Ghiljí adviser to power, offers little else but a train of rebellions and murders. It is remarkable, that a similar infraction of the laws of the Dûránís by Zemân Shâh, viz. the elevation of an unqualified person to the vakâlat, was the primary cause of the misfortunes which befel that king.

Mehráb Khân seems to have given up the idea of coercing his disaffected clans, and is content

by promoting discord amongst them, to disable them from turning against himself. The country is, therefore, in a sad state of confusion. A few years since, the Marrís, a formidable tribe in the hills east of Kachí, having descended upon the plains, and sacked Mítarí, the Kalât Khân deemed that it behoved him to resent so gross an outrage, and accordingly he marched with an army, said to be of twelve thousand men, against the marauders. They amused him first with one offer, and then with another, until the season for action was passed, when, aware that the khân could not keep his bands together, they defied him, and he was compelled to retire, with the disgrace of having been outwitted. In the reign of Máhmúd Khân the gallant Mastapha Khân, as lord of Kach Gandáva, kept these predatory tribes in due order, as he did their neighbours, the Khadjaks, Khâkas, and others. Since his death they have not ceased in their depredations.

While the Dúrání empire preserved a semblance of authority, there was, agreeably to the original treaty concluded between Ahmed Shâh and Nassír Khân, a Baloch force of one thousand men stationed in Káshmír, and the khâns of Kalât had ever been attentive to the observance of their engagements. On the dislocation of the empire, and after Káshmír had been lost, there was, of course, an end to the treaty, and virtually, to dependence. Yet the khâns of Kalât never sought to benefit by the

fall of the paramount government ; thus Síví, which was in their power, was always respected. So long even as there was a nominal Shâh in the country, as in the case of Shâh Ayúb, they professed a certain allegiance, but when by the final settlement, or partition of the remnants of the Dúrání empire, it became parcelled into small and separate chiefships, they no longer felt the necessity of acknowledging the supremacy of either. The chiefs of Kândahár the nearest to Kalât, were the only ones who pressed, and Mehráb Khân, since the death of Máhoméd Azem Khân, has had a delicate and difficult part to play with them. It was no principal of his policy to provoke them unnecessarily, and he alike felt repugnance to comply with their demands or to acquiesce in their pretensions. They, on their side, gave him much trouble, by accepting the submission of his rebellious chieftains, as Mohím Khân, Rakshâní of Khárân, Rústam Khân, Mamassaní, and others, as well as by granting asylum to traitors, and by fomenting conspiracies within his kingdom. This line of conduct is so irritating to Mehráb Khân, that he has frequently invited Kámran of Herát to assume the offensive, and promised that if he would send his son, Jehânghír, he would place the Baloch levies under the prince's orders.

The Kalât khân justly looks upon the Kândahár sirdárs as his enemies, and they are by no means favourably disposed towards him, it being very un-

suitable to their views that an untractable and unfriendly chief should hold the country between them and Shikárpúr, so much an object of their ambition. I have noted, that the sirdárs had invaded the Baloch country subsequently to my visit to Kândahár. The motives of the expedition were, perhaps, manifold, but a principal one was, no doubt, to effect some understanding with the khân, and to prepare the way for a march farther south. The Dúrání force, on this occasion, reached Quetta, of which they took possession by a kind of stratagem, avowing friendship, and introducing their soldiers into the town. They next marched to Mastúg, which they besieged, after a manner. The Dúrání could scarcely take the place, and the garrison, trifling as to numbers, could scarcely hold it; whence it followed that an accommodation was easily made, and the proposals of the sirdárs that the place should be evacuated on honourable terms were accepted. The sirdárs maintained, that they had no hostile intentions towards the khân or his subjects, but that they desired friendship with him and them. Mehráb Khân by this time had collected, it is said, twelve thousand men,—which number seems to be the maximum of armaments during his sway,—and encamped at Kénittí, not very distant from the Dúrání camp, and quite close enough that a battle might have been fought, had either party been inclined to have tested the justice of their cause by an appeal to the sword.

Negotiations, as a matter of course, were resorted to, and some kind of treaty was patched up, by which the Dúránís retired without the disgrace of being absolutely foiled. Mehráb Khân paid, or consented to pay, one lákh of rupees, Kalât base money; and professed obedience to the authority of the sirdárs, and willingness to assist in their views upon Sind. It was supposed that the sirdárs would not have ventured to march hostilely into the Baloch territory had they not had in their camp Assad Khân, the sirdár of Sahárawân, and others, who had fled from the vengeance of Mehráb Khân. These traitors returned with them to Kândahár.

Besides these sirdárs of Kândahár, and his own rebel subjects, the unfortunate chief of Kalât has a new and more potential enemy to contend with in Máhárájá Ranjit Singh. The more easternly of the khân's provinces are those of Hárand and Dájil, bordering on, and west of the Indus, between Déra Ghází Khân and the territory of the Mazárí tribes. They constitute a government which confers the title of Nawâb on the holder. The appointment is arbitrary, and emanates from Kalât. Saiyad Máhommed Sheríf, of Tírí near Mastúg, it is said, by a largess to Dáoud Máhommed Khân, the Ghiljí minister, had procured the government, with an understanding that he was to hold it for some time, or until he had reimbursed himself, and accumulated a little besides. The saiyad had

scarcely assumed authority, than Dáoud Máhoméd Khân despatched Khodádád, an Afghán, to supersede him. The enraged saiyaḍ crossed the river, and proceeded to Baháwalpúr, where he induced the khân to put forward a force and invade the country.

Khodádád fled in turn, and repaired to the Súbahdár of Múltán, who, on reporting the matter to Lahore, received instructions to reinstate the Khân of Kalât's officers in Hárand and Dájil. Accordingly, the saiyaḍ was again expelled, as were the Baháwalpúr troops, and Khodádád was told that he was governor for Mehráb Khân, but the Síkh troops retained all the posts in the province.

Although Mehráb Khân holds nominal sway over a country of vast extent, and embracing great varieties of climate, he has little real power but in his capital and its vicinity. The immense proportion of the country is held by tribes nearly independent of him, and in subjection only to their own contumacious chiefs, who owe the khân, at the best, but military service. It is true, that in most of the provinces he has zamín sirkári, or crown lands, the revenue of which may be said to belong to him, but it is generally consumed by the agents who collect it. The larger quantum of his resources is drawn from Kach Gandáva, the most productive of his provinces, where he holds the principal towns. I have heard his gross revenue estimated at three lákhs of rupees

per annum, a small sum indeed, but it must be borne in mind that none of the Bráhúí or Baloch tribes contribute to it.

The khân can scarcely be said to retain a military force, but has a great number of khânazâdas, household slaves. These, the only people he can trust, are elevated to high offices, and appointed governors of his towns and provinces. They are, of course, authorized to keep up followers, and their bands form the *élite* of the khân's armies, which are otherwise composed of the levies from the tribes. The general obligation of military service falls alike upon the villagers and upon the déhwârs, or agriculturalists in the neighbourhood of Kalât, who, in case of need, furnish their quotas of men. The khân's artillery comprises some half dozen unserviceable pieces of small ordnance at Kalât, and two or three others at Gandáva, Bâgh, and Quetta,—it may be presumed in no better condition.

The khân's Máhomedan subjects include the Bráhúí tribes of Sahárawân and Jhálawân, the Baloch tribes of the western provinces, the Rind and Magghazzi tribes of Kachí, Hárand, Dájil, &c., the Kássí Afghâns of Shâll, the Déhwârs (equivalent to Tâjiks) of Kalât and its villages; to which may be added, the Lúmrí, or Jadghâl tribes of the maritime province of Las. It may be noted also, that there are still some few families of the Séwa tribe at Kalât, who, agreeably to tradition, ruled the country before the Bráhúís.

The Bráhúí tribes are pastoral: in the summer grazing their flocks on the table-lands, and in the hills of Sahárawân and Jhálawân, and in winter descending upon the plains of Kach Gandáva.

The country of the Bráhúís produces excellent wheat; but as by far the more considerable part of it can only be cultivated when rain has been abundant, there is no certainty in the supply. The irrigated lands alone probably yield as much as suffices for the population, but at high prices. In seasons after copious rains at the proper period, when the returns become very bountiful, there is a large surplus, and prices are extremely low. A camel-load of wheat has been known to be sold for one rupee.

The low flat province of Kachí has produce of a different kind, wheat being but of partial growth, while júárí and bájara are most extensively cultivated. The cotton-plant and sugar-cane are raised near Bâgh and Dádar; and at the latter place indigo is produced and manufactured.

The Baloch provinces have, comparatively, but a trifling trade with the neighbouring states, and society is not in that advanced state amongst the inhabitants as to render them greatly dependent on foreign markets for articles of taste and luxury. There are a large number of Afghân merchants domiciled at Kalât, who drive a considerable transit trade between Sind, Bombay, and Kândahár. The financial necessities of the Kalât rulers have

introduced a base coinage into circulation at the capital—an expedient fatal to the trade and prosperity of the country. The same evil existed at Kândahár when I was there, originating, I was told, with the late Shír Dil Khân, but Fúr Dil Khân was wisely taking measures to remedy it.

Mehráb Khân is a little beyond forty years of age. Boasting an ancestry which has given twenty-two or twenty-three khâns to Kalât and the Brá-húís, he is so illiterate that he can neither read nor write; and it seems his father, Máhmúd Khân, was no better accomplished. Politically severe, distrustful, and incapable, he is not esteemed personally cruel or tyrannical; hence, although he cannot be respected by his subjects, he is not thoroughly detested by them; and in lieu of deprecating his vices they rather lament that he has not more virtues and energy. Neither is he harsh or exacting upon the merchant, whether foreign or domestic. He has four wives, and a son, named Máhoméd Hassan—now a child. He has an only brother, Adam Khân, generally styled Mír Azem Khân, a young man entrusted with delegated command, but exceedingly prone to dissipation. The khân retains as prisoners, or nazzar bands, Sháh Nawâz Khân and Fatí Khân, sons of the late Ahmed Yár Khân, whom he judged necessary to put to death at the commencement of his reign, or a little after, but not until he had fomented four rebellions, and had been thrice forgiven. These youths are under easy restraint, and the khân

takes one of them with him on his journeys, while the other remains at Kalát, in charge of the Dárogah Gúl Máhomed. The khân, moreover, seats them on his right hand in the darbár, his own son, Máhomed Hassan, being placed on his left. He has also provided them with wives, or at least the elder, Shâh Nawâz Khân, who has married a daughter of a Khadjak chief. These two young men are the only remaining descendants of Mohábat Khân, the elder brother of Nassír Khân; on which account, while treated kindly, they are vigilantly guarded. The Ghiljí minister, Dáoud Máhomed Khân, wished to have involved them in the same destruction with their father, Ahmed Yár Khân, and to have thereby exterminated the line, but Mehráb Khân would not consent.

CHAPTER VI.

Departure from Kalât.—Takht Bádshâh.—Múlla Izzat.—Rodinjoh.—Gandarghen.—Rudeness of camel-drivers.—Sohráb.—The Khân's uncle.—Burial-places.—Anjíra.—Bopoh.—Sources of the Múllôh river.—Singular stratification.—Goram Bawât.—Shakargaz, or sweet tamarisk.—Péshtar Khân.—Lichens.—Do Dandân.—Janghí Kúshta.—Pír Lákka.—Ghuznaví Hâjí.—Kíl.—No Lang.—River fords.—Ancient fort.—The Múllôh river.—Pír Chátta.—The Múllôh pass.—Security.—Risk from swollen torrents.—Inhabitants.—Produce.—Considered in military point of view.—Extent.—Jell.—Arrival of Kâlikdád.—Kândahár kâfila.—Duties.—Collectors.—Amount.—Frauds of the merchants.—Entertainment.—Polite request.—Town of Jell.—Groves.—Tombs.—Soil and produce.—The Magghassís.—Divisions.—Feud with the Rinds.—Ahmed Khân—his character.—Dissipation.—Jet cultivators.—Túnía.—Sannatar.—Hobáras.—Kâh Shútar.—Sulphurous spring.—Kichí.—Shádía.—Pat.—Apprehensions.—Rinds.—Their excursions.—Composure regained.—Obelisks.—Machúlik.—Déra Ghaibí.—Walí Máhoméd.—The Chándí tribe.—Services to the Tâlpúris.—Hâjí Bijár.—Unreasonable expectations.—Parsimony of the Tâlpúris.—Poverty of the Chándís.—Walí Máhoméd's victories.—His aid implored by Ahmed Khân.—His hostility to the Rinds.—Reprimanded by the Nawâb vazír.—Canal.—Absence of Walí Máhoméd.

THE kâfila being ready to start, Kâlikdád accompanied me to it, a little without the town. He recommended me generally to the good offices of the camel-drivers, and particularly to the attentions of Yákút, a confidential negro khânazâda, who

was sent in charge of the merchandize. This consisted entirely of madder and raisins. A seat on a camel had been prepared for me, so that I might sit or repose, as I found convenient. The merchandize was the property of Kâlikdád and his partners; and the camels were hired ones. Besides their drivers we had no other company. We proceeded this evening to Takht Bâdshâh, a small open spot, amphitheatrically surrounded by hills. On many of the near eminences were conical monuments of stones, possibly sepulchral, as they seemed too laboured to be supposed piles erected by shepherds to occupy and beguile their idle hours. Water was procured from a spring at Koh Chákar, about three furlongs distant, which is not good, being impregnated with some mineral substance. Immediately on our west we had Koh Zoar. Takht Bâdshâh implies the king's throne: I could not learn on what account; whether there is any tradition referring to it, or whether any ceremony is performed there on the inauguration of the khâns of Kalât.

We thence proceeded to Rodinjoh, belonging to the sons of Múlla Izzat, a man in his lifetime of some notoriety. He was wont to walk naked about Kalât; and what in some countries would have been deemed a proof of insanity, was here judged undeniable evidence of sanctity and wisdom. From what I was told of his experiments in gold-making, and of his Súfí principles, I apprehend he was

merely a successful impostor. The village of Rodinjoh was given in grant to him, and he built a house and formed a garden; both are now in ruins, and his sons are not distinguishable from the zamíndárs, or cultivators of the village, in appearance or manners.

We next marched to Gandarghen, said to be seven cosses from Rodinjoh, beyond which the plain widens. The road skirting the dry bed of a rúd-khâna, passes Damb, so called from a large mound, and Súrma Sing. About a coss beyond we halted on the bank of the rúd-khâna, in whose bed there is water, but of bad quality. In this march the conductor of my camel drew his sword on me, which I parried with my stick. Kâlikdád, I found, the better to give me a claim on the respect and civility of the camel drivers, had represented me as a Hâji. I did not take the trouble to undeceive them, for I was so unwell that I was indifferent to good or bad treatment. On reaching the halting-place I remarked to my quondam assailant as he assisted me to dismount, that he was a Rústam of a fellow, and he seemed ashamed. Afterwards, although I had to complain of his comrades, I had no reason but to be satisfied with himself. When I spoke to Yákút, Kâlikdád's man, I found he was afraid, for he was one among many.

Our next march was to Sohráb; and we halted at the village of Nigghár, towards the south-eastern

extremity of the plain. To our west were the villages of Dan and Rodaní. The prospect the plain affords, when clothed with its crops, is very agreeable, the several little villages, or hamlets, having their contiguous gardens, while the contrast of the green or ripe wheat with the intense hues of the lucern plots, is striking. In the plain are several dams, or ancient artificial mounds: some extensive ones occur east of Nigghár. The summits of these are crowned with stone parapets, which, although substantial, are modern, and may have been raised as sangars, or breastworks. Here we had to pay a transit-fee of one sennár, or the sixth of a rupee, on each camel-load of goods to Khaira, the máma, or uncle of the khân. He did not take money, averring it would be of no use to him, but received its value in cloth.

The plain ascends a little from Sohráb, and turning a point of the hills on our left, we followed a more easterly course. The road became stony, and was frequently crossed by the dry beds of torrents. At some distance from Sohráb were several graves, or what seemed as such; they might not have been worthy of attention had not their length been from east to west, instead of from north to south, as Máhomedan graves are prescribed to be disposed. The curve, moreover, which in a Máhomedan structure, and on the western side, would denote the kabla, was here found on the eastern side.

Passing amid arid undulating rises, and tracing for some distance the bed of the rúd-khâna, where we occasionally found water in cavities, with many oleander bushes, now laden with their long and dark-coloured seed-vessels, we reached Anjîra, halting on the bank of a small rivulet.

The following day, in progress to Bopoh, we followed the course of the rivulet on which we had halted, our direction north-east. A little before reaching Bopoh the rivulet disappeared, winding to the right. On entering a small plain, the small village of Bopoh was to our left, with a few trees at the foot of the hills. In front, about three miles distant, on the same level, we saw the larger village of Gazân, the hills behind which concealed from our view the villages of the superior plain of Zehrî, on which Bopoh and Gazân are dependent. Ghat, the principal village, and abode of Rashîd Khân, sirdâr of Jhâlawân, was said to be four or five cosses distant. About half a mile from Bopoh we rounded a hill, remarkable for its echo. We then halted, and had to bring our water from some distance from a rivulet which ran into the Múlloh river. This inconvenience arose from our people having selected an injudicious place for halting in.

In the succeeding march we came upon several springs on our right hand, the water gushing copiously from the rock. These may be, perhaps, considered the true sources of the Múlloh river, as they never fail, and from them the stream is always a

continued one. Other rivulets, as those of Sohráb and Anjira, lead into it, but they are only partially supplied with water. Beyond these first springs others occurred on our left hand, of more or less volume, increasing the original current. The dara, or valley, we traversed, was more properly a defile, formed by the bed of the stream, and enclosing rocks. Occasionally it opened out, and we afterwards found that the entire route through the hills was of the same nature. The rocks this day were singular, from their stratification, having a mural formation, and the appearance, conferred by their regular lines of dislocation, of being composed of masonry and brickwork. At one spot was a most curious instance of the rock exhibiting a succession of rimmed cylinders, decreasing in size from the lower, or inferior one.

As the dara opened we had a wider bed for the stream, which separated into two or more channels. Its borders were overspread with tall grass, in clumps, bearing large tufts of white silky flowers. The plants panír-band and hîshwarg were abundant. The next stage was to Goram-bawât. The dara was less confined, and we marched less interrupted by the course of the stream. Towards the close of our journey we passed an open space of some extent, where was a damb of large size, and on an adjacent eminence a conical pyramid of stones. Here was a solitary mud house, and some cultivated land. On our road we had been delighted by the

notes of the búlbúl, the oriental nightingale, and we observed two or three species of trees, indicating our approach to a warmer climate. The oleander was plentiful, and hence continued so. Here was the variety of tamarisk producing the saccharine gum called shakar gaz. This nearly resembles the common variety, except that its flowers are white, in lieu of being red, and its verdure more vivid, although of a paler green. From this tree is also procured quantities of small galls, called sákor. Their properties are astringent, and they are used as mordants in dyeing. It is said, that the sweet gum and the galls are alternately produced.

We had in the next march to cross the stream repeatedly, which implies that the dara was contracted, and compelled us to trace the river bed. At Péshtar Khân, an extensive open spot, there were numerous ghidâns, or matted abodes of the Bráhuís; also some cultivated lands. Wheat, rice, and múng are grown here. The flocks of sheep and goats were numerous. The karíl, or caper-tree, was seen here, with mimosas and bér-trees.

There was a very large burial-place at this spot, too considerable, I fear, to be attributed to the residence of a few Bráhuís, and rather marking the consequences of the sanguinary propensities of man. In the crevices of the rocks abounded a variety of lichen, called mármút. It is used medicinally by the Bráhuís, in diseases of languor

and oppression of the *vis vitæ*. The plant, replete with juice, and extremely bitter and nauseous, is dried, and a quantity of the powder swallowed, after which water is directed to be drank. The same, or an analogous plant, abounds in the Khair-bar hills, and is carried to Pesháwer, where it is largely used as an article of food by Hindús. I found the Bráhuí name for the bér, or jujuba zizyphus, was pissí, the designation of one of our previous halting places, although I did not there observe the tree.

Our next march brought us to Do Dandân, or the two teeth, a term derived from the two peaks of a neighbouring hill. On our road we passed some spots in which the cotton-plant was cultivated. At Do Dandân were many Bráhuí residents.

Next day we moved on to Janghí Kúshta, or the place where a famous robber, named Janghí, is said to have been slain. About a mile before reaching our destination we passed the zíárat of Par Lákhí, in the neighbourhood of which were many inhabitants, if we may infer from the numerous flocks which everywhere grazed upon the hills. The zíárat stands on an elevated site, and adjacent to it is an ample burial-place. The building is embosomed in a grove of bér-trees, and is further graced by the presence of a few date-trees. It is square, with many niches on its respective sides, and is crowned with a cupola. The

whole is covered with cement, and the spot altogether is sufficiently picturesque. I may here observe, that we had been joined by another of Kâlikdád's confidential khânazádas from Kalât, bringing under his charge a real Hâjí, but old, and perfectly deaf, from Ghazní, who intended to proceed to Mecca, which he had previously several times visited. At Kalât he had been the guest of the Dárogah Gúl Máhoméd, who made him over to the charge of Kâlikdád. The old Hâjí had a most sonorous voice, and sang the songs of Háfíz, and others, with resounding effect. He was literate; and I found a companion at tea-time, for the old gentleman believed that tea cleared and improved his voice.

Our intercourse was singular, as he could not hear; but I found in a short time that we could very well understand each other, and that he could comprehend my signs and gestures. My Bráhuí companions still believed me a Hâjí, but could not divine from what country I came. I also was daily improving in health; and becoming stronger, was better able to keep them in order. We then marched to Kíl, where the valley was considerably more spacious than we had hitherto found it. About a mile before it we passed the village of Attárchí, which had many trees and much cultivated land.

From Kíl the dara continued open, and we again passed much land cultivated with the cot-

ton-plant and júár; also beyond it, on a stony barren expanse, large burial-grounds. Our direction was constantly north, and throughout our journey the valley was more or less peopled. We halted at Noh Lang, or the nine fords. Next day our route commenced through a narrow defile, where the channel of the river being confined, it was somewhat impetuous and troublesome, but not deep. It was crossed nine times—whence the name applied to the place we started from. As we proceeded we entered upon a more open country, and our road led for some time over a bed of pure sand. A little before passing the last lang, or fôrd, we had to our right a small hill, called Koh Towár, whence stones are procured, employed in the baking of bread. On our left at this spot was a decomposed hill, universally of a green colour. We had here a view of the great plain of Kachí, which we hailed with pleasure, as our passage along the course of the Múlloh had been sufficiently tedious. We again passed a large burial-ground, the graves enclosed in low stone walls, and their surfaces neatly arranged with pebbles. On our left also were the remains of an old fort, the walls of which were extensive, although rudely constructed of stones. This was probably erected by some vigorous government for the protection of the route, and, as probably, it has also afforded shelter to brigands, who have in later times infested it. The Múl-

loh on our leaving it was perhaps fifty or sixty yards in breadth, but in no part deeper than the knees of our camels; nor had it been so during our progress. It hence flows northerly to Gandává, and I understand is spent in the irrigation of the lands in that vicinity. At certain seasons its stream may, possibly, find its way to the Nári. We halted immediately after crossing the ninth lang. About a mile north of us was a conspicuous gúmbaz, or domed building, the zíárat of Pír Chátta, which is the usual halting-place for parties crossing the high range of Tirkárí, between Kalât and Kachí.

The Múlloh route, if there existed any important commercial communication, which there does not, between Kalât and the countries to the east, would be one of much value. It is not only easy and safe, but may be travelled at all seasons, and is the only camel-route through the hills intermediate between Sahárawân and Jhálawân, and Kachí, from the latitude of Sháll, where the line of intercourse is by the route of the Bolan river, to Khozdár, from which a road leads into middle Sind. It will have been ascertained from my narrative, that danger from predatory bands is not even apprehended; and this is always the case, unless the tribes are at war with each other, or disaffected towards the khân of Kalât. The petty rivulets, affluents to the Múlloh, as well as the primary stream, are liable to be swollen by rains; and instances of kâfilas having suffered loss

from the sudden increase of the water are cited ; although it may be presumed they are rare ; nor is it easy to imagine how such accidents could occur, excepting in some few spots. The inhabitants, as rude and simple as they are secluded, appeared very docile ; and in exchange for coarse cotton fabrics, or karpâs, turmeric, &c., supply kâfilas or passengers with sheep, fowls, roghan, curds, and rice. The last is grown in comparatively large quantities, as is múng, and it has been seen, that besides the common grain, as júár, the cotton-plant is also an object of attention. In a military point of view, the route, presenting a succession of open spaces, connected by narrow passages, or defiles, is very defensible ; at the same time affording convenient spots for encampment, abundance of excellent water, fuel, and more or less forage. It is level throughout the road, either tracing the bed of the stream, or leading near to its left bank. Our marches were always short ones, not averaging above eight miles each. From Bopoh to Sún we made eight, which would give sixty-four miles for the length of the passage.

The following day we reached Jell, and halted in a grove of mimosas south of it, having passed on the road the village of Sirângarí. After three or four days' halt there, Kâlikdád joined us from Kalât, bringing with him Abbás, a young man of that place. We farther awaited the arrival of a kâfila from Kândahár, which, previously to the departure

of Kâlikdád, had proceeded by the Múlloh route. It at length reached us, in charge of my old friend Gúl Máhomed. Accompanying it were two or three Kândahâr merchants, and Attá Máhomed, the son of a wealthy merchant residing in Shoráwak, to avoid the rapacity of the Kândahâr sirdárs. Besides these were a few hâjís, and other itinerants. Kâlikdád tasked the camel-drivers for their rude behaviour to me on the road, but the error had been chiefly his own, in having announced me as a hâjí. Now that we better understood each other, they were perfectly civil, and I had only to intimate a wish to have it gratified. Their assent would often bring forth the whimsical assertion that they would oblige me, even if they cuckolded the khân and the kází.

At Jell a transit-fee of one sennár, or the sixth of a rupee, on each load of merchandize, is collected by Ahmed Khân, Sirdár of the Magghassís, who resides here. Its levy brought the sirdár's brother to the kâfila. He was an acquaintance of Kâlikdád, who therefore, besides the amount of duty, made him presents of raisins and worsted socks. This man never appeared altogether sober; otherwise he was free and courteous. Here is also stationed an officer of the khân of Kalât, to collect duties from such kâfilas that have not already paid them at Kalât, and who may not be provided with a pat, or voucher. The khân of Kalât levies three rupees, Kerim-khâní, on every load of merchandize leaving

his states, but it is indifferent whether the amount be collected at the capital or at the frontiers. The officer at Jell is certain of his individual fee, whether a pat is forthcoming or not—for no kâfila leaves Kalât without having evaded the duties in some mode. Kâlikdád, who would be esteemed a fair-dealing man, and who pretended to be a very loyal subject, had smuggled away several loads of raisins, besides ingeniously packing three loads upon two camels, and other expedients. At length, all the little arrangements of the kâfila being concluded, the brother of Ahmed Khân gave Kâlikdád a farewell mimâní, or entertainment, and he sent to know what I was accustomed to eat, and was somewhat surprised to hear that I ate what he did himself. This feast brought him, for the last time, to the kâfila, but exhilarated as usual. Some trifling presents were again made to him. On this occasion Kâlikdád called me aside, and promising a hope that I would not feel offended, told me that the khân's brother coveted the worsted socks I had on my feet. I asked if he would not be ashamed to wear old socks? "Oh! no," said Kâlikdád. Then let him have them, I rejoined, and gave them to him.

Jell is the principal town of the Magghassís, and the residence of their sirdár, Ahmed Khân. It is small, comprising within the walls about three hundred houses. Without may be one hundred hutted residences. There is an indifferent bazar. The

walls are mud, of some fifteen feet in height, and crenated, with towers at intervals in their faces. Much of the walls, and also some of the towers, have crumbled away, and have not been repaired. There are three gates, if the entrances may be so called, one to the east and two to the south. There are many groves near the town, chiefly mimosa, and on the east is an extensive burial-ground, among which, distinguished by their cupolas, the mausoleums of Kaiser Khân, and Jaffar Khân, former sirdars of the Magghassís, are conspicuous. There is no garden. Cultivation in the neighbourhood is extensive, principally of júár and the cotton-plant. The country occupied by the Magghassís is abundantly supplied with water. I believe above thirty canals of irrigation are reckoned, supplied by the springs in the neighbouring hills ; some of them large. The soil is fertile, and capable of producing sugar, or any other superior growth of warm climates ; yet, apathetic, and fettered by old custom, the agriculturalist here attempts nothing beyond júár. The Magghassís are one of the Baloch tribes, who have been located for a long time in Kachí, where they occupy the corner in the south-west quarter of the province. They are divided into four principal families or clans, of which the Bútâní is the more illustrious, and furnishes the sirdár of the whole. Their chief towns are Jell and Shádía.

They boast of being able to muster two thousand fighting men, and are engaged in endless hostility

with their neighbours, the Rinds. An inextinguishable blood-feud exists between the two tribes. At present, notwithstanding the superior numbers of the Rinds, fortune is entirely on the side of the Magghassís. They have gained signal victories, with a loss so trifling as to be nearly incredible; but a day or two before I wrote this note, a conflict took place on the Shikárpúr Pat, and the Rinds were, as usual, defeated. Ahmed Khân, their sirdár, is a young man, and his successes in the field have made him rather elated. He is too fond of the pleasures of wine; and perpetual intoxication, combined with vulgarity and coarse manners, prevents him from being considered amiable: yet he has a reckless kind of frankness and generosity, and if great sense cannot be conceded to him, his personal valour is undisputed. The Magghassís, and, indeed, their enemies the Rinds also, are a dissolute race; all who cannot afford the wretched ardent spirits of the country, stupify themselves with infusions of bang, or with opium. The zamíndárs, or cultivators of the soil, here, as throughout Kachí, are Jets. These people seldom move abroad but on bullocks, and never unless armed. A laughable tendency is excited by the sight of a Jet half naked—for shirts or upper garments are generally dispensed with—seated on a lean bullock, and formidably armed with match-lock, sword, and shield.

From Jell we marched to Sannatar; the com-

puted distance, eight cosses. About a mile from Jell the village of Ajâm was under the hills to our right. We crossed numerous canals of irrigation in our road. The cultivation in the vicinity of Jell was succeeded by an open barren space, after which some close jangal occurred. At two cosses from Jell the bazar village of Túnía, composed chiefly of huts, was on our right; it had a tomb, surmounted with a cupola. Jangal continued, more or less, until we reached Sannatar, on the bank of a water-course; in which there is always a small stream. We here saw large numbers of hobáras, or bustards, with speckled bodies and black bellies. Their meat was said to be excellent.

On starting from Sannatar the jangal was slight for some distance, and then became more close. Finally, the country was covered with a juicy but bitter plant, called here kâh shútar, but improperly, as it has no thorns, and can hardly be said to have leaves: it is, however, eagerly eaten by camels. About mid-way was a small chishma, or brook, supplied from a hot spring in the adjacent hills, called the spring of Lákha; it had a strong sulphureous taste. It is held in repute for alleviating disorders of the intestines, but its composition would more obviously indicate its efficacy in cutaneous affections. Inapplicable as a beverage, at least, to persons in health, it is made available to the irrigation of the neighbouring lands;

and cultivation again commenced at this point. Many huts were scattered on either side, as we followed on the road, particularly on our right, and numerous canals of irrigation intersected our course. At length, passing on our right the village of Kichí, we halted about half a milè beyond it. In front was a long line of large bér and mimosa trees. The town of Shádía, represented as surrounded by walls, and having two gates, with a bazar nearly as large as that of Jell, was visible about four miles distant, bearing north-east.

Next day, clearing the grove of bérs and mimosas before noted, we traversed occasionally much stony ground, broken by ravines and the beds of hill-torrents. We were now crossing the western extremity of the level desert track, known as the Shikárpúr Pat, and of notoriety for the numberless depredations and murders committed on it by the predatory bands of Baloches. Our kâfila moved under some apprehension, as it was known that the exiled Rinds on the frontiers of Sind had collected a large body of horse for a foray in Kachí; but its destination was kept a secret. The latter part of our march led under low eminences beneath the superior range; and on one of these was the tomb of Hâjí Marri. Our situation here was pleasant; but during the day the minds of our party were ill at ease, it being a spot likely to be visited by the Rinds, in case they moved in this direction. The Pat being destitute of water and forage, the

predatory bands in their excursions are compelled to make sudden dashes at the usual places where kâfilas halt, and not finding them, they as precipitately shift their quarters. In like manner, in their inroads into Kachí, they move swiftly on the place selected for plunder, and, successful or otherwise, retire with equal celerity. As evening drew near, my friend Kâlikdád, who throughout the day had sought many fâlls in his Háfíz, recovered his serenity of mind. He observed, that the danger was now past, the object of the Rinds in attacking kâfilas being to carry off the cattle, which they drive away when feeding in the jangal. Moreover, he felt secure, that if they arrived here on the morrow, it would not be until many hours after he had left the ground, as these robbers always march by day. Water was at some distance, from springs among the low hills to the west. About a mile to the north-east of our position was a large heap of stones, said to be the boundary-mark between the territories of Kalât and Sind; near it were two obelisks, said to be also limitary monuments. Deer abounded in these parts, and the wild ass is reported to be sometimes seen on the Pat. A plant, called machúlik, bearing yellow flowers, and having a succulent root, was common under the low jangal bushes. The same is found in the neighbourhood of Líya and Bakkar, west of the Indus, and the root employed as a horse-medicine.

Our next march led over a level naked surface until within three miles of the town of Déra Ghaibí, when commenced a vigorous cultivation of júár, to the east occasionally intermixed with patches of dense jangal. To the west the country was open to the foot of the inferior hills, distant perhaps three miles. The superior range was not nearer than eight to ten miles. Déra Ghaibí comprises a few mud houses, chiefly the dwellings of Hindús, and a large number of huts, and is the frontier town of Upper Sind, in this direction. Here resides Walí Máhoméd, the chief of the Chándí tribe of Baloches, who can raise, as is given out, twelve thousand men. The district, of which this town is the capital, is called Chándía, and is held in jághír by this leader and his followers. It is to this tribe that the present Tâlpúrí chiefs, or amírs of Sind, are principally indebted for the authority they now possess. Hâjí Bíjár, the father of the four brothers, Fatí Alí, Ghúlám Alí, Mír Kerim Alí, and Morád Alí, who first shook the power of the Kalorah rulers, after a pilgrimage to Mecca, repaired to Nassír Khân of Kalât, and strove to engage him in his designs of overthrowing the Kalorahs. The Baloch chieftain at first inclined favourably to Hâjí Bíjár's views, but on the offer by the Kalorah chief of a large sum of money for the delivery into his hands of the factious Hâjí, he was about sacrificing his honour to his profit. Hâjí Bíjár, informed thereof, fled to Ghaibí, father of the present Walí

Máhoméd, and then chief of the Chándí tribe. Ghaibí took up his cause, and by his assistance Hâjî Bîjâr became master of Sind, with the nominal title of Vazír, much in the same manner as Fatí Khân placed himself over the indolent Shâh Máhmúd in Afghânistân. The present chiefs of Sind have always shown a great mistrust of the Chándí tribe, and lose no occasion to weaken and to divide it. It is an old and true saying, that a fool kicks away the ladder by which he rises, and the Chándí chiefs, with unpardonable simplicity, expected from the prince in power the condescension shown by the fugitive Hâjî. During the early part of the Tâlpúr sway, when there was dread of the Afghâns, necessity dictated liberality, and the Chándí chiefs, as those of other tribes, were in receipt of large sums of money from the government. When the Sindí rulers ceased to fear from the Afghâns, owing to their intestine commotions, and from the Baloches, owing to the feeble sway of the successors of Nassír Khân, they discontinued their largesses. The Chándí resources were now limited to the scanty returns from a sterile tract on the north-western frontier, and their chief was embarrassed to meet his expenses. Latterly, however, the inundations of the Indus have increased westernly, or a greater portion of its waters have been directed into the canals and branches from it, from which Déra Ghaibí has derived benefit. Still, the chief is sorely dissatisfied, and would, possibly,

join any invader of Sind that might appear, excepting, perhaps, Ranjit Singh. Walí Máhomed is personally brave, and in the several military expeditions he has made has been uniformly successful. He has defeated the Magghassís of Jell, the father of whose present chief, Ahmed Khân, was slain in a battle with the Chándís; he has been victorious over the Marrís, whom he pursued into their hills; and over the Kaidránís, whom he signally discomfited in their own country. He is now hostile to the Rinds, and in alliance with the Magghassís. Ahmed Khân, their chief, when a youth, and some years ago, after a severe defeat by the former tribe, took horse and rode to the house of Walí Máhomed at Déra Ghaibí. He told him, that he came personally to absolve him from his father's blood, and to crave his assistance, that the tribe of Magghassís might not be exterminated. Walí Máhomed hastened with his troops, and checked the Rinds in their career of devastation. We afterwards learned, that the Rinds had made a dash at Shádía; that they had made some booty, and had killed three or four individuals. Walí Máhomed sent to Walí Máhomed Lígárí of Lár-khâna, who is called the Vazír of Sind, and has charge of the state interests on the northern frontier, for permission to march, as an ally of the Magghassís, and to intercept the Rinds on their return. The vazír withheld his sanction, and bestowed many opprobrious epithets on the Chándí

chief. He declared, that if he marched he should never set his foot again in Sind.

Near Déra Ghaibí is a branch, or rather canal from the Indus, which flows southernly to Júi, and falls into the Nárí, an arm of the great river, a little before its junction with lake Manchúr. Walí Máhomed is partial to Afghâns, and never exacts duty from their kâfilas, while rigidly enforcing it from Bráhuís and Hindús. He was not at Déra while we halted there, but Kâlikdád sent a due offering of raisins to his family. The chief is now aged, and is represented to be zálím, which may mean tyrannical or oppressive, or merely that he governs his tribe with a strong hand.

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CHAPTER VII.

Amil.—Panic of Hindús.—Got Ghai.—Ferídabád.—Wild melons.
 — Got Hússén. — Gúmbaz Borah. — Site of Vrij. — Zíárat Mír Nassír Máhoméd.—Tombs.—Evening solemnities.—Gâj rivulet.—Route to Khozdár.—Kâlikdád's sale.—Musical guide.
 —Júi.—Bahâwal Khân.—Jamâlí tribe.—Increase of water.—Penalties on Hindús.—Çinní.—Tombs and zíárats.—Low state of religion.—Shrine worship.—Búbak.—Repute of Trenní.
 — Dog stolen. — Baloch Got.—Villages near Séhwan.—Diwân Sangat's entertainment. — Old fort of Séhwan. — Mound. — Reliques. — Their purport.—Conjectures.—Modern buildings.—Lâll Shâh Bâz.—Illustrious pilgrims.—Establishments.—Revenues.—Rindistân.—Mírú Khân.—Recognition.—Venal collectors.—Inflexible Saiyad.—Fees.—Garm-âb.—Fossils.—Hot springs.—Their character.—Sulphur mines.—Rude remains.—Tanda Máhí.—Got Hindú.—Reappearance of Saiyad.
 — Fresh claims.—Malgarí.—Gohar Basta.—Pokar.—Cones—Wad Déra.—Kâlikdád's fraud.—Do Râh.—Tánah.—Búlfúts.—Namadís.—Kâfila arrangements.—Búlfút honesty.—Their country.—Remarkable Gohar Basta.—Its construction.—Lúmrís.—Dágghar-dí-Got.—Arrangements.—Ceremony.—Búlfút civility.—Hindú prayers.—Pérarú.—Búlfút indulgence.—Baloch family.—Opium-pills.—Hab river.—Suspicious people.—Credulous Baloches.—Inquiries and predictions.—Huts.—Súnmíání.—Búlfút choice and reward.

WE had now gained the borders of Sind, an orderly, and well-regulated country in comparison to that we had left; and we had no longer doubts

as to the safety of the road, or apprehensions from bands of Rinds, or other marauders. Our route led along the western frontier, where well-defined hill ranges confine the valley of the Indus. A little beyond Déra Gháibí were, on our right hand, several gumbazzes, or tombs with cupolas. About a mile before reaching Amil fields of júár commenced, and extended to the town. The road was continually divided by bands. Amil contains about one hundred and fifty houses, a few built of mud, the dwellings of the Hindús, and the remainder huts. It has a small bazar. Here resides a relative of Walí Máhoméd, who visited Kálikdád, and presented a sheep. We found the Hindús in great consternation, as an order had just arrived from Haidarabád to levy twelve hundred rupees from the town. They were preparing for nocturnal flight.

About a coss from Amil we passed, on our left, a small walled village, called Got Ghai, and about a mile beyond it two or three buildings, said to be a daramsâla, and Hindú zíarat. To the west, the plain, as usual, was clear to the hills. Extensive fields of júár preceded our arrival at Ferídabád. This is a small town, with a few mud houses, and many huts. The bazar is considered larger than that of Amil. The superior range of hills, distant four or five miles.

In our progress next day we passed several tombs with cupolas, on the right hand. Cultivation was general, and besides júár, some múng was seen. A

species of wild melon was abundant over the fertile soil. It is called mîhâl; attains the size of a turnip, and is used, dressed with ghee, or clarified butter, as a condiment, by the people. Several villages were observed to the east. Got Hússén Khân, where we halted, had a trifling bazar. In our route from Got Hússén Khân we passed the village of Búgh, with a bazar. Cultivation on the road was more or less general. A very fragrant plant was common on this march, which deliciously perfumed the night breeze. As it was dark I was unable to observe it. By daylight we beheld, to the east, in the distance, a large building with three cupolas, called Gúmbaz Borah. It is, in fact, an ancient masjít, and as we came parallel to it we observed around it ruins for a great extent. We were told it was the site of Vrij, a town often mentioned in the annals of Sind. It is represented as entirely deserted. A few múllas and fáquírs dwell at the masjít, where a nagára, or drum, is beaten morning and evening. At our halting-place was a large burial-ground, where many of the Kalorah family were interred, when Khodâbád, said to be twenty cosses to the east, was their capital. One of these, Mír Nassír Máhoméd, has become a saint with the Jet tribes; and his tomb is a place of pilgrimage to multitudes, who are taught to believe that their wishes are to be realized through the favour of the saint. His tomb is crowned with a cupola, and is enclosed

within square turreted walls, painted on the exterior with rude representations of flowers. A nagára is beaten here; and the revenue of the contiguous land is appropriated to the support of the edifice and of its little establishment. In the burial-ground are about twenty-five other cupolas, all of them fantastically decorated, and painted with coarse glaring colours. There are a vast number of graves, more or less conspicuous. To the south is a large pond of water, with high banks: the fluid is palatable, but muddy and offensive to the sight. It supplies three small agricultural hamlets contiguous. Within a mile east of the tombs is a considerable dam, or artificial mound, at whose base, near some remains of walls, is a zíárat, also of repute, and which has its nagára. In the evening the deep and solemn intonations of these rival nagáras, with those of the neighbouring Borah masjít, produced an impressive effect. One could have imagined he had been transported back to the old times of Buddhism.

The next day's march brought us to the southern bank of the Gâj, rúd khâna, or rivulet. Distance from Zíárat Mír Nassír Máhomed; said to be seven cosses. Our route led over a well-cultivated tract, without any fixed village on the line of road, but there were many discernible to the east. There were, nevertheless, numerous collections of Baloch huts. The course of the Gâj was visible some time before we reached it, its banks being fringed with

tall tamarisk-trees. We found a tolerable stream of water in its bed, which was esteemed an unusual occurrence. We crossed it and halted. Near us were a few huts of the Jamâlí tribe, who inhabit the country from the Gâj towards Séhwan; and a little lower down, on the stream, was a village called Bâbúr-dí-Gót. The bazar village of Tallí was distant about three miles east; and another, named Púljí, about four miles south-east. The point where the Gâj issues from the hills, marks also that where the road leads through them from this part of the country to Khozdár, and from our position bore due west. Here Kâlikdád made some sales of raisins to Hindús of the neighbouring villages, and gave one parcel to a man he had never seen before, taking in payment a draft, or order, on a brother Hindú at Júi. I asked him if he might not be deceived. He thought it unlikely.

Proceeded to Júi, distant, by computation, eight cosses from the bank of the Gâj. After clearing the cultivation near the stream, we crossed a level tract much intersected by bands and water-channels. We did not follow the actual path, as Kâlikdád had taken the precaution to hire a guide for this march. This fellow, on being told he was a bad guide, replied, that he was a good singer of songs; and in truth, apparently careless as to what route he led the kâfila, he never ceased singing from the outset of his journey until we arrived at Júi. The object in hiring this man, was to pass wide of some marshy

land, said to lie on the direct road. As we started at midnight, by daybreak we were in sight of Júí, the country to our east abounding in villages. In the vicinity of the town the surface of the soil was in many places covered with water. A few deep and broad trenches much incommoded the passage of the laden camels. Fields of júár extended eastward. To the west a slight jangal stretched to the superior hills, distant a good march, or eight to ten cosses. We halted under the walls of the town, which comprises about two hundred houses, with comparatively a flourishing bazar. Ordinary supplies are readily procurable. It is surrounded by a mud crenated, but dilapidated wall of fifteen feet in height. The only prominent building of the place was a new masjít, built by Bahawâl Khân, chief of the Jamâlí tribe, which, like the houses, is erected of no more costly material than mud. At the south-west angle are the remains of a small mound, of more solid structure, originally formed with kiln-burnt bricks. This town is the little capital of a small district, held in jághír by the Jamâlí tribe of Baloches, whose chief, Bahâwal Khân, resides near the hills, for the convenience of grâzing his flocks and herds, in which he is wealthy. This district commences northernly at the Gâj rivulet, and southernly it extends about three cosses beyond Júí. West it is bounded by the high frontier hills, and east its limits reach to the Nárí branch of the Indus, where there is a thriving village,

called Bahâwalpúr, seated on its banks. The Jamâlí boast of being able to raise seven hundred fighting-men. They have the singular custom of never selling milk, averring they retain it for their guests. The Marrís, another Baloch tribe, for the same alleged reason, will on no account sell roghan. The Lár-kâna canal, or branch of the Indus, was said to be distant about a coss to the east of Júi, and supplies the bazar with fish. The main stream,—by which I hardly know whether the Nárí or the Indus itself was meant,—was affirmed to be eight cosses distant. It would appear, that during late years a far greater supply of water enters the canal than formerly, and even causes it, like the parent stream, to inundate. Júi heretofore experienced distress from having no water immediately near; now, its numerous canals are overflowing.

Kâlikdád made sales here of madder and raisins. The order given by the Hindú at the Gâj river proved worthless on presentation. I was inclined to joke with my friend on his simplicity, but he was not willing to allow that I had reason. There was no Hindú, he said, in Sind, who would venture so egregiously to defraud a Mússulmân, for the penalty would involve the forfeiture of his property to ten times the amount of the fraud, and his being forcibly made a Máhomedan. This penal regulation seemed ingeniously framed to protect the Mússulmân against the sharper witted Hindú, as well as to increase the number of proselytes to Islâm. Kâlik-

dád, however, was right in his estimation, for the Hindú came toiling to Júi with the money. He declared he knew that the order was useless, but feared that had he not given it the raisins might have been refused to him.

From Júi, four computed courses led us to Chinní, a town adjacent to the low hills, dependent on the superior range. Many of the eminences were crowned with gúmbazzes, or tombs, marked by cupolas. Some of them were handsomely carved, and their material was yellow stone. Sind is a great country for tombs and zíárats. The abundance of the latter, if a proof of the state of civilization in a country, is a certain one of the credulity of the inhabitants. It is also evidence, although it may seem, at first view, a paradoxical assertion, of the low state of religion, for the people, who are prone to pay homage to zíárats, will not be found frequenters of the ordinary places of worship. Thus, in Sind the masjít are neglected, while the zíárats, or shrines, are flourishing. The natives, calling themselves Máhomedans, have abandoned essentially the religion of Islám, and have become votaries to a new worship, that of shrines. Among the Baloch tribes of the hills this is wholly the case; indeed a masjít is rarely or ever to be seen among them: There is much cultivation around Chinní, and a good deal of pasture. Its bazar has about sixty shops.

The road from Chinní led pleasantly along a fine

tract of pasture, (low hills, or eminences, to our right, and a plain stretching eastward to the Nárí, and lake Manchúr,) to Trenní, a small village with its complement of gúmbazzes. Búbak, on the borders of the lake, was a conspicuous object from this place, either that its houses were elevated, or that it was seated on a mound. Its climate is vaunted, and both Trenní and Chinní were much favoured in this respect, and also in their situation and grass-land. Búbak is said to contain nearly a thousand houses. Contiguous thereto were the villages of Rází and Bárâní. Séhwan was pointed out east. Trenní has a singular and ignoble repute, that of dog-stealing. The dogs of kâfilas, it is said, are sure to disappear at Trenní. Kâlikdád had picked up on the road a very large dog, that had become habituated, and had travelled with us for some days. He had always expressed his fear that he should lose him at Trenní. We took all precautions, doubled our watch, but in the morning there was no dog.

Our route from Trenní led through slight jangal, and its latter part was through sand to Baloch Gót, a small village on rising ground, with three or four shops. Here it is customary for kâfilas to halt, until the duties payable at the town of Séhwan are adjusted. A miserable fellow, called Músa, a Rind, came from the village, and stationed himself with the kâfila. His task was to watch that no loads were clandestinely forwarded or secreted.

Kâlikdád repairing to Séhwan, I accompanied him, being desirous to see the remains of the ancient fort there. Our route from Baloch Got was through a well-cultivated country, villages occurring at short intervals. These had always a better and ancient appearance, from being chiefly built of kiln-burnt bricks, and from having one or more upper stories. They were generally raised on capacious mounds. Towards Séhwan large mimosa-trees are abundant, and the road was pleasant, passing through a grove. Low sand-hills occur just before reaching the town, and the soil becomes affected by them. We traversed the bazar, and took up quarters at a fáquí's takía, overlooking the Aral branch of the Indus, and immediately under the ancient fort. Séhwan was computed at six cosses from Baloch Got. Kâlikdád noted his arrival to the officers of Diwân Sangat, the farmer of the revenues, and they came to ascertain the number of individuals in company, that provision for their fare might be furnished, as is the custom with the Diwân. We received a due allowance of rice, flour, roghan, and sugar. In conformity to the routine of business here, a Saiyad and a Hindú, the one to check the fidelity of the other, were appointed to return with our party, and to ascertain if the particulars rendered by the merchants were correct.

I inspected the old fort, which I found constructed of kiln-burnt bricks around the sides of a huge oblong mound. It was much dilapidated, but the

entrances were still well marked. There was nothing, however, in its exterior appearance which would justify an opinion of its great antiquity. It might be one thousand years old, it might be five hundred. The mound is artificial, or rather chiefly artificial, for an eminence was originally here, as proved by the masses of rock on the northern face; and this has been made the nucleus of an immense collection of earth. The mound may, or may not have been formed considerably prior to the walls, which face its exterior sides, and contain it. The chance is that it had a prior existence. From the gates, cut through the mound, were streets, which, although much choked up, and converted by the action of centuries into water-courses, retain the signs of their former destination in the masses of brickwork, and similar indications, which yet in some parts adhere to the sides. Quantities of burnt grain, as wheat and gram, are discovered in some spots. On examination of these, I found they were intermixed with fragments of bone and of cocoa-nut shells, ample proofs that they denoted spots of cremation. This fact also explains why coins, trinkets, and other trifles should be met with so frequently, they being merely deposits with the dead, as far as coins are concerned, and the trinkets were attached to the corpse when consumed. I did not see any of the coins found, but understand that they are invariably Máhomedan, especially coins of the caliphs. This circumstance would go far to

prove that in their time the mound was a Hindú place of cremation. At the same time, it may not affect the antiquity of the walls, for it is as easy to suppose that the Hindús converted a neglected fortress into a receptacle for the ashes of their dead as it is to suppose the converse, or that the Máhomedans converted a Hindú cemetery into a citadel. In the latter case, however, and it is not impossible, the walls themselves have not an antiquity beyond that of the Caliphs. Like every other person who roams about these ruins, I found a relique, but an insignificant one, a copper ornament, which my companions pronounced an ear-ring.

There are the remains of buildings on the mound sufficient to point out that it has been occupied at a comparatively recent date ; and part of the outer wall of a tower above the western gateway, rising, indeed, above the level of the mound, exhibits interiorly a few niches, seeming to show that the apartment was an inhabited one. The town of Séhwan itself is seated on a mound or mounds, a little inferior in height only to that of the castle, and the base of these towards the east has been secured by being faced with masonry. At the present day, it is far less famed on account of its antiquity, or of its reputed founder, Seth, than as being honoured with the shrine of the illustrious Máhomedan saint, Lâll Shâh Bâz. Who he was is not decisively known ; whether, as the attendants at his shrine pretend, a saint of some

distant region, or, as some aver, a successful purloiner of his neighbours' cattle. However this may be, if he be even a fabulous saint, created on the wreck of a Hindú one, the repute of his shrine is well established, and Láll Shâh Bâz has become venerated with the emphatic title of the Pír of the Kohístân. The favours of the saint are, of course, granted in proportion to the value of the offerings of pilgrims; and it may be presumed that the treasury of his temple is rich. The amírs of Sind have testified their piety by many costly donations, and are wont, at times, to repair to Séhwan to implore the good offices of Láll Shâh Bâz. The profligate vazír, Fatí Khân, at some risk, clandestinely visited this shrine, and no doubt went away satisfied that he had left his sins behind him. The buildings attached are very numerous, and some of them sufficiently splendid; the principal is crowned with a large cupola. The establishment of attendant múllas and fáquírs is also ample, and food is distributed to indigent pilgrims and mendicants. Much ceremony is observed in the approach of pilgrims to the shrine, and the rolling murmurs of the nagára accompany the steps of the awe-stricken men. Amongst the wonders of the place are two tigers, enclosed in cages. Séhwan being one of the more eminent towns of Sind west of its river, is held by one of the amírs, and was now enjoyed by Mír Morád Alí. The revenues of the town are annually exposed to sale, and the

purchaser this year was the Díwân Sangat, who, in like manner, had acquired the revenues of Táтта. The district dependent on Séhwan extends to the lake Manchúr, and is very fertile in grain. Between Séhwan and Baloch Got the district is held in jághír by a branch of the Utan Zai, the principal Rind tribe, who have dwelt there for three generations, and have conferred on it the name of Rindistân. From this branch Mír Morád Alí has taken a wife, who is the mother of Mír Nassír Khân. In our journey to Séhwan we met on the road, returning from a visit to the zíárat of Láíl Sháh Bâz, Mírú Khân, the present young sirdár, or chief, of these Rinds. He was attended by some fifteen mounted followers, on horses and camels; two or three of them carried hawks. He was corpulent, and appeared thoughtless; and his reputation for sense I found accorded with the mediocrity of his appearance.

The saiyad, and his colleague the Hindú, being ready to start, we returned with them to Baloch Got by the same road we had come to Séhwan. On passing through the bazar of the town I was recognized as a Feringhí by several people, but the recognition was immaterial.

A day was passed at Baloch Got in satisfying the cravings of the saiyad, the Hindú, and of Músa the Rind. The Hindú was most easily contented, and went his way; Músa made more difficulty, but suffered his conscience to be soothed. The

saiyad, however, remained, and it was difficult to divine the extent of his expectations. It is fair to observe that, if the inferior officers in Sind are venal, and the collections of duty are vexatiously made, the merchants of kâfilas lay themselves open to annoyance and exaction. They invariably exercise their ingenuity to defraud the revenue, and therefore place themselves at the mercy of the collectors. Our saiyad, a remarkably sedate opium-eating gentleman, exhibited the most inflexible composure; and he had completely the advantage over his victims, for they could not march until he uttered the word "mokal," or "permission to depart." It was clear that he was quite indifferent as to the length of time he might detain the kâfila, as he must be well entertained so long as it stayed. He made no demands; but on Kâlikdád and the others tendering him what they judged due, he received it, and sat with the same imperturbable gravity as before, evincing no inclination to move; from which it was inferred he was not satisfied. This farce was carried on during the day; and it was evening when, having received from Kâlikdád twelve rupees and a quantity of raisins and jîra (carraways), and sixteen rupees from Attá Máhomed and the Kândahár kâfila, he pronounced the word so desired, "mokal," and took his leave.

We then marched to Garm-âb, distant from Baloch Got four cosses. The jangal was considerable,

and some marshy ground impeded our progress. Beyond, a dry open country again presented itself. We passed a circular enclosure of masonry, clearly, from its style and neatness, a remnant of other days. At length we crossed the brook Garm-âb, flowing through a grove of mimosas, and halted immediately beyond it. I proceeded to its sources, about three hundred yards from our position. They issue from the foot of a low rock, made up of fossilized shells. A deep basin is formed, shaded by small bushes and plants; the water delightfully lucid, glides easterly for about two hundred and fifty yards, when it expands into a small pond, thence anew flowing easterly, it descends upon the plain, providing for the irrigation of the neighbouring lands. I bathed about eighty yards from the sources, and was surprised at the warmth of the water, as well as much gratified with immersion. The water is drunk, and has no perceptible taste. Numerous little fishes play in its transparent stream. There are many springs in these countries whose waters, warm in the morning, become cold during the day; but this of Garm-âb is really a hot spring, preserving its temperature at all times and seasons. I was told that its temperature increased in winter, but it is possible it only then becomes more palpable from the lower state of the atmosphere. I have before noted the sulphureous spring of Lákha, some twenty miles south of Jell; there is another a little below Séhwan, on the hills west of the

Indus, and again other very hot springs near Káráchí. These several springs are found in the same line of hills, and those the inferior ones at the base of the superior range dividing Sind and Kachí from Balochistân. They extend from the Bolan pass to the ocean. The springs are found also under the same condition, or accompanied with fossilized shells, as if on their original creation, the fossilized mass had been gurgled up from beneath the surface, through the vents afforded to them, and had been subsequently condensed. These springs may afford data for an opinion as to the epoch when these hills were called into existence, which again must have been after the deposit of the shells. Under the same hills north of Jell, and west of Súrân and Sanní, are sulphur mines, showing that the same character of formation distinguishes them throughout their course. Immediately north of the spring, and of the isolated hill from whose base it gushes forth, is an artificial mound, strewn with fragments of pottery, as was the surface of the soil around. That this spot was anciently an object of adoration, when natural phenomena were deemed worthy of veneration, may be believed: at present we have its grove and its charmed circle, but we miss the temple. We were now about to enter a region replete with rustic, yet sometimes massy monuments of the former superstitions of a barbarous people. They bear a great analogy to the ponderous Celtic vestiges of ancient Europe, and,

like them, were constructed in the same primitive state of society. It is not impossible that they owe their origin even to the same races and superstitions. The name given to the spring of Garm-âb is expressive of its warmth. The plain below us to the east was spacious and well cultivated, and plentifully sprinkled with hamlets. A superior dwelling was pointed out as the Tanda Mâhí, the residence of a respectable chief.

The first part of our next journey traced the base of the low hills on our right. Afterwards we crossed a rúd-khâna, its bed wide, and furnished with a stream of water. It accompanied us on our right during the remainder of our course. Turning the base of a low hill, the waste was overspread with perpúk-trees, a few in blossom. In one or two places the soil was of a dark red colour, friable, and unctuous to the touch. Passing a burial-place on our right, in which were some prominent tombs of carved yellow stone, a little beyond it we halted at the remains of an old building called Got Hindú. This was supposed by my companions to have been a fortress, its form being square, while circular towers described the angles. There were, however, peculiarities in the mode of architecture, which made me suspect it to be rather an ancient religious edifice. The walls were only two feet in height, and I inferred they had never been higher. Their breadth was about eight feet. The inner and exterior surfaces were arranged with much neatness.

The natives here call any old place, prior to their time or conception, Hindú. We were now in the country held by the Búlfút tribe of Lúmris, who extend in the direction of Karáchí until, parallel to Táтта, they are met by the Júkías, another Baloch tribe. Our water was procured from the rúd-khâna just noted. We had scarcely unladen our camels when, to the horror of Kâlikdád and his brother merchants, the inexorable saiyaḍ of Séhwan, with three attendants, on camels, made their appearance. Sad evasion had been practised. He affirmed, merchandize had been sold clandestinely on the road, and the kâfila must return to Séhwan. With much ado he was induced to dismount, and to consent to remain until the morning's meal—in preparation—was ready. This delay gave opportunity for debate, and Kâlikdád talked much of his respectability and honesty, which the wary saiyaḍ never affected to doubt. The same farce was enacted as at Séhwan; additional fees were given before the unwelcome guest would depart, and a fresh "mokal" was pronounced. I asked Kâlikdád if he had not exercised his ingenuity in evading duty. He owned he had, but the Kândahár merchants had overdone the matter.

Throughout the next march the road, always level, led through a jumble of low hills, interspersed with waste, speckled with low trees and shrubs. We crossed the bed of a rúd-khâna, and winding through a variety of small eminences, so exactly

conical that I hardly knew whether they were natural objects or artificial mounds, we halted at a spot called *Malgari*. Water was found in the bed of the *rúd-khâna*.

Our road, the following day, led generally along an open valley, low parallel hills on either side. Towards the end of our journey, we crossed the bed of a *rúdk-hâna*, with water in it. Beyond it we had on our right one of those ancient structures to which the natives apply the name of *Gohar Basta*. It was oblong; and by the disposition of its walls, which in structure resembled those of the building at *Gót Hindú*, described four apartments, which faced the east. This antique vestige was distinguished by the presence of some fine *dédárs*, the first we had met with, although they abounded in the following marches. We halted at a spot called *Pokar*, which was clear and open. Fragments of pottery strewed about the surface here, proved that anciently it was honoured by the presence of man. Now it is a solitude. There were, also, a series of conical heaps of stones, of large dimensions, and worthy of remark, as being situated on the plain. Heretofore we had noticed isolated ones, but seated on eminences. The summit of a hill to the south-west was crowned with so many of these cones that they gave it the appearance of being turreted. I was left to conjecture whether they were recent tombs or more ancient monuments. That they were the latter, their oc-

currence in such a spot, marked by its gohar basta, and other evidences, might tend to substantiate. The hills in the neighbourhood yield a red powder, which the natives are willing to believe sindúr, or the red oxide of lead. Water was procured from a rúd-khâna.

We thence traversed a fine level plain, neglected, indeed, but with good soil, and free from stones. On gaining a low detached hill, we skirted its base, having to our left a rúd-khâna. This we crossed, and halted immediately on its bank. About half a mile east of our ground was a small village, called Wad Déra, where resided Mír Khân, a Búlfút chief, who collects a transit-fee of a quarter rupee on each camel-load of merchandize. I followed the path, which led among the jangal to the village, and was recognized by the Hindús, of whom there are some, to be a Feringhí. The men of the kâfila inquired for honey here. Mír Khân paid Kâlikdád a visit, and brought him a fine dúmba, or fat-tailed sheep. The merchant, nevertheless, did not scruple to deceive him most egregiously in the amount of duty paid.

From Wad Déra our march was over a fine level surface, slightly wooded with bér-trees, and those called kúber, pélú, ghwángghí, &c., with the plant híshwirg. A variety of mimosa predominated. The tittar, or partridge, was plentiful. This march, called of eight cosses, I suspect was nearer twelve, for it was one of the longest we

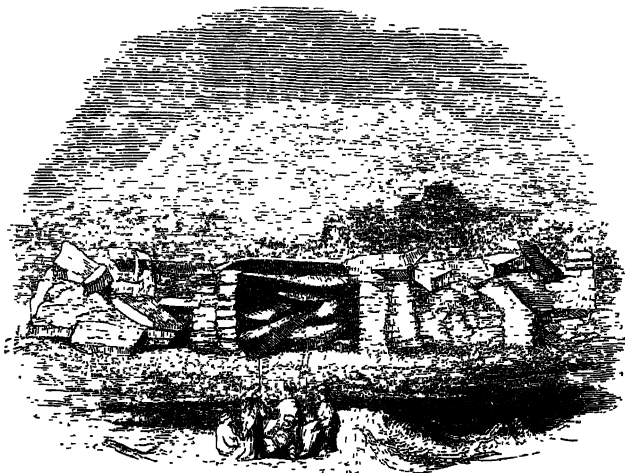
had made. We finally halted near some small eminences occupying the face of the valley, and having higher hills on either side of us. These were, as usual, marked by conical heaps of stones. From Do Râh (the two roads literally) led a road to Jirikí and Haidarabád, and the other we were following, to Karáchí. The rúd-khâna we crossed at Wad Déra was on our left throughout the march ; we again came upon it at Do Râh, and derived from it our water. Our next march, a long one of twelve cosses, was made over a country extensively open, and free from large hills. The waste was overspread, as usual, with slight jangal. A village occurred on our right, with a burial-ground and zíarat, amid a grove of trees. Hence the soil became somewhat sandy, and our road traced the base of a low hill on our left, until it terminated. From this point our course inclined westerly to Got Arab, or, as sometimes called, Tánah, where we halted. This is a large village of huts, where sometimes resides Ahmed Khân, the chief of the Búlfúts. There are many Hindús at it. Here a transit-fee of a quarter rupee per load is again collected on the merchandize. The chief was not present, and the amount was paid to his mother. The Búlfúts boast of comprising twelve thousand khânas, or families, and as many fighting-men ; which any one would be inclined to doubt who had traversed their country, and, excepting the two or three small villages, had not seen a house

or hut in it, and scarcely a human being. They are a tribe of the great Lúmrí community, and are denominated Lúmrí Bárânis, in contradistinction to the Lúmrí tribes of Las, called Lassís. In the public records of Sind they are called Namadí, by which designation they are mentioned in the treaty between Nádír Shâh and Máhoméd Shâh of Delhí. There are two important divisions, the Bâppahâní, whose chief is Búla Khân, and the Amalâní, whose chief is Ahmed Khân. These are again numerously subdivided. Ahmed Khân holds in jâghír the bazar village of Kotlí, on the western bank of the Indus, opposite to Haidarabád. It is about five years since duty was first allowed to be collected by the Lúmris. Before, kâfilas strong in number would sometimes pass through their limits, but their camels, when grazing, would be carried off, and occasionally a load or two would be stealthily abstracted on the march. Faiz Ahmed, the Babí merchant of Kalât, and cousin of Kâlikdád, who possessed some consideration with the amírs of Haidarabád, preferred a petition to them, that the Lúmrí chiefs should receive a small transit-fee from passing kâfilas, and be held responsible for any loss that befel them. The amírs approved the suggestion, and the Lúmrí chiefs consented to the terms. Since that time no instance of robbery has been known, and even animals straying are always secured and delivered up. If one be irrecoverably lost, it is presumed stolen, and its value

paid. These Lúmrís, or Bulfúts, as they generally call themselves, lead a life entirely pastoral. The little land cultivated is stocked with júarí. The extensive tract of country they spread over has many tracts of good soil, and nothing is required but the construction of bands to secure the rain-water, and bring much of it under culture. That it was once more peopled than at present is evidenced by the sites of former villages pointed out.

From Tánah an open level country spread for about four or five cosses. We then neared some small eminences to our right, and upon the bank of a water-course stretching from them we came upon the most complete and singular gohár basta I had yet seen. There was exactly the same kind of structure we had met with near Pokar; an oblong, divided by walls of masonry into four apartments; but connected therewith, and north of it, was another square erection, with projecting entrances. This was composed of huge stones; the length of one was equal to fourteen of my spans, the breadth five spans, the thickness only one span. The extent of the oblong I found seventy-two of my paces. At the head of the water-course, I learned, were some works of masonry, and that they had been penetrated by the Lúmrís, who conjectured that a spring of water had been, at some unknown period, wilfully closed by them. They probably opened a place of sepulchre, and failing to discover what they sought for, they found some trifling arti-

cles, one amongst which they supposed to be a chil-lam, or apparatus for smoking tobacco.



GOHAR BASTA, OR CYCLOPEAN VESTIGE.

At some distance from these monuments we crossed another rúd-khâna, without water, and I was told, that to the right were other conspicuous gohâr basta. We made towards a detached hill, visible in our front, under which we finally halted. I was not satisfied with the cursory view I had taken in passing of the structures I had seen, therefore walked back with one of the camel-drivers, and inspected them more at leisure; also took a sketch of the square building. On our return we met two Lúmrís, one of them armed, who asked my companion to let him examine his sword. The Bráhúí declined, alleging, that good

men did not part with their weapons. The Lúmrí said he was a staunch sípáhi, or soldier, and, after some jokes, we parted. Close to this halting-place was a village of huts, called Dágghar dí Gót; amongst the population were a few Hindús. On the hills were some of the conical stone monuments.

There fell a smart shower of rain here, from which we sheltered ourselves under the projecting ledges of the rock. I made an agreement with a Búlfút to conduct me to Súnmiání, as I did not know how I might be received at Karáchí, and I did not wish Kálikdád to incur trouble on my account. This man provided a running-camel, and engaged to conduct me to Súnmiání in three days, receiving four rupees in remuneration. He had no idea that I was a Feringhí; and I made over to Kálikdád my compass, and other things which were as well not to be seen, and stuffed them into my pillow, keeping with me my kúrzín, or saddle-bags, filled with clothes and books. Kálikdád was to bring the pillow, as he would visit Súnmiání in a few days. The kâfila started by night, and, I afterwards learned, reached Karáchí in four marches, halting respectively at Tirk, Manároh, Malaroh, and Karáchí. Two of Ahmed Khân's men accompanied it; from which I inferred the country was more peopled, and that more precaution was necessary. At sunset one of these, mounting on the loads, gave notice, as loud as he was able, that the country was God's, and its Bádshâh Mír Mórád

Alí, and that any one committing theft should refund in the proportion of one rupee to one pais, and of one hundred rupees to one rupee. Without this observance and caution, I was told, the simple value of effects stolen could only be recovered. Kâlikdád and Attá Máhoméd, although the kâfila had started, to do me honour, remained with me the night at the Búlfút's house in the village, and in the morning departed, recommending me to his care.

The Búlfút, as soon as he had breakfasted, went in search of his camel, and did not return until noon. The beast was not secured, and again strayed into the jangal, and could not be found. My companion told me to keep a "vadda dil," or, my spirits high; but I could have wished there had been no delay. The Lúmris are certainly not a very delicate race, and below even many of their neighbours in the little arts and conveniences of life. The family I had mixed with comprised only the Búlfút and a young woman, about his own age, I could not tell whether his wife or his sister. My companion, in proof of his civility, would make me partake of his wat, or boiled rice, and would only allow me to sip from that part of the wooden bowl which had been already moistened by his lips. I was heartily glad when the alternate meal was over.

Two or three hours before daylight next morning a loud chanting commenced in the village, which, I learned from the Búlfút when he awoke, was from the Hindús reading their granths, or, as

he expressed it, worshipping God in their own way. He then went in search of the camel, and brought it back with him a little after noon. He prepared to start, telling me he would keep his word, although his female companion wished him to delay until the morning. We took our leave of the village, and making good way, the road always good, with low hills around us, we reached a place called Pérarú, where we passed the night with a Baloch family.

My conductor was, like all the Lúmrís, an opium eater, and not only took a dose himself on starting but administered one to his camel. The animal became in consequence very wild for a time, and ran here and there, little troubling itself about the path, until the exhilaration of the opium had past. My friend as the animal capered about did not fail to encourage me, by telling me to keep a vadda dil, and, what was as necessary, to lay tight hold of his kamarband, or waist-shawl. We travelled nearly the whole of the day. Huts were sometimes passed, and the soil was sandy. The hills bore a very different aspect, being now earthy ones, with abrupt scarped sides, and tabular summits. We halted for the night at a Baloch hut; the inmates civil, and if the men were unseemly, the females were very pretty. My Búlfút ate opium with every man he met. The ceremony observed on such occasions may be noted. The opium, formed into pills, is placed by the fingers of the one into the mouth

of the other, so that no man, unless alone, employs his own fingers.

The next day we crossed the valley, through which flows the Hab river. It presented a wild scene of natural confusion, from the enormous masses of rock scattered about it. Towards evening we passed through some hills, and by night reached a spot where there were many dwellings, and some Hindús. Here, had I arrived by daylight, I might have had an adventure; as it was, the people were suspicious, and came in small parties of two and three to reconnoitre, and went away. At length the Búlfút found out a friend, and this put an end to interruption. This man, I observed, always knew some one individual at each place he halted at.

We started betimes in the morning, and traversed a country rather of undulating heights and depressions, than of hills. It was also better wooded. At noon we reached a collection of Baloch huts, where my conductor telling our hosts that I had so many books, that if I lived among them I should be revered as a holía, or saint; I was asked to ascertain whether much rain would fall. I, in turn, inquired the reason of their solicitude about rain. They replied, that too much rain originated disease amongst their flocks, and that they lost numbers of them. Thus provided with information, I gravely turned over the pages of Duncan's Edinburgh Dispensatory, and, of course, predicted that only a reasonable quantity of rain might be

expected. I was then asked to tell if some missing goats had merely strayed, or had been stolen. An examination of the Dispensary naturally elicited that they had only strayed. Another question was put as to the direction in which they should be looked for. The Dispensary answered, in the north, or the quarter in which they had been lost. These simple folks were well satisfied, and prepared for us cakes of bread ; and after our repast we proceeded for no very great distance, when we came upon a large collection of huts, superior in construction to any we had before met with. There was even much cultivated land. Here my Búlfút had an acquaintance, who pressed us to stay, which we did, although we might have travelled farther.

We did not start until noon next day ; two or three young men intending to accompany us to Súnmiání, which I found was close at hand. We passed along a pleasant track, and rounding some wooded knolls, entered upon the level plain of Las. A short transit brought us to Súnmiání, where I was welcomed by my Hindú friends. As my conductor had behaved very properly on the road, I asked him what I should give him as a present, in addition to his camel hire. He selected my lúnghí, that he might make a display with it on his return to his village. It was an old and indifferent one, but I had no other covering to my head, therefore I took a ducat, far beyond the lúnghí's value, and told him he might take which he pleased. He was

for some time undecided, looking at the lúnghí and then at the gold ; finally, summoning resolution, he said, he would have the Patán's lúnghí. I gave it to him ; and making his little purchases, he left, to pass the night at the place we had started from in the morning.

CHAPTER VIII.

Residence at Súnmiání.—Departure.—Theft at Shékh-ka-ráj.—Utal.—Osmán-dí-Got.—Béla.—Murder of Mogal merchant.—Conference.—Slaughter of Minghal and Bízúnjú chiefs.—Permission to levy duties.—Lawless state.—Prohibition to kâfilas.—Hâjí Gúl Máhomed's disregard of prohibition.—Kâfila.—Mírza Isák.—Saiyads.—Merchants.—Badragars.—Deception.—Incident.—Compromise.—Departure from Béla.—Robbers.—Bárân Lak.—Walí Máhomed.—His remonstrances—His high feeling—His good offices—His liberality—His fate.—Isâ Khân.—Bizúnjú chief.—Fortune of kâfila.—Kâla Dara.—Plain of Wad.—Benefit of badragars.—Hill people.—Khozdár.—Attempt at imposture.—Sohráb.—Rodinjoh.—Kalât.—Reject invitation to stay.—Mangarchar.—Shéhidân.—Baloches.—Trick played them.—Their anger.—Khwoja Amrán hills.—Plants.—Wild tulips.—Shoráwak.—Killa Mír Alam Khân.—Passes.—Tribes.—Villages.—Borders.—Arrival of Baloches.—Their mission.—Reply of the Afghâns.—Canals.—Hissárg'hú.—Atchak Zai.—Harír.—Chajar.—Káréz Illaiyár.—Atchak Zai travellers.—Application for duty.—Robbery in mistake.—Simplicity of Mámá's servants.—Takht Púl.—Saline marsh.—Arghasân.—Khúsh-âb.—Tomb of Pâhíndar Khân.—Kándahár.—Recognition.—Consequences.—Expedition to Daráwat.—Escape of Mír Alam Khân's son.—Fears of Sirdárs.—Results of the expedition.—Arrange to leave Kándahár.—Climate.—Death of Fúr Dil Khân.—Abbás Mírza's envoy.—Insolent letter.—Envoy's presumption.—His treatment.—Reports and rumours.—Unpopularity and dissensions of the sirdars.—Mehu Dil Khân's hypocrisy.

KALIKDAD in two or three days joined me at Súnmiání, made some sales, and returned to Karáchí.

I resided, as in my former visit, on the best terms with the people, but fearful that a long abode might impair my health, improved by the journey from Kalât, I was anxiously awaiting an opportunity again to proceed to the north. In process of time, many merchants, and others, arrived from Bombay and Sind, and it was arranged to form a *kâfila* to pass through the Minghal and Bízúnjú hills. I resolved to accompany it, and bargained with an owner of camels, named Soh, to carry me in a *kajâwa* (a kind of pannier) to Kâbal. The bulk of the *kâfila* was destined to Kalât and Kândahâr, but there were three or four Níází Afghâns, who dwelt near Kâbal, and purposed to reach it by the route of Shâll and Toba. I agreed to take my chance with them. We moved on to Châghai, three cosses from Súnmiání, and thence to Shékh-ka-ráj, a village of sixty houses, with a few Hindú shops.

A camel was here stolen from our *kâfila* during the night; nor was the animal recovered. On representation to the principal of the village, he avowed his inability to procure restitution, and alleged, that under the present lax government of Las, robbers had become so daring as to carry off cattle from his villagers.

Although we started from Shékh-ka-ráj about an hour before sunset, we reached Utal, ten cosses distant, only after midnight. This is a small town of about three hundred houses, with a great proportion of Hindús. It is pleasantly enough situated

amid groves of kikars ; and the country around is well cultivated with júarí, sircham (rape), and the cotton-plant. Water supplied from wells. Provisions, in moderate quantities, are procurable here, and honey is reasonable and abundant. Utal contributes four thousand rupees annually to the revenue of Béla.

We next proceeded to a spot, without name, on the bank of a dry ravine. We marched before sunset, and did not halt until after sunrise next morning, but our passage had been much obstructed by trenches and embankments across the road. Water was found, of bad quality, in a well.

At this place many of the camels strayed, but were recovered. We again marched before sunset, and did not reach Osmân-dí-Got, our destination, until considerably after sunrise the next morning. Water from a pond.

Thence, a short march took us to Béla, and we fixed ourselves immediately north of the town.

A delay was occasioned here by the necessity of engaging badragars, or safe-guards, to conduct the kâfila through the Bráhuí tribes of the hills. In the time of Máhmúd Khân, the father of the present Méhráb Khân of Kalât, a Mogal merchant, passing from Kalât to Béla, was plundered and slain. On intelligence being carried to the Afghân government, a vakíl was despatched to Kalât, demanding satisfaction for the outrage ; which was promised. Máhmúd Khân repaired to Khozdár,

and encamped, summoning to his presence the several Minghal and Bízúnjú chiefs of the hills. At an audience, the khân, with the Afghân vakíl sitting by his side, required restitution of the stolen property, and the surrender of the murderers. In course of debate, one of the leaders observing to Máhmúd Khân that he did not comport himself as an íl, or brother of the Baloch race, the Afghân vakíl rose on his knees, and grasping his sword, which was lying before him, asked how a subject could dare address such language to his sovereign? The Bráhuí leaders, crying out that they were betrayed, instantly retired from the tent to an adjacent tappa, or eminence. Máhmúd Khân ordered the nagáras to beat to arms, and the tappa to be surrounded. The Bráhuí leaders were slain, to a man; and popular report has associated with their slaughter the manifestation of a miracle. A shower of rain fell, but only over the tappa, which extinguished the matches of the devoted men, and left them a helpless sacrifice to their assailants. Some time after this signal display of justice, Máhmúd Khân, excited by compassion, granted to the sons, or representatives of those slain on the occasion, permission to levy small transit-fees on kâfilas, on their guarantee to respect property themselves, and to be responsible for robberies committed within their respective limits. The aggregate of these transit-fees did not exceed four rupees. Latterly, owing to the embarrassment of the Khân of Kalât,

the Bráhuís of the hills levy at discretion, and a camel-load of merchandize is not cleared from Béla to Khozdár under a less amount than twenty-three or twenty-four rupees. Moreover, the assumption of independence, and disregard of authority, has produced a licentiousness of conduct to the individuals of kâfilas, especially to Afghâns and others, not Baloches; and badragars are indispensable, both to ensure safety and to prevent interminable disputes and wrangling. The growing insolence of the tribes was brought to notice in the conferences at Sohráb last year. The amount they benefited by the passage of kâfilas throughout the year, was ascertained, and found, I think, to be so high as ninety thousand rupees. To diminish this serious burthen on the trade of the country, as well as to punish the tribes for their contempt of authority, and refusal to furnish the prescribed military contingents, it was decided to prohibit kâfilas from passing through their hills. Accordingly, Mehráb Khân interdicted the road, under penalty of confiscation of property, to those who followed it in defiance of orders. In the early part of this year Hâjî Gúl Máhomed, Andarí, one of the most considerable of the merchants at Kândahár, either ignorant of the khân's order, or, more likely, regardless of it, presuming on his influence at Kândahár, being connected with Khodâ Nazzar, the múkhtahár of the sirdárs, engaged badragars, and proceeded to Kalât. The kâfila with which I was now in company conceived

they were privileged to infringe the khân's mandate, as Hâji Gúl Máhoméd had done so with impunity before them. It consisted of a great number of Peshing saiyads, some merchants of Kândahár, and a few other Afghâns, with numerous Baloches, natives of Kalât and the vicinity, men who were returning to their homes after three or four years' service in the Dekkan, or other parts of India, or who had carried horses and dogs for sale to Bombay. The Afghân and Kândahár people only had merchandize, consisting of fine calicoes, muslins, shawls, chintzes, &c. Among the Kândahâris was one Mírza Isâk, in the employ of Abdúlah Khân, the Atchak Zai sirdár, who, from his superior address, officiated as secretary, treasurer, and diplomatic agent to the kâfila. He was a Pârsívân and Shía, but on the road repeated prayers in company with the Súnís, as did two or three other Pârsívâns of Kândahár. The saiyads of Peshing, a rude boisterous class of men, but imperious from their acknowledged lineage, were entrusted with the direction of the kâfila as regarded its motion. The order to prepare for marching was given by the most eminent of them, in a loud voice. and was followed by his benediction. Amongst the merchants of Kândahár, the more respectable were, Martezza Khân, Bárák Zai, residing at Chaplání, a village south of Kândahár, and Yár Máhoméd Tàjik, a dweller at Kárézak, a village east of the same city. There were also three Níází Af-

ghâns of Kâbal, who had a load of muslins, and another of glass bangles; and these last were especially my companions. Four badragars, Minghal and Bízúnjú, were engaged, one of them, Réhimdád, a younger brother of Isâ Khân, the superior chief of the Minghals at Wad. One hundred and twenty rupees were paid for their attentions, and their entertainment on the road was to be provided at the charge of the kâfila. The number of loads liable to payment was fixed at thirty-five, although there were above forty. The proprietors made a deposit in the hands of Mírza Isák, to meet the demands throughout the journey. The load of bangles, consisting of two long packages, secured by bámbús, was represented as containing tábúts, or corpses, the veracity of which was not suspected.

Near the spot at which we halted at Béla was a well. One evening a masdúr, or servant of the Peshing saiyaḍs, going to fill his massak, or skin, with water, met a female, of agreeable countenance, returning from the well with a jar of water on her head. He profited by the fair one's situation, and kissed her. The jar was precipitated to the ground and broken to pieces. The girl ran screaming into the fort; and proved to be a kaníz, or slave girl of the infant Jám's mother. Application was made to the kâfila for delivery of the offender, who was traced to the party of the saiyaḍs. They refused to give up the man, as he, like themselves, was a descendant of the Prophet. Indeed,

every camel-driver belonging to them claimed the same honour. In the evening a party of armed men from the fort forcibly carried off five camels. The affair was ultimately compromised; the officers of Las observing sarcastically, yet truly, "That although the Peshinghís might be saiyads, they were uncouth, and saiyads of the hills."

In my former journey to Kalât from Béla we had travelled rapidly, being unencumbered with merchandize; in the present one the Peshing saiyads, anxious to reach their homes, pushed on much more speedily than was agreeable to the Baloch part of the kâfila, who, although dissatisfied, only ventured gently to murmur, fearing the maledictions of the holy men.

From Béla we marched to the Púrálí river, near the hills; then passing Koharn Wât, we encamped within them; and the third march brought us to a spot called Selloh—from which we made Márjit Illaibakhsh. On the road, and we travelled by night, some robbers darted on the hindmost pedestrians of the kâfila, not to plunder on a grand scale, but to snatch anything that fell in their way, and make off. One of them seized the lúng hí on the head of one Khairú, walking behind the string of camels. Khairú had hold of one end, and the robber of the other. They both pulled, and Khairú roared out "Thieves! thieves!" The camel-drivers in advance hastened to his assistance, with horrible imprecations, but they could not save the lúng hí,

which the Bráhuí made off with. Our halting-place was on a small open space, with a large burial-ground and rud-khâna, from which we got water, to our right.

We then proceeded to the base of the Pass Bá-rân Lak, and found water in the rocky bed of a hill-torrent. The next day we ascended the Pass, not particularly extensive or precipitous, yet sufficiently so to impede the progress of heavily-laden camels. The detentions and accidents happening gave occasion to the camel-drivers to wish that the Feringhís would come and take the country, that the roads might be improved. While at the halting-place, Walí Máhomed, one of the principal Minghal chiefs resident at Wad, with Tâj Máhomed, another chief of consequence, and a few attendants, the whole mounted, by pairs, on running camels, passed the kâfila. Walí Máhomed was a venerable aged gentleman, with a white beard. On the merchants advancing to salute him, he rebuked them for coming by this road, in opposition to the khân's orders. He observed, that had they only abandoned the route one year, the insolent men of the hills would have been reduced to have supplicated them to resume it; that the khân had prohibited the route for their benefit, and they were so inconsiderate as to thwart the khân's good intentions. Réhimdad Khân, his relative, with the other badragars, appearing to pay their respects, his anger was inflamed at the sight of them, and

he asked the merchants if those kúramsáks, or scoundrels, had intruded themselves or had been engaged with good will. On being answered, with good-will, he rejoined, that such unprincipled persons as these, for the sake of their badragars' fees, were accessory to the present unsettled state of the roads, as they acted in concert with the Bráhúís, and instigated them to acts of violence and rapine. The merchants much pressed the old chief to alight, and take his noon's repast with them, but he declined, asserting that the bread of strangers was to him arám, or unlawful. This excellent character was proceeding to Béla, to arrange an affair of bloodshed.

A few years since, a kâfila, in progress to Kâlât, was detained at Wad, the tribes intermediate between it and Khozdár having taken up arms. Walí Máhoméd, lamenting the detention of the merchants, voluntarily escorted them to Khozdár. On arrival there, they debated upon the manner of expressing their gratitude for his unsolicited kindness, and collected two hundred rupees, which they placed in a silk handkerchief and tendered to their benefactor. He refused the present; nor could any entreaty induce him to accept it. It was still urged upon him, when he remarked, that if any amongst them had bandar nâs, or Bombay snuff, he would receive a small quantity, not as a gift to which he was entitled, but as a mark of their favour. The money he could not think

of. The snuff, it need hardly be noted, was collected, placed in ballaghúns, and presented to the chief, who received it with many thanks. Walí Máhomed is the uncle of Isâ Khân, the present head of the Minghals; and his exertions to repress disorder and keep his nephew in a right course, have not the success they merit. Isâ Khân has a large number of retainers, and has all the restless spirits of the tribe in his party, and is thereby enabled to counteract the honest views of Walí Máhomed and the better disposed of the tribe. Had the kâfila met Isâ Khân, it would have been superfluous to have asked him to become a guest. Ten years of increased age and honour had grown upon the loyal and upright Walí Máhomed, when, at the capture of Kalât, he fell, sword in hand, by the side of his prince, Mehráb Khân. His honourable death was worthy of his unblemished life. But we may regret the policy which numbered so estimable a chief amongst its victims.

At this place we expected a visit from a Bízúnjú chief, residing near Náll, who is, or considers himself to be, entitled to levy transit-fees. He is represented as a man of extreme brutality, and infamous for his outrages on kâfilas and insolence to Afghâns, of whom, it would seem, he has a horror. To suffer mere abuse at his hands is esteemed peculiarly fortunate; and there were two or three persons, one amongst them a saiyyad, who

had been, on former occasions, wounded by this man and his followers. The ogre of the Bízúnjús, did not, however, make his appearance; and we understood afterwards, that the tribe were in arms, and at variance amongst themselves, so that one party did not dare move abroad, or it would be attacked by another. This state of affairs probably benefited the kâfila, with regard to the fees payable to the Bízúnjús of Náll, and which are at the heavy rate of two rupees per load. No one applied for them.

In the succeeding march to the garden of Isâ Khân, north of Wad, we passed up the fine valley of Kâla Dara, noticed in my prior narrative. It was gay with its olive and beautiful perpúk-trees. I observed also, that there were several gohar bastas in it. Although we started before sunset, and were in motion all night, it was not until some time after sunrise next morning that having left behind the little town of Wad, we reached the garden, chiefly stocked with apricot-trees, with some mulberry, plum, and peach trees. At this early period of the year all bore unripe fruit, the mulberries and apricots of considerable size. The plain of Wad exhibited a very different appearance from the dreary one under which I had formerly seen it. The cultivation of grain had clad it in verdure, and I was no less delighted than surprised to behold the sterile surface covered with a profusion of thorny plants, either identical with, or closely allied to,

the English furze. There was another, but thornless bush, which was alike charged with yellow blossoms, and the gratified vision extended over an expanse of vegetable gold. We here parted with our badragars. These men were certainly useful, as the numerous and clamorous Bráhuís applying for fees were referred to them. If the number of loads was suspected as being underrated, they were told, "We (the badragars) are, like you, leviers of transit-fees. We are satisfied, why should you not be?" In no one instance was the kâfila put to inconvenience, nor did any one of the applicants for fees insist upon having the loads counted. Men of little conscience, they showed that they had some, and were satisfied with the badragars' statement. Throughout this journey we had much intercourse with the natives of the hills. I must say that, however rude, they appeared honest. At all our halting-places traffic by barter was carried on, the individuals of the party supplying themselves with sheep, roghan, and lacteal preparations, giving in exchange párchá, or coarse cotton cloth, spices, and turmeric. The latter article is much in request, being used to dye wool, as well as a condiment, and cloth is prized because none is manufactured amongst them. From Wad, halting intermediately at the head of Míán Dara, we moved on to Khozdár. Here fees were received by an officer of Méhráb Khân, called the Náíb. A person was willing to have imposed himself on

the merchants as an agent of the Bízúnjús of Náll. He consequentially came, with a scroll of paper in his hand, and seemed busy in counting the loads, and scribbling down the results. In this no one interrupted him. He then inquired as to the contents of the loads, when he was told, the trouble he was giving himself was useless, and he had better return to his colleague in dexterity, the náib. The fellow, ashamed, went his way. Khozdár had a beautiful appearance in the vernal season.

In our next march we passed Bâghwân, and again halted at a spot between it and Sohráb. The hills were now covered with the flowers of early bulbous plants, which relieved their otherwise bleak appearance. The valley of Sohráb was alike interesting from the luxuriant verdure of its lucern fields.

From Sohráb we marched to Damb, and experienced a severe storm of wind and rain. The next stage was Rodinjoh, where we found the plains smiling with the varied and gaudy blossoms of the lâla, or wild tulip. The following day we reached Kalât before daybreak, and making the circuit of its walls, halted in the rear of the mîrí, or palace of the khân. I visited my old friends, and they dissuaded me from attempting the route through the Khâka country to Kâbal, as the Khâkas were engaged in internal hostilities.

Kalât now presented a dreary aspect. The willow and sanjit-trees were alone leafed. Mulberry and other trees only bore indications of nascent

foliage. Mehráb Khân heard of my arrival, and wished to see my bhúts, or pictures. I regretted that I could not oblige him, having left them with my luggage at Súnmiání. Faiz Ahmed much pressed me to stay some time at Kalât, but I would not listen to his proposal, and thought it better to accompany the portion of the present kâfila going on to Kândahár, particularly as I found it would take the route of Shoráwak, a part of the country I was desirous to see.

We parted from our companions, the saiyads and Bráhuís; and the Kândahár party made a long journey from Kalât to the foot of the hills confining on the west the plain of Mangarchar. There were no habitations, but the bed of a rúd-khâna furnished us with water. In our next march we crossed the hills by a rather long and difficult pass. The descent brought us into a tanghí, or defile, of some extent; clearing which, we passed over an uneven surface amongst low hills, or eminences, until we halted on the bank of a rúd-khâna, with a small stream in it. This journey occupied us from before sunset to sunrise of the next morning.

Our course now led over a low range of hills, by a pass, long but easy. On its summit was a shéhi-dân, or grave, of two men, slain the former year by robbers. The men of the kâfila strewed mountain-flowers over them, and craved that a similar fate might not await themselves. I understood there was danger in this march, and the merchants showed

they felt it. From the pass the road became better, and we passed a rúd-khâna with a stream in it. At a more advanced season it was said to have none. We were still in motion when we were joined by three or four Baloches, who claimed a transit-fee, the due of a petty Baloch chief residing at Chahârdêh, to our west. With the insolence of men in authority, they commanded the kâfila to halt, and called for the chillam and tobacco. The Afghâns waggishly filled the chillam with chirs, and the Baloches, unaccustomed thereto, as if by enchantment, fell asleep, and the kâfila left them snoring in happy oblivion on the ground. We halted a little after midnight at Lagai, near a kâréz. Near us was a small rectangular walled residence, and a square tower, with a newly-planted garden. Here during the day arrived the Baloches, furious on account of having been outwitted, and of having been put to the trouble of following the kâfila. They were not much pitied, and receiving their fees, went their way.

We commenced our next journey very early—the reason I soon discovered, as we had to cross the great range of Khwojá Amrán. A short distance brought us to its base; and it was yet daylight when we reached the summit, from which was a fine view of the regions around. I observed here the ferula asafetida, and the various other ferulas to be found on the hills of Balochistân. A round-leaved variety of rhubarb was also abundant; and this plant had

been common amongst the hills since our leaving Mangarchar. The descent of the pass was at first very precipitous, but led into a dara, with a continual but very gradual inclination. In some parts of it were vast numbers of wild tulips, or lâlas, red and yellow; and many varieties of the orchis, from which the former are distinguished by black spots on their petals. As we proceeded down the dara we passed a large mountain-willow; hence, I presume, the trivial name conferred upon this pass, of Kotal Béd, or the Willow Pass. Night commenced as we entered this dara, but it was daybreak before we cleared it and found ourselves on the plain of Shoráwak. We made for a substantial castle, called Killa Mír Alam Khân, having been built by that nobleman, a Núr Zai sirdár, who was slain by the Vazír Fatí Khân, his brother-in-law. We halted in front of it. The castle was large, and neatly constructed of mud. It had eight towers, each face having an intermediate one between the angular ones. We had in view five or six other castles, and were told, that, altogether, there were twenty castles and villages in Shoráwak. We had close to us a canal, derived from the Lora river, which flows from the plain of Peshing, through the range we had crossed into Shoráwak, and fertilizes its fields. Without it Shoráwak would be a part of the desert, which surrounds it to the south and west. The pass which we had surmounted is one of four, leading over the Khwojá Amrán range. Beyond it is the Kotal

Shútar, or the Camel Pass, which some of the people with our kâfila had crossed, and represented as tolerable. Above it is the Kotal Roghanní; and beyond it is the one most frequented, called Kotal Kozhak, being in the direct road from Kâdahâr to Shâll. Shorâwak is inhabited by the Bâréchí tribe of Afghâns, dependent on Kâdahâr, and is generally under the control of the governor of Peshing. It has six principal villages, called Mandú Zai, Abú Zai, Bahâdar Zai, Alí Zai, Badal Zai, and Sherrâri. It is probable, although I am not certain of it, that these villages bear the names of the divisions of the tribe. On the west its boundary is well defined by the Khwojá Amrân hill. On the north it has low unconnected hills, separating it from sterile sandy tracts, inhabited by Atchak Zais, and other Afghâns; to the south the sand desert separates it from Núshkí; and to the west again extends the same ocean of sand. In this direction the horizon is uninterrupted by hills, the only hill visible being a low isolated black peak, bearing north-west. The Bâréchís are at deadly enmity with the Baloch tribes. The day we passed here six or seven Baloches arrived, wishing to procure the restitution of some camels, recently stolen by the Bâréchís, and to enter into an arrangement for future friendship. As soon as the Baloches drew near, a party of the Bâréchís assembled, and, kneeling, presented their matchlocks, threatening to fire. Two of the most elderly of the Baloches, laying down their fire-arms,

advanced to parley. This was ineffectual. The Báréchís refused the restitution of the stolen animals, and alleged, that between themselves and the Baloches differences existed which could only be settled by a pitched battle between the two úlúses. That they were willing to attend at any time and place the Baloches might appoint. If these terms were not approved, matters must remain as they were, each party, as opportunity offered, resorting to aggression. We here learned the degradation of Abdúláh Khân, the Atchak Zai sirdár, by the chiefs of Kándahár. Various reasons were alleged, but there was a sufficient one in his reputed wealth. The inhabitants here were civil to the members of the kâfila, and exchanged their necessities for spices, cloth, and turmeric.

Before we left the plain of Shoráwak we crossed perhaps as many as fifteen or twenty canals, all derived from the Lora river, also the stream itself. It had but a small body of water, but the bed was very wide, and not sunken, as in the plain of Peshing. Winding amongst the hills, the road always level, we traversed a sandy tract, diversified with small hillocks, until midnight, when we halted at a spot named Hissárg hú. We saw no habitations here, but were visited by many Afghâns, miserable indeed, if their raiments truly denoted their condition. They bartered their young lambs and roghan with the kâfila, cheerfully receiving in exchange tobacco and turmeric. They were Atchak Zais. Our water

was procured from a pool. About a mile to our west were some black rocks, and beyond them was a waste of pure sand. The track between Shoráwak and this place seemed, indeed, in dispute between the desert and the main land.

Our next march was over a country analogous to the preceding, but we crossed the dry beds of several ravines and water-courses. We again halted at midnight in a small plain named Harír, encircled by low sand-hills. These were sprinkled with bushes, whose dark verdure afforded a strong contrast to the pale colour of the ungrateful soil in which they grew. Water was again in pools, and muddy, being merely a deposit from rains. No habitations were visible.

We left Harír before sunset, and proceeding the entire night over a level surface, found ourselves at daybreak on the banks of immense ravines, full of water. This spot was called Chajar. We had to cross it, which was no easy matter. Having effected our passage, we marched, still in a ravine, through a morass studded with tamarisk-bushes. At length we entered, lengthways, upon a spacious level plain between low parallel hills; those to the west being of pure sand, or covered therewith, those to the east of bare black rock. The plain at its commencement was stony. We passed a deserted mud castle on our right, and soon after halted near some forty black tents of the Atchak Zai Afghâns. There were two or three detached mud dwellings lower

down on the plain, which was extensively cultivated. Water was excellent, and procured from a káréz, which, with its projector, gave a name to the place of Káréz Illaiyár. The Atchak Zais were remarkably civil, and amongst them were some respectable men. Necessaries were, as usual, exchanged, and we regaled ourselves with young lambs. Some of our companions in the kâfila were Atchak Zais, who had been absent some years, seeking their fortunes in India. The joy of these men was great on returning to their homes; and I smiled as I heard them assure their friends that wherever they had been, and they had seen the Dekkan and Bombay, they had met no people to be compared with the Atchak Zais, and none who could boast of such khorák (food), or such poshák (raiment). In the course of the day a herd of camels belonging to Khodâ Nazzar, or Máma, as he is generally called, arrived here to graze. It also chanced, that two men, on the part of Hássan Khân, an Atchak Zai chief, came and demanded a fee of one sennár per load. To this, by prior regulations, he was entitled; but the individuals of the kâfila, aware of Abdúlah Khân's seizure, and that the orders had been rescinded, refused to pay it. The messengers, intent on retaliation, drove off a camel belonging to Khodâ Nazzar's herd, supposing it to belong to the kâfila.

We moved from Káréz Illaiyár before sunset; at the extremity of the plain was an old tower,

a chokí, or guard-station. Here the servants of Khodâ Nazzar had awaited us, and issuing forth, wished to detain the kâfila until a camel was given, whimsically, but truly, asserting that the Atchak Zais had driven off their master's animal in error. The merchants did not seem to care for them or the vazír, and we left them in very bad humour to rectify the mistake of Hássan Khân's úlús. Rounding a small hill, we entered another spacious but barren plain, and at sunset had reached Takht Púl, a spot where kâfilas frequently halt. Here we fell into the high road, at the point where it leads by Robát to Peshing and Shâll. By daybreak we had reached the village of Káréz Hâjí, the houses all covered with domes. Here was abundance of water in canals, and much cultivation. We then deviated from the high road and struck across a swampy plain, unfruitful and unfit for tillage from its saline impregnations, but at this time of the year of charming appearance, its surface being covered with the beautiful blossoms of the físh, a bulbous-rooted plant, from whose roots the paste called shírish is made. Its flowers are both white and yellow, and hang on a taper stalk like those of the hyacinth. We crossed the Arghasân, and halted on its bank. The river's bed was wide, but the stream was inconsiderable, though rapid and impetuous. Martezza Khân here left us for Chaplání, his village on the edge of the desert, a little south of us, as did Tâj Máhoméd the Tâjik merchant.

At midday my companions, eager to conclude the journey and rejoin their friends, continued their course over the plain, crossing many canals of irrigation, some of them large, to the village of Khúsh-âb, containing several houses, but chiefly ruinous, and thence we gained the summit of a slight ascent over a low hill, called Kotal Zákkar, from which we had a noble view of the city, with its environs. At the foot of the pass was the large and straggling village of Zákkar, with gardens interspersed amongst the houses. Close to it is the tomb of Páhíndáh Khân, slain by Sháh Zemân, and the father of the actual chiefs of Kândahár, Kâbal, and Pesháwer. From Zákkar, came to the village of Karij, where some of our party again left us. Thence the road led over the cultivated fields; and we had much ado to thread our way amid them, and over the numerous canals of irrigation. Detached residences, gardens, tombs, and takías we passed on our route, and it was after sunset that we reached the Shikárpúr derwâza, or gate. Here the custom-house officers of Máma were on the alert; and as I had nothing but an ill-filled kúrzín, or saddle-bags, I might have passed unnoticed, and indeed had so passed. One of the camel-drivers, in assisting me to alight, inadvertently stated that I was a Feringhí, on which my kúrzín, camel, and myself, were forthwith conducted to the chabútra, in the centre of the city. I could not induce an immediate examination, as I clearly saw that curi-

osity was to be gratified by a leisurely inspection of a Feringhí's kúrzín. I therefore returned with Soh, the camel-owner, to his house, where I passed the night. The exactions on the score of duty on merchandize coming to Kándahár are infamous. It was useful to see how rapacity and tyranny defeat their own ends. None of the merchants, except two or three Pársívâns actually residing at the city, entered within its walls. They all dispersed with their goods to their several villages.

It was not until the third day after my arrival that Soh brought my kúrzín from the chabútra. A few sheets of writing-paper and a little tea had been subtracted. I found the sirdárs busy in preparing an expedition against Darâwat, the country of the Núr Zais, towards the Helmand. Their darbárs were crowded with the military, and the city was full of Dúrání cavalry. The occasion of this activity was, the escape of the son of Mír Alam Khân, Núr Zai, from captivity. He had long been confined in the Bálla Hissár, and was so dreaded that his feet were secured by fetters. He, however, contrived to elude the vigilance of his keepers, much to their surprise and consternation. He repaired to his native country, and his clan instantly took up arms in his cause. To suppress these movements so near home required the promptest measures, not merely on their own account, but from the apprehensions that the Núr Zais might be acting in concert with Kámrân, the prince of Herát,

and the disaffected Hazáras. The sirdárs had not a moment to lose, and therefore Kândahár exhibited a scene of extraordinary activity and warlike bustle. My stay here did not allow me to learn the result of this expedition, but I became informed of it at Kâbal afterwards. It was anything but fortunate to the sirdárs. On arrival in the Darâwat country, the Núr Zais placed by night lighted matches on the bushes opposite to the Dúrání camp on one side, and attacked it from the other. A panic followed, and the sirdárs, with their troops, fled, abandoning their tents and the four guns they had brought with them. One of the sirdárs, Rahám Dil, was for some days wandering alone amongst the hills, after exchanging clothes with a shepherd, and with difficulty found his way back to Kândahár. I removed my quarters from the house of Soh to that of my old acquaintance Sirafráz Khân. I had arranged to have made the journey to Kâbal in the company of a highly-religious character, the pír, or spiritual guide of Kohan Dil Khân, and this holy man had expressed his pleasure that I should do so; but his departure was postponed to an indefinite time, and I judged better to avail myself of a kâfila about to start, amongst whose members were some well known to Sirafráz Khân. I therefore settled with one Ráhmát for one side of a kajâwa, and I had for companion in the other, Súfí, a Parsívân merchant of Kândahár.

It was now the early part of May, and heavy

showers of rain fell, with occasionally a smart hail-storm. In the bazar lettuces were sold in profusion, with unripe plums and apricots. The winter had been unusually severe and protracted, therefore, mulberries, which in ordinary seasons would have been ripe, were yet hanging immature on the trees. Kândahár is esteemed felicitous in its winter climate, and snow, which remains on all the lands around, rarely falls on its favoured plains, or falls only to melt.

In the interval between my first and present visit, Fúr Dil Khân had been taken away by a fever of short continuance. He was speechless some little time before resigning his vital breath, and no information could be gained from him as to his concealed wealth. His corpse was interred with indecent haste by his surviving brothers, who seized upon all his property in effects and horses, to the detriment of his sons. During his lifetime his brothers had been generally confederated against him, from jealousy of his power; and Kândahár had two darbárs, one of Fúr Dil Khân, and one of his three brothers. Sometimes they would be reconciled by the influence of their mother, or of Khodâ Nazzar, but the periods of harmony and union would be short. Still, while thus at variance on points of individual interest, they would act in concert on the more important objects of foreign policy, as regarded their brother, Dost Máhoméd Khân of Kâbal, or the prince Kámrán of Herát. About the

time of Fúr Dil Khân's decease, Abbás Mírza, the crown prince of Persia, had arrived in Khorasân, and had despatched a messenger, or envoy, to the elder of the three brothers, Kohan Dil Khân. This envoy was a notorious character, one Hâjí Hússén Alí Khân, Morád Khâní, a native of Kâbal, from whence he had fled, in the time of Máhommed Azem Khân, to Ranjít Singh. He for some time thrived under the auspices of the Máhárájá, but at length presuming to kill a cow, the fact was reported, and he was dismissed from Lahore. He then repaired to Sind, where he profitably turned his ingenuity to account, by imposing himself as an elchí upon the Amírs, and again, on a mission from them, proceeded to Persia. He now re-appeared on the theatre of diplomacy, and brought a letter from Abbás Mírza to Kohan Dil Khân. The sirdár was highly incensed, as he was addressed with no more dignified appellation and title than "Kohan Dil Khân Abdálí," and the extent of the Persian prince's courtesy had led him to restrict his complimentary introduction to "Háfíyat bashed," or, "May he be well." The letter, moreover, was to the purport, that if the sirdár's conduct was fitting, and such that should merit approbation, he should be made mír of the Afghâns. Kohan Dil Khân thought he was already mír of the Afghâns. Hâjí Hússén Alí Khân, forgetful that he had been a dependent on the family of the sirdár's, and presuming too much on his quality of envoy, gave him-

self many airs, and indulged in undue freedom of speech. One night, however, his house was entered by robbers, and all his property, even to his wearing-apparel, and horses from his stable, were carried off. Kohan Dil Khân was wonderfully surprised in the morning, at the audacity of the robbers, but every one was free to surmise who had sent them. The unfortunate envoy was glad to return to his master on hired cattle. His adventures were now the subject of jocular conversation and merriment at Kândahár. The sirdárs had given out, in conformity to a favoured system with them of raising false reports, that an elchí from the Feringhís of Hind was on the road to them. It was entirely credited by the people, and before reaching the city, I had often been asked about the expected envoy; and now at it, I was repeatedly questioned as to how far behind was the elchí, with his hundred boxes. The sirdárs, led by their imagined interests to combine in opposition to their deceased brother, Fúr Dil Khân, now that he was no more, were on sad terms with each other. Kohan Dil Khân affected a superiority, which the others did not acknowledge, and all classes of their dependents were disgusted, and harassed at their incessant and unmeaning dissensions. Every now and then Rahám Dil Khân would leave the city, threatening to retire from the country, and his brothers would be induced to wait upon him, and entreat him to remain. Meher Dil Khân, in turn, would declare his in-

tention of renouncing power and of proceeding on a pilgrimage to Mecca, and now he was in one of his pious fits much to the enjoyment of his brothers. The man who visited the sirdár on business, and the soldier who attended for his stipend, in reply to their *Salám Alíkam*, would receive the devout ejaculation of "*Yár rasúl Khodâ*;" by which they would understand, that the sirdár was too much absorbed in abstract reveries to be able to occupy himself with worldly affairs. It was always remarked, that Meher Dil Khân, whenever he had the demands of his retainers to satisfy, began to think of a pilgrimage to Mecca.

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CHAPTER IX.

Cordial reception. — Ghúlám Máhoméd's temerity. — Shír Dil Khân's daughters. — Leave Kândahár. — Tarnak river. — Sheher Safar. — Tírandáz. — Jeldak. — Ghiljís in revolt. — Quarrelsome visitors. — Hostile indications. — Explanation. — March of kâfila. — Killa Rámazân Ohtak. — Visit from Fatí Khân. — Ghowar. — Fatí Khân — His exactions. — Halt. — Design of Killa Rámazân Khân. — Message from Shahábadín Khân. — Lodín. — Old fortress. — Ghiljí íljáí. — Shahábadín Khân — His appearance and costume — His abode at Khâka. — Duties. — Their rigid exaction. — Ghiljí tribes. — Ohtaks. — Thokís. — Abúbekr Khél. — Terekís. — Cultivation of the Thokís. — Aspect of country. — Character of tribes. — Their justification. — Turkí origin. — Ferishta's notice. — Ghiljí conquests. — Opposition to Nádir Shâh. — Hússen Khân. — Abdúl Rehmán. — Religious tradition. — Shahábadín Khân's fame — His recent moderation — His sons — Aversion to Dúránís — His pious remarks. — Khâka. — Military force. — Numbers. — Arms. — Shahábadín Khân's policy. — Murder of his son. — Absolution of the murderers. — Súlímân Khél. — Dost Máhoméd Khân's scruples. — Precautions. — Preparations to march. — Curious scene. — Fruitless expostulation. — Infant robber. — Valley of Tarnak. — Osmân Ganní. — False alarm. — Quarrel. — Territory of Ghazní. — Shéhídán. — Mokar. — Baffled robbers. — Sir Chishma. — Rivulet. — Obo. — Kárabâgh. — Hazáras. — Gúlistân Khân. — Naní. — Ghazní. — Town and bazar. — Citadel. — Traditions. — Rozah and shrine of Súltân Máhoméd. — Columns. — Walls. — Gates. — Situation of town. — Artillery. — Fruits. — Revenue. — Wilford's conjectures. — Gardéz and Patan. — Topes. — Sheher Kúrhân. — Ghâr Samá Núka. — Lora. — Wardak. — Takía. — River of Loghar. — Shékhabád. — Maidán. — River of Kâbal. —

Arghandí.—Killa Kází.—Chehel Tan.—Killa Topchí Bashí.—Friendly greetings.—Baber's tomb.—Approach to Kâbal.—Serai Zirdád.—Quarters in Bálla Hissár.

MY reception by Sirafráz Khân was very cordial, and being in better trim than when we first made acquaintance, he entertained me sumptuously, and I reposed at night under costly coverlets of silk and satin, which I could not prevent being brought forth. With a young man, Ghúlám Máhoméd, his adopted son, I visited the gardens of the neighbourhood, and amongst them a private flower-garden of the sirdár's. Ghúlám Máhoméd knew it was forbidden ground, but finding no one there, ventured to enter it. Immediately after, the daughters of the late Sirdár Shír Dil Khân came, with their female attendants. The latter severely scolded my companion for his impertinent intrusion and insolence, and, sadly disconcerted, he went away. I was following him, but was told I might remain, the females observing, that they knew I should not have come had not Ghúlám Máhoméd brought me, and telling the sirdár's daughters, charming young girls, that I was a yár, or friend, of Máhoméd Sídik Khân.

As my stay was so short, I did not call upon the son of Kohan Dil Khân, who was, besides, busy in his preparations for the expedition against the Núr Zais; and for the same reason I did not see the son of Taimúr Kúlí Khân, but was pleased to hear that his affairs were more prosperous, inas-

much as the sirdárs had conferred a little notice upon him, which would soothe his pride and flatter his vanity.

In company with Ráhmat, I left Kândahár, and passing Déh Khwoja and Koh Zákka, reached Déh Mandísár, where he resided. I there found my future companion, Súfí, and Ghowâr, an Ohtak Ghiljí, also proceeding to Kâbal. The kâfila had preceded us; and the next day, following it, we halted on the banks of the Tarnak river. We thence made a long night-march, parallel to the course of the stream, and again rested on its bank, the high road being on the opposite side.

Before sunset we moved on our journey, and soon passed, to the right, a huge artificial platform of earth, which supported another of inferior dimensions. A similar vestige, but smaller, occurs a little east of Kâbal. It would appear, on a cursory view, to have been a fortress, with the walls erected on the two stages formed, but may as probably have been a temple, and sepulchral locality of the olden inhabitants. A little beyond, we crossed the river and gained the high road. In our farther progress, we passed the village and zíarat of Khél Akhúnd, and beyond it, an eminence right of the road, denoting the site of Sheher Safar, about half a mile beyond which we halted. By this time the day had dawned. There are at present no inhabited houses near Sheher Safar,

but a few ruinous mud walls are seen to the right of the road. The modern village was destroyed by the Vazír Fatí Khân, and has not been re-edified. Sheher Safar has been supposed to represent the ancient city of Zupha, noted in the Peutingerian tables, but merely from a doubtful affinity in name.

Our next march was along the bank of the Tarnak. A little beyond Sheher Safar was a small garden and some ruinous walls left of the road. The hills on the right of the valley are generally detached, and of broken rugged outlines. The soil on either side of the river was under cultivation. We finally halted near the column, or obelisk, called Tírandâz, between the road and the Tarnak, which has been already noticed in the first volume.

The following day we reached Jeldak, where we found the kâfila, this being the frontier village of the Kándahár territory. Our entire course had been along the bank of the river.

We here received intelligence that Badradín, one of the sons of Shahábadín Khân, the chief of the Thokí Ghiljís, was in rebellion, and marching about the country with his followers. This news much perplexed us, and made it doubtful whether it was prudent to advance. Early one morning a party of Ghiljí horsemen came, on the part of Fatí Khân, Abúbekr Khíl, a Ghiljí chief, who claims a transit-fee from kâfilas. These men, on dismounting, quar-

relled among themselves, and swords were drawn in a trice. By interposition, bloodshed was prevented. The kâfila, uncertain whether they would proceed, would not pay the required fees, which were unnecessary if the frontier was not passed. The Ghiljís were very anxious to receive them in any case; but, although refused, an entertainment was provided for them. While they were yet with the kâfila, parties of armed men, from the neighbouring villages behind the hills on our left, came and seated themselves on their summits with their matchlocks. The Ghiljís, who are at enmity with all their neighbours, first suspected that these hostile indications were on their account; but it proved that the villagers had assembled to avenge on the kâfila an outrage, committed by one of its members on a villager, who had been beaten at a flour-mill. Explanation was made that the offender was a saiyad, which led to an understanding; and the villagers, who had assumed so warlike an attitude, ran laughing down the hills to the kâfila, and blew away their enmity with whiffs of tobacco.

The kâfila loaded about an hour before sunset, as was supposed, for the purpose of returning to Kândahár, and many had proceeded a little way on the road thither; when the kâfila báshí, observing that the Ghiljís, bad as they were, were not ádamkhors, or cannibals, took the string of his front camel, and followed the Kâbal road. He was imitated by Ráhmat, and eventually by all

the others. We marched the whole night along the bank of the river, which, at daybreak, leaving the high road, we crossed, and passing a small village, and then a rúd-khâna, gained Killa Râmazân Khân, Ohtak, where we halted. This castle belongs to a Ghiljí, in the service of the Kândahár chiefs. During the day we were visited by the Abúbekr Khél chief, Fatí Khân himself, with about twenty horsemen. His fees were somewhat high,—three rupees for a camel, two rupees for a horse, and one rupee for an ass; twenty rupees in addition were presented as mímání, to avoid the trouble of preparing food for the party, as the Ghiljís are not easily-satisfied guests. The money matters were arranged with comparative facility, considering the character of the collectors. Two or three Pársívân camel-drivers, indeed, received a horse-whipping. My companion, Ghowar, the Ohtak, proved of great service, as he was well known; and the Ohtak is the superior tribe of the Ghiljís, and held in respect by the others. He instructed me to remain quiet in my quarters; and, in reply to one of the horsemen, who asked who I was, replied that I was a fáquí from Rúm Shâm. This elicited the remark of “dhér pardés dí,” or “he is a great stranger.” Fatí Khân resides near Kalât Ghiljí, which was here distant from three to four miles to the north. He was an elderly man, of smart respectable appearance. He has a sister, married to Shâh Sújah, the ex-king,

the mother of his eldest son, prince Taimúr. It was originally the custom that transit-fees on kâfilas coming from Kândahár were received by him, and fees on those coming from Kâbal by Shahâbadín Khân. Latterly, profiting by the distracted state of affairs in these countries, he levies from all kâfilas, coming or going, as does his brother-chief, and enemy. Fatí Khân is considered inimical by the sirdárs of Kândahár, particularly, perhaps, on account of his connexion with Shâh Sújah, and his exaction of transit-fees is not made with their consent or sanction: kâfilas think it better to pay them than to incur the risk of being plundered altogether. Fatí Khân also is obliged to be on the alert; as, if a kâfila pass beyond Killa Rámazân Khân, he would not dare to follow it, and would lose his fees. A kâsid was hence despatched to Shahâbadín Khân to learn the true state of affairs in the Ghiljí district, and whether he would protect the kâfila's advance.

Awaiting the reply of Shahâbadín Khân, our stay here was sufficiently agreeable. We had a kârez of excellent water flowing near us, and we procured our little supplies from a collection of tents contiguous. There were also two or three Hindús within the castle. To our left, beyond a rúd-khâna, were low hills, from whose summit a fine view was obtained of Kalât Ghiljí, and the valley of the Tarnak, also of the village of Lodín. On our right, in like manner, on ascending the rises, we beheld

some villages and castles, with their gardens. Killa Rámazân Khân, was built by its proprietor, at the suggestion of the Kândahár sirdárs, with the view of yielding protection to kâfilas, and thereby to induce them to adopt the route by it, instead of following the high one along the course of the Tarnak. This was hoped would prevent the collection of transit-fees by the Abúbekr Khél Ghiljís. How the scheme had answered we were witnesses, as the Ghiljís had first come to the village within the Kândahár boundary, and had now collected their supposed droits from under the walls of the castle. At length, by night, a horseman arrived stealthily from Shahábadín Khân, announcing his approach in person, and that he would place himself between the kâfila and his son, who must first defeat him ere he had it in his power to interfere with them. He wished the kâfila to march the following day.

In the evening we therefore started, and soon entered the bed of a rúd-khâna which we traced for some distance, and arrived in a line with the village of Lodín, about three miles distant to our left, where, we understood, the refractory son of Shahábadín Khân had taken position. Traversing a small extent of plain, we fell into another rúd-khâna, with hills on either side, up whose bed we continued our journey for a long time. On the hills to our right were the remains of an ancient fortress of considerable magnitude. We at length passed the úlús

infantry of Shahábadín Khân. They were lying, or rather resting on the ground, on their knees and hands, covered with their uncouth kozahs, or white felt cloaks. They made many demands for tobacco, with which it was necessary to comply. From their language it might be understood that they would have been better pleased to have plundered than to have protected the kâfila. Some of their expressions were so reckless and violent that the men of the kâfila blessed themselves in horror. They were, indeed, crouching on the earth like so many tigers, and are probably not a whit more humane in disposition. They are, however, as men, a sturdy and superior race. Soon after getting rid of them we passed the spot where Shahábadín Khân was passing the night. Here we did not stay, but proceeding some distance beyond, at daybreak halted on an open space, whence we could discern no habitation, or sign of it.

In the morning we were joined by Shahábadín Khân and his cavalry, about one hundred and fifty in number. They halted, and cooked their provisions. Everything that they required was taken from the men of the kâfila with the greatest effrontery. The khân sat on an eminence, and received the salutations of the kâfila báshí, and others. With the view of preventing delay at his castle, it was wished to have paid at this place the amount of transit-fees due; but the khân would not consent to receive it. A little after noon the kâfila was in

motion, Shahábadín Khân covering the march. I had now a favourable opportunity of seeing this celebrated Ghiljí chief. He was, apparently, about sixty years of age, very robust, but active, and of stern, sanguine, manly countenance. His attire was plain. A lúnghí was bound around his head, and a fargal, or upper robe of white linen, only distinguished him from his attendants. On his right hand was riding his younger son (for he has many sons), and it may be presumed his more favoured one, and he was apparelled more gaily, as was becoming the taste of youth and his father's regard. Our road was throughout level, but over a barren sandy tract, with slight hills and rises on either side, but we passed no house or cultivation until towards evening. In one spot the khân directed the kâfila to pass watchfully on, as there was apprehension. Soon after this we came in sight of castles and villages, called Khâka, at which we arrived at the close of day. Passing them about an hour after sunset, we reached the khân's residence, in front of which we halted. We found the khân indifferently lodged. This was not surprising, if the terms on which he lives with his neighbours, the Dúránís of Kâbal and Kândahár, be considered. It would be unwise for a khân of the Ghiljís to construct an edifice which it would grieve him to see destroyed whenever their armies might march through his country. As it is, his humble abode is purposely fixed distant from the high road. It

is built merely of mud, and is seated on a mound, at the foot of which are a few houses, and in the vicinity are some black tents. This day duty was paid at the rate of four rupees per camel, two rupees per horse, and one rupee per jackass. The collection was made in a summary way, by counting the animals, as the Ghiljís, to avoid discussion and the frauds of the merchants, levy on the beasts of burthen, not on the merchandize; and to incur no chance of being duped as to them, levy on all indiscriminately, whether laden or not. Any attempt to impose upon them brought a free application of the horsewhip; and some few poor fellows, who had secreted their asses, were most severely belaboured. With the Afghân portion of the kâfila they were less rancorous, but equally strict as to enforcing their rights. Towards the Pársivân portion they were oppressively harsh and insulting, even while attributing to themselves the merit of moderation. I sat during the scene, which lasted throughout the day, in perfect ease, Ghowar the Ohtak being at hand to look after his bales, and ready to answer if any one noticed me. I was, indeed, honoured by one of the collectors with the charge of his chain-armour, and in the evening received his thanks for having carefully watched it. Besides the amount of transit-fees, forty rupees were paid as mímání, or an entertainment fee. A blind Hâjí, returning from pilgrimage, and who rode on a camel, with a lame fáquí mounted on an ass,

were excused by the khân, whose inexorable nature relented at the exhibition of the infirmities of human kind.

The Ghiljí tribes occupy the principal portion of the country between Kândahár and Ghazní. They are, moreover, the most numerous of the Afghân tribes, and if united under a capable chief, might, especially in the present state of the country, become the most powerful.

These people are also found between Farra and Herát, and again between Kábal and Jelálabád, but in either position, being under due control, they are little heard of. The Ghiljís between Kândahár and Ghazní comprise the great families of the Ohtaks, the Thokís, the Terekís, and the Andarís, with their sub-divisions. Of these the three first are independent, and the last, residing at Mokar, are subject to the government of Ghazní. The Ohtaks are acknowledged the principal of the Ghiljí families, and furnished the chief, or pádshâh, in the period of their supremacy. They have accordingly a kind of reputation to maintain, and their character is more respectable than that of the other tribes. They dwell in the tract of country north of the Thokís, and of the high road from Kândahár to Ghazní, on which account travellers seldom pass through it. The Thokís, more numerous than the Ohtaks, occupy the line of road, and the tracts immediately north and south of it, from the confines of Kândahár to Mokar. Nearest to Kândahár re-

side the Abúbekr Khél, one of the subdivisions under their chief, Fatí Khân. The Terekís also border on the frontiers of Kándahár, and are east of the Thokís. They are less numerous than the Thokís, and have for chief Khân Terek,—who, if not dependent upon, cultivates an understanding with the sirdárs of Kándahár. Very many of the Terekí tribe also reside in the districts of Mokar and Kárabagh: there they are, of course, subjects to the Ghazní government.

The Ghiljís are both an agricultural and pastoral people, dwelling in villages and castles as well as in tents. The Thokís, possessing the greater length of the course of the Tarnak river, are enabled through its means to cultivate most extensively the tract of country bordering on it, and they raise large quantities of grain and lucern. In certain spots, where the extent of plain is ample, it is wonderful to behold the number of castles scattered over it, and equally so to look upon the luxuriant crops which cover it in the vernal season. When the latter are removed the scene is as singular; having a peculiarly dreary appearance, derived from the dull naked walls of the isolated castles, enlivened by no surrounding trees, or only by stunted and solitary ones, as if in mockery, or to point out the poverty of the landscape. The Thokís have, however, a few villages, or hamlets, with orchards, in favourable situations; and the Ohtaks, whose country is more hilly, and with much less plain, have nume-

rous small fertile valleys, well irrigated by rivulets, and they constantly reside in fixed villages. The Terekís have alike villages, and few castles, excepting that of their chief. The Ghiljís generally are wealthy in flocks, but have no manufactures, except of coarse carpets and felts, sacking, and other rough articles for domestic use, prepared from wool and camel-hair.

They are a remarkably fine race of men, the Ohtak and Thokí peasantry being probably unsurpassed, in the mass, by any other Afghân tribe for commanding stature and strength. They are brave and warlike, but have a sternness of disposition amounting to ferocity in the generality of them, and their brutal manners are, unfortunately, encouraged by the hostility existing between them and their neighbours, while they are not discountenanced by their chiefs. Some of the inferior Ghiljís are so violent in their intercourse with strangers that they can scarcely be considered in the light of human beings, while no language can describe the terrors of a transit through their country, or the indignities which are to be endured. Yet it must be conceded, that they do not excuse on marauding expeditions, and seem to think themselves justifiable in doing as they please in their own country. In this spirit, a person remonstrating against ill-treatment, would be asked why he came amongst them, as he could not be ignorant of their habits.

The Ghiljís, although considered, and calling themselves, Afghâns, and, moreover, employing the Pashto, or Afghân dialect, are undoubtedly a mixed race.

The name is evidently a modification or corruption of Khaljî, or Khilajî, that of a great Túrki tribe, mentioned by Sherífadín in his history of Taimúr, who describes a portion of it as being at that time fixed about Sávah and Khúm, in Persia, and where they are still to be found. It is probable that the Ohtak and Thokí families particularly are of Túrki descent, as may be the Terekí and Andarí tribes; and that they were located in this part of the country at a very early period is evident from the testimony of Ferishta, who, describing the progress of the Máhomedan arms, calls them the Ghilji and Khilijí; and notes that, in conjunction with the tribes of Ghor and of Kâbal, they united, A.H. 143, with the Afghâns of Kirmân (Bangash) and Pesháwer to repel the attacks of the Hindú princes of Lahore. Subsequently, they eminently distinguished themselves by their conquests in India and in Persia. In the latter country, they even defeated the Ottoman armies, and endured sieges unsurpassed in history, ancient and modern, for gallantry and length of defence. Nádir Shâh found them the most obstinate of his enemies; and, when he marched towards India, Kândahár was in the hands of

Hússen Khân, a Ghiljí, who defended the city for eighteen months, and, being reduced to extremity, made a sortie, in which he and his sons, after evincing most signal bravery, and losing the greater part of his men, were made prisoners. I am ignorant of the fate of this gallant man, but with him expired Ghiljí ascendancy in these parts; and which the tribes, although they have made strenuous efforts, have never since been able to recover. Their last attempt was during the sway at Kâbal of the weak Shâh Máhmúd; and Abdúl Rehmân Khân, Ohtak, the principal in that affair, is yet alive; but, as he is never heard of, may be presumed, with increase of years to have declined in influence, and to have moderated his views of ambition.

The testimony of Ferishta, while clearly distinguishing the Ghiljí tribes from the Afghâns, also establishes the fact of their early conversion to Islâm; still there is a tradition that they were, at some time, Christians of the Armenian and Georgian churches. It is asserted that they relapsed, or became converts to Máhomedanism from not having been permitted by their pastors to drink buttermilk on fast-days. A whimsical cause, truly, for secession from a faith; yet not so whimsical but that, if the story be correct, it might have influenced a whimsical people. This tradition is known to the Armenians of Kâbal; and they instance, as corroborating it, the practice observed

by the Ghiljís of embroidering the front parts of the gowns, or robes, of their females and children with figures of the cross ; and the custom of their housewives, who, previous to forming their dough into cakes, cross their arms over their breasts, and make the sign of the cross on their foreheads after their own manner.

The most powerful and the best known of the present Ghiljí chiefs, is Shahábadín Khân, Thokí, who is what is termed “nâmdár,” or famous, both on account of his ability as the head of a turbulent tribe, and for his oppressive conduct to kâfilas and to travellers. Latterly, indeed, he has somewhat remitted in his arbitrary proceedings, and, acknowledging his former rapacity, professes to comport himself as a Mússulmân, and to exact only regulated transit-fees from the traders ; yet, if more scrupulous himself, he does not, and, it may be, is unable to restrain effectually the extortions and annoyances of his people. He has a numerous progeny ; and some of his sons occasion him much trouble, leaguings themselves with the disaffected of the tribe, and putting themselves into open revolt.

Shahábadín Khân, in common with all the Ghiljís, execrates the Dúranís, whom he regards as usurpers, and pays no kind of obedience to the actual sirdárs of Kândahár and Kâbal, neither does he hold any direct or constant communication with them. They, on their part, do not require any

mark of submission from him, it being their policy to allow an independent chief to be between their respective frontiers, or that they distrust their power of supporting such a demand. As it is, the Ghiljí chief sets them at defiance; and, boasting that his ancestors never acknowledged the authority of Ahmed Shâh, asks, why should he respect that of traitors and Ahmed Shâh's slaves? If it be inquired of him why, with his numerous tribes, he does not attempt to wrest the country from them, he conceals his weakness by the pious remark, that to enjoy or to be deprived of power depends upon the will of God, which it is not right to anticipate; but that, if the Síkhs should march into Khorasân, he will then range all the Ghiljís under the banners of Islâm. He has no stronghold or, fortified place; his residence at Khâka, retired from the high road, being so little costly, and therefore so easily renewed if destroyed, would not tempt an enemy to deviate from the road for no better object than its destruction. In the event, however, of the march of armies, he abandons it, and sends his hâram to the hills and wastes, his best fastnesses.

Shahâbadín Khân retains in regular pay some two or three hundred horsemen, but his great strength, and that of every Ghiljí chief, is in the levy of the tribe. On occasions when the strength of the Ghiljí community has been put forth, the united force has been very considerable as to num-

bers ; thirty-five, forty, and fifty thousand men are talked of. Such large bodies, hastily assembled, of course as precipitately disperse if their object be not immediately gained, and, fortunately, the chiefs have not resources enabling them to wield effectively the formidable elements of power otherwise at their command. Every Ghiljí capable of bearing arms is a soldier, or becomes one in case of need, and he is tolerably well armed with a matchlock or musket, besides his sword and shield. The matchlock has frequently a kind of bayonet attached to it, and such a weapon is as much used by the horseman as by the man on foot.

The disposition of Shahábadín Khân has sometimes led him to attempt a greater control over his tribe than was considered by the community consistent with ancient custom, but he has always been prudent enough to concede when a show of resistance was made to his measures. He had a son, of whom fame speaks highly, and who fully entered into his father's views as to increasing his authority by curtailing popular influence. The young man, in furtherance of the project, made himself obnoxious, and was at length slain. Shahábadín Khân, as soon as informed thereof, rode to the residence of the assassin, and absolved him of the murder, remarking, that if his son desired to infringe the established laws of the Ghiljís his death was merited. Yet there is much distrust of the severe Khân entertained by many of the tribe,

of which his factious sons profit to create themselves parties. Such a state of things manifestly operates to diminish the power of all; and it is well, for the zillam, or tyranny, of Ghiljís in authority is proverbially excessive. It is also said, that when duly coerced, they become excellent subjects.

East of Ghazní, in the province of Zúrmat, are the Súlímân Khél Ghiljís, exceedingly numerous, and notorious for their habits of violence and rapine. These have no positive connexion with the Thokís or other tribes, neither have they one acknowledged head, but are governed by their respective maleks, who are independent of each other. Dost Máhommed Khân has just reduced them to the condition of tributaries, after having destroyed a multitude of their castles.

He was rather averse to attack them, seeming to think it "dangerous to disturb a hornet's nest," but his misgivings were overcome by the counsels of Hâjí Khân. From the Súlímân Khél tribe branch off all the various Ghiljí families in the neighbourhood of Kábal, and again east of that place to Jelálabád. Indeed, the Ghiljís may, with propriety, be classed into two great divisions, the western and eastern, the latter being all Súlímân Khéls, the former being the Ohtaks, Thokís, Terekís, and Andarís; to which families, I doubt not, belong the Ghiljís between Farra and Herát.

Transit-fees having been collected by the officers of Shahábadín Khân, it was arranged that the

kâfila should continue its journey in the morning. Ghowar the Ohtak, and Râhmat, buckled on their swords and shields, and at dusk left us, and did not return until near the dawn of day. They had gone privily to some place to ascertain whether the kâfila was likely to be attacked on the road in the morning. Their report was favourable.

By daybreak the men of the kâfila were about to load their animals, but a fresh inspection of their numbers was set on foot by the Ghiljís. A little more horsewhipping was the consequence. About nine o'clock the collectors expressed themselves satisfied, and, so far as they were concerned, absolved the kâfila from farther interruption. Now occurred an extraordinary scene; a host of fellows from the houses about Shahâbadín Khân's abode rushed in, and with knives ripping open the heads of bales and packages, helped themselves to handfuls of tobacco, raisins, and pepper, all in the best humour possible. This, it seemed, was their share of the profit derived from passing kâfilas, and the purloining by handfuls continued until the packages were fairly on the camels' backs; and the rising of the animals was the signal for them to desist. It was amusing to witness the haste of the camel-drivers to load, and the avidity of the Ghiljís in profiting by their delay. Those who fell upon the goods of the Afghâns were ingeniously directed to supply their wants at the expense of the Pársívâns. The officers of Shahâbadín, unable to prevent these

nefarious practices, sanctioned by custom, were content to expostulate with the riotous multitude, and remind them that the fees were paid. The kâfila, however, was at last in motion, and happy were its members at having escaped from the tiger's den. We soon passed a few collections of black tents, and afterwards two small villages, one on either side of the road. Beyond these again were a few black tents, and we had a laughable instance of the furtive instinct of our Ghiljí friends afforded by a child of some seven or eight years of age, who had detached a camel from the line, and was leading it off before our faces. He was detected, but what could be done to so juvenile an urchin? We now crossed a small range of hills, and beheld an extensive plain in front as far as our sight could reach. On either hand were a few castles, and at some distance on the left a multitude of scattered castles, denoting the course of the Tarnak, and the high road. We had now to traverse a spacious waste, or plain, intervening between the Ghiljí districts and those of Mokar. It is much dreaded by kâfilas, who are not only liable to attacks from the Thokís, but are under apprehension from one Os-mân Ganní, a chief of the Súlímân Khél Ghiljís, who, without fixed abode, maintains himself and a party of horse by marauding. This man I found was much more dreaded than Shahábadín Khân, and has rendered himself of infamous celebrity from his brutal behaviour as well as his robberies. We

were well advanced on the plain, when a cloud of dust in front made our camel-drivers condense their files, and trepidation was spread over many a heart. All was given up in imagination as already lost, and the unblessed men of the *kâfila* selected the moment for a battle with each other. Some mistake was made, or some discussion arose, and clubs were in play on all sides. Two or three better people with difficulty separated the combatants. A shepherd, more sagacious than we were, assured us the dust was raised by a whirlwind, and not by *Osmân Ganní*. We however marched in close order, until we had passed the deserted walls of a castle on the bank of the *Tarnak*, about half a mile from the road, which is said to be the usual rendezvous of robbers. Beyond this the *kâfila* extended its files, and in joy at having escaped the perils of the road, crossed the *Tarnak*, of inconsiderable breadth, flowing in a deep bed, and entered the territory of *Ghazní*. A ruinous castle was near, and a spot, called *Shéhidân*, or the place of martyrs, was pointed out, where one thousand *Afghâns*, who had intrenched themselves, were slain by the victorious army of *Nádir*. Their bleached bones, it is said, are strewed plentifully over the soil. We passed a castle called *Gharí Killa*, but it was moonlight before we halted at another castle, with a *Lohání* village of tents contiguous.

We halted at *Mokar* two days, clouds gathering in the afternoon over the *Hazára* hills to the

north, and much rain fell, accompanied by thunder. Mokar is a large, populous, and well-cultivated district, yet its appearance is not attractive, there being a deficiency of trees; the inhabitants dwell in castles, which are very numerous, and have a naked aspect. Wheat and barley are principally cultivated. The natives are of the Andarí, Alí Khél, and Terekí tribes of Ghiljís.

From Mokar our course led for some time from castle to castle, until we neared the hills on our left, the road being over a barren stony tract. Here some robbers rushed from their ambuscade in a ravine, and attempted to detach some camels. They were detected, and the men of the *kâfila* swaggered about, clanging their swords and shields, and uttering terrible words of defiance and menace, but the rogues had come to plunder not to fight, and being foiled, went off. The night had but little advanced when we halted near a village called Sir Chishma, or the fountain-head. Behind us were, in fact, the springs, or sources of the river Tarnak, near which is a tappa, or artificial mound. This spot was very agreeable from the plot of pasture, through which meandered the slender rivulets formed by the springs. That the locality, as the head of a river, had been held sacred in former times, might be inferred from the presence of the mound, which was, doubtless, crowned or accompanied by a temple, or some structure dedicated to the presiding deities.

Next day we crossed the nascent Tarnak, close to its head. The road led over a bleak, barren tract, which, although tolerably good, was occasionally dotted with hollows and pools, now filled with rain-water. A little before sunsét we passed a rivulet about twenty feet wide, running between high banks, with a fair supply of water. Its excess falls into the Lake Ab-istáda. A few villages were seen now and then under the skirts of the hills, and on the plain were grouped some collections of Lohání tents. Four or five tappas, or artificial mounds, occurred on or near the line of road, and finally reaching the district of Obo, we halted near a tappa of superior size, near which gushed a spring of water. Villages and castles were slightly sprinkled in our rear, and the hills to the north were yet covered with snow.

Leaving Obo, at sunset we crossed two spacious ravines, after which the line of road was frequently cut by canals of irrigation. Towards the close of our progress we traversed a small stream flowing in the bed of a broad and deep ravine, and halted, the moon being pretty high, in the district of Kárabâgh. Numerous castles were seen under the snowy hills to our left, or north, and fewer were dispersed over the wide plain to the right. Here we found the inhabitants, principally Hazáras, easily distinguished from their Afghân neighbours by their Tátar physiognomy, their diminished stature, and their habiliments, especially

their close-fitting skull-cap. They are of the Búbak tribe, and their chief, Gúlistân Khân, resides at Kárabâgh. He was formerly of some consequence, but has been materially depressed by Amír Máhoméd Khân, the present Sirdár of Ghazní, whose policy has caused him to reduce to insignificance the various aspiring heads of tribes under his government. He still attends the darbár, and is a man of some ability, and of good address. Notwithstanding various exactions which have been made from him, he is considered wealthy. His tribe is also found at Náwar and Sir-í-âb.

From Kárabâgh we marched early, and passed a large tappa on our left hand, and afterwards an extensive burial-ground, with zíarat. A barren stony tract intervened between us and Nání, where we arrived and halted. Here are many castles, the inhabitants are both Tájiks and Hazáras. The latter are of the Jaghattú tribe.

In the fore part of the day we were visited by a heavy hail-storm. About an hour and a half before sunset we started for Ghazní. Castles and small villages chequered either side of the road. It was daylight when we distinguished in the distance the walls and castle of the once famed capital of Máhmúd, but it was night before we reached it, having crossed near it the river, over which is an ancient and ruinous bridge. We skirted the walls on the southern face, and halted in front of the Kâbal Gate.

The kâfila had here to pay duties, which were collected in a courteous manner by a Hindú farmer of the revenue. No person is allowed to enter the town unless he deposits his weapons with the guards at the gates. The bazâr is neither very large nor well supplied, and the town itself probably does not contain above one thousand houses. It is built on the projecting spur from a small mass of rounded hills, and the citadel, or residence of Amír Máhoméd Khân, is perched on the higher portion of the spur. Its appearance is sufficiently picturesque, and it enjoys an extensive view over the country to the south, but there are no objects to render the landscape interesting. We look in vain over the city for any traces of the splendour which once marked the capital of the great Súltân Máhmúd, and almost question the possibility that we are wandering about its representative. There are traditions that the ancient city was destroyed by a fall of snow overwhelming it at an unusually late period of the season, or nine and a half days after No Roz, but its destruction may be equally imputed to the desolating armies of Húlákú and other barbarian conquerors. The low hills, which close upon and command the city on the side of the Kâbal gate, are covered with old Máhomedan cemeteries, and under them, about a mile distant from the town, is the village of Rozah; contiguous to which is the sepulchre and shrine of the mighty Máhmúd. This has been suffered to

dwindle away into ruin, and broken figures of marble lions, with other fragments, alone attest the former beauty of its courts and fountains. In the present gates, fragments, which have escaped the avidity of the pious collectors of relics, are said to be portions of the celebrated Sandal gates of Sam-nâth, and the interior of the apartment covering the tomb of the once-powerful monarch is decorated with flags and suspended ostrich eggs. The tomb itself is enveloped in carpets and palls of silk. There are numerous gardens belonging to Rozah, and the houses of the village have an antique appearance. Between this village and the town are two brick columns, which are the most ancient vestiges of the place, and may be held undoubted testimonies to the ancient capital. They are usually ascribed to Sûltân Máhmud, but I am not aware on what authority. They are, however, due to the period when Cufic characters were in use, for the bricks of which they are constructed are so disposed as to represent Cufic inscriptions and sentences. They are hollow, and may be ascended by flights of steps, which are, in truth, somewhat out of order, but may be surmounted. Ghazní is surrounded by walls, formed of mixed masonry and brick-work, carried along the scarp the entire length of the spur of hill on which it stands. The walls are strengthened with numerous bastions, and a trench surrounds the whole. The citadel is built on an eminence overlooking the town, and owes

its present appearance to Amír Máhoméd Khân, who since its capture by Dost Máhoméd Khân has made it his residence. I saw but two gates, one leading towards Nání, the other towards Kâbal, but conclude there are also gates on the opposite side. Ghazní commands a most extensive plain, which is but indifferently furnished with villages and castles, although not absolutely without them, and the river of Náwar runs beneath the town walls on the northern side. The town is seated in the midst of a rich grain-country, and in the adjacent plains of Náwar it has immense fields of pasture. In a military point of view it is happily situated, if we consider the period at which it was selected as a capital, for in the present day it would be scarcely tenable for a long siege, as it is commanded by the hills with which it is connected. Then, however, the case was very different, and it covered the roads leading to Loghar, Kâbal, and Bámíân. Unless the sirdár be himself residing at Ghazní, there are few troops there, and some four or five pieces of artillery, amongst which is a famous one called Zabar Zang. Ghazní in its prosperity was frequently taken and sacked,—memorably, by the great Húlákú and by Allahádín, the Afghân prince of Ghor. In its fallen state it has afforded a triumph to British arms, which, in whatever other light regarded, answered the temporary purposes of a political clique, and signalized the commencement of a new reign. It therefore produced abundant

exultation, and no sparing distribution of rewards and honours. I could wish to exult with those who exulted, and to rejoice with those who were rewarded and honoured, but the ghosts of Palmer and his companions in arms, admonish to be silent and discreet.

The country being more elevated than Kâbal, the temperature of the atmosphere is generally lower, and the winters are more severe. The apples and prunes of Ghazní are much famed, and exceed in goodness those of Kâbal. The revenue enjoyed by Amír Máhoméd Khân, and derived from Ghazní and its districts, somewhat exceeds four lakhs of rupees, and is collected as follows—

	RUPEES.
From the duties of the town, and transit-fees on kâfilas	65,000
From agricultural taxes on lands held by Tâjiks	70,000
From agricultural taxes on lands held by Andari, and other Afghân tribes	90,000
From the district of Wardak between Ghazní and Kâbal, being chiefly agricultural taxes	90,000
From the Hazâras of Kârabâgh, Nání, &c.	75,000
From the tributary Hazâras of Jághúrí and Mâllistán	14,000
Total rupees	<u>404,000</u>

Ghazní has the repute of being a very ancient site. Wilford tells us, of course following his Sanscrit authorities; that the kings of the Yavanas and Deucalion resided at it. He farther tells us, that its proper ancient name was Sabal, Zabal, or Saul, as written by Chrysococcas; whence he infers it to be the Ozola of Ptolemy. He also conjectures

it to be the Oscanidati of the Peutingerian tables, noted as twenty-two fersangs from Asbana, which he considers Kâbal, and thirty-five fersangs from Zupha, which I believe he would identify with Sheher Safar. In the neighbouring province of Zúrmat are sites which may have preceded that of Ghazní as capitals of this part of the country, viz. Gardéz and Patan. There are also in the district of Wardak several of the ancient monuments called topes, which have been examined by me, and, from the coins found in them, would appear to have been erected during the period of monarchs of the Indo-Scythic race, but not of the earlier ones. They may probably be due to the fourth or fifth century of our era. An inscription, dotted on a brass vessel found in one of them, in Bactro-Pâlí characters, may, it is hoped, instruct us as to their origin and nature. In the hills west of Ghazní are other considerable remains of antiquity, at a spot supposed to be the site of a city, and called Sheher Kúrghân. Numerous relics, coins, &c., are found there; but this only proves that it is an ancient place of sepulture; still, being found in more than usual numbers, we are justified to infer that a city of importance flourished near it, or that it was a locality of eminent sanctity. There is also a remarkable cave at this place, called Ghâr Sámanúka. Sheher Kúrghân is behind, and separated by hills from Náwar, so famed for its pastures, and the band, or dam, thrown

across the river of Ghazní by the former sovereigns of the country. It is in the district of Azeristân.

Skirting the low hills of Ghazní, we entered the valley leading to Kâbal. The night was far advanced when we reached Lora, where we halted. Here were some half-dozen castles, inhabited by Hazáras and Afghâns. We learned from the Hazáras that the sirdár collected, as revenue, half the produce of the lands. Confessing he was severe and uncompromising, they admitted that he had promoted peace amongst them, and extinguished feuds. We were now in the district of Wardak, which extends to Shékhabád, and yields a revenue of ninety thousand rupees. It was anciently possessed by the Hazáras, who, about one hundred years since, were expelled by the Afghâns. The Hazáras would also seem to have held the country from Kárábâgh to Ghazní, but have been in like manner partially expelled. Indeed, the encroachments of the Afghân tribes are still in progress.

From Lora, followed a road, generally even, but occasionally broken by water-courses and ravines. Halted at Takíá, a place with few people or houses, but a common halting-spot for kâfilas.

In our progress next day we passed the village of Saiyadabád, and afterwards the fertile valley of Shékhabád, through which winds the river, rising from springs at Ashdá, in the Hazára country of Bísút. It was night as we passed amongst the

villages, castles, and poplar-groves of Shékhabád, but it was easy to imagine that the locality was a favoured one. The river gurgled over a stony bed, and we crossed it by a temporary bridge. We halted at the Kâbal head of the valley.

From Shékhabád, we passed the castles called Top, and entered upon a spacious plain, on which was a chokí, or guard-station. We at length halted in the beautiful vale of Maidân, covered with castles, gardens, groves of poplar and plane-trees, with a redundant cultivation watered by numerous canals. Maidân is inhabited chiefly by the Omar Khél Ghiljís, and through it flows the river of Kâbal.

In our following march we reached the village of Arghandí, since distinguished as the spot selected by Dost Máhoméd Khân to cover Kâbal and encounter his British adversaries, and where the defection of his army took place, which compelled him at once to fly and abandon the country. Beyond it we passed a chokí, or guard-station, on the road-side, and, crossing a small rivulet, entered upon the magnificent plain of Cháhárdéh (the four villages). Here we had on our right hand, at a small distance from the road, the enclosed village of Killa Kází, with its orchards; to our left, a dreary expanse, bounded by lofty hills crowned with snow, at whose skirts were dense lines of dark verdure, denoting the orchards of Békh Tút and Paghmân. As we proceeded we

had to our left, at some distance, a low detached hill, called Chehel Tan, from its zíárat. Here is a cave, accessible only by a narrow aperture. It is believed, that if a person enter it he will be unable to squeeze himself out, unless pure and free from sin. The cave is, therefore, not much visited, but the spot is occasionally the resort of holiday-parties from Kâbal. There is also a tradition, that near to it was the ancient city of Zâbal. About mid-distance across the plain, we halted near the ruinous castle of Topchí Bashí, still possessing some fine plane-trees, and an excellent spring of water. On our right hand was the handsome castle of a Júânshír merchant.

At an early hour we resumed our journey, and with light hearts, as it was the last. At Killa Topchí Báshí many of the members of our kâfila had been visited by their relatives and friends from the city, decked in their holiday garments, and bringing offerings of rawâsh and lettuce. I had no relatives or friends to welcome my approach, but, as a companion, or rafík, I was admitted to a share of the delicacies : and my feelings permitted me to participate in the joy of those around me. Traversing the remainder of the fair plain, we reached Déh Mazzang, and approached the defile between the hills Assa Máhí and Takht Shâh, through which the road leads into the city. To our right were the venerable gardens, and chanár, or plane-tree

groves, overshadowing the grave of the Emperor Baber, and just beyond it, perched on an eminence, a decayed structure, called Takht Jân Nissâr Khân, erected in the time of Shâh Zemân by one of his favourites, that the monarch might, in the luxuriant scenery of the plain, gratify that sight, of which, alas ! he was to be so speedily deprived. To our left, at some distance, were the scattered castles of the Afshârs. On entering the defile, the fortified bridge of Nássir Khân, who defended Kâbal against Nádir Shâh, extends nearly across its breadth, leaving roads on either side. From the bridge lead up the hills lines of parapet and bastions, but in decay, which are ascribed to Sirdâr Jehân Khân, a veteran chief of Ahmed Shâh. Through this defile flows the river from Chahárdéh, and runs through the city. Hence, tracing a road skirting on orchards, and the dilapidated tomb of Taimúr Shâh, the view amplifies, and the city, Bálla Hissár, and neighbourhood, lie before us. Passing through the suburbs, we crossed the river by the Púl Kishtí, a brick structure, and a little beyond halted at the serái Zirdád, near the Chokh, where, also, during his stay at Kâbal, Mr. Forster lodged.

In the morning I walked through the city to the Bálla Hissár, and procured a comfortable abode in the Armenian quarter. There I resided, in quiet and satisfaction, until the autumn, when the desire to see Bámiân and its antiquities, led me to ac-

company Hâjî Khân Khâká, then governor of the place, on a military progress, which first took me into the Hazára country of Bísút. As it was now the early part of the month of June, I had ample leisure to become acquainted with the city and its inhabitants.

CHAPTER X.

European visitors.—Dr. Wolf's prediction.—Jang Shía and Súní.—Dost Máhomed Khán's fears.—Prophecy and delusion.—Delicacies of Kábal.—Rawásh.—Chúkri.—Cherries.—Mulberries.—Grapes.—Peaches.—Melons.—Their cultivation.—Profusion of fruits.—Ice.—Snow.—Takht Sháh.—Khána Sanghí.—Glens.—Antiquities.—Zíarats.—Sang Nawishta.—Topes.—Sanjitak.—Sháh Máhmúd's revels and adventure.—Sháhzáda Ismael's fate.—Baber's tomb.—Masjít.—Grove.—Distribution.—Tank.—Trees and flowers.—Râna Zéba.—Hawthorns.—Weekly fair.—Serái.—Reflections.—Takht Jân Nissár Khán.—Hospitality.—Accidental interruption.—Liberality of sentiment.—Anecdote of Fatí Khán.—Religious laxity.—Restriction at Bokhára.—Equality of Armenians.—Their intercourse with Máhomedans.—Liberal remark.—Indulgences.—Jews.—Charge of Blasphemy.—Punishment.—Reflections.

SOME few days before my reaching Kábal it had been honoured by the presence of three English gentlemen, Lieutenant Burnes, Doctor Gerard, and the Reverend Joseph Wolf. The latter had predicted many singular events, to be preceded by earthquakes, civil dissensions, foreign wars, and divers other calamities. An alarming earthquake did occur, and established his prophetic character, which considerably rose in estimation, when, about three hours after, a conflict took place between the Atchak Zai Afghâns of the city and the Júânshírs,

who were celebrating the Mohoram, and wailing and beating their breasts in commemorative grief of the slaughter of the sons of Alí. Several lives were lost; the Súní population were about to arm in the cause of the Atchak Zais, Chándol was on the alert, and its ramparts were manned, while desultory firing was carried on. Dost Máhoméd Khân, who had calmly sat during the earthquake, could not endure with the same fortitude the intelligence of an event, which, if it ripened into a crisis, would involve the loss of that authority which was so dear to him, and had cost him so many cares and crimes to obtain. He became sick of a fever. Hâjí Khân Khâka, who had been previously unwell, but now sent a Korân as a pledge to the Júânshírs, in the expectation that the affair would bring on a general struggle, was appointed agent by Dost Máhoméd Khân for the Shías of the city, and the Nawâb Jabâr Khân agent for the Súnís. These two compromised matters, or rather, suffered them to subside, for no arrangement was made. The season was fruitful in forebodings and prophecies, for now another earthquake was foretold by one of the holy men, which was to complete the destruction menaced by the preceding one. On the appointed day half of the inhabitants of Kâbal repaired to tents without the city, and when it had passed serenely over, returned in ridicule to their deserted abodes.

Rawâsh, or the blanched stalks of the rhubarb-plant, was one of the delicacies of the bazars when

I arrived in Kâbal, and the lambs of the Lóhání and Ghiljí flocks formed another. Lettuces also abounded. Rawâsh lasts for three months, from the middle of April to that of July. It is much eaten in its natural state, simply with the addition of salt, and is largely employed in cookery with meat. It affords a grateful, acidulated relish, and is held to be particularly sanative. It serves a variety of uses, and dried, is preserved for any length of time. It also makes an excellent preserve, by being first saturated in a solution of lime and then boiled with shírár, or the inspissated juice of grapes, losing, however, in this case, its characteristic flavour. Rawâsh is more or less plentiful in all the hills from Kalât of Balochistân to Kândahár, and again from that place to Kâbal. Attention is only paid to its growth by the inhabitants of Pagh-mân, who supply the bazars of the city. They surround the choicer plants with conical coverings of stones, so as to exclude light and air, and thereby produce that whiteness of stem so much prized. The unblanched plant is called chúkrí, and is also exposed to sale. More reasonable in price, it is nearly as well adapted for ordinary uses. Ríwand Chíní, or Chinese rhubarb, is a common drug at Kâbal, and much employed by the physicians, who never suspect it to be the same plant which yields their rawâsh.

The day of my arrival was distinguished by the presence in the bazar of cherries, the first-fruits of

the year; a day or two after apricots were seen, and in four or five days they were succeeded by mulberries. Cherries, I observed, were of three varieties; and to the Emperor Baber is ascribed the merit of their introduction into Kâbal, and to which he lays claim in his memoirs. Apricots are of very numerous varieties, as are the mulberries; and all exist in profusion. Parties visit the gardens about the city, and each paying a pais, or the sixtieth part of a rupee, have liberty to shake the trees, and regale themselves at discretion during the day. Some of the varieties of mulberries are of excellent flavour, and to enhance its zest, rose-water is by some sprinkled over the mass, with fragments of ice or pounded snow. The first grapes which ripen are called Kândahârí, from having, perhaps, been originally brought from that place; they are black, and of large clustered bunches, the grapes much varying in size. They appear about the end of June, and continue until the end of July, when they are replaced by the many varieties for which Kâbal is famous, until the close of autumn, following each other in due succession. In June, also, apples are first brought to the bazars, and in July they become plentiful, with pears. In the beginning of August peaches ripen in Koh Dáman; they are very large, but I think not well flavoured; indeed, I question whether any of the fruits of Kâbal equal in flavour the analogous varieties of England. Quinces, with musk, and, water-melons, usher in the autumn; and

the latter are certainly fine fruits; while their enormous consumption is such, that to raise them is the task of the agriculturist. The Sadú Zai princes did not disdain to derive profits from their royal melon-fields, nor is Dost Máhoméd Khân ashamed to imitate the precedent. He has his pález, or melon-fields, prepared and tended by forced labour, and the inhabitants of the contiguous villages are taxed to furnish, from the neighbouring wastes, their respective proportions of the plant asl-sús, or liquorice, which is employed in the formation of the beds and trenches, and which abounds. Besides all these fruits, there are walnuts, almonds, pistas, figs, and pomegranates, although the two latter kinds are not so esteemed as those of warmer countries. It is scarcely possible that Kâbal can be surpassed for the abundance and variety of its fruits, and, perhaps, no city can present, in its season, so beautiful a display of the delicious treasures supplied by nature for her children. Of the many luxuries of Kâbal, ice must not be forgotten; like fruit, it is abundant, and so cheap as to be within the reach of the poorest citizen. It is used to cool water, sherbets, and fruits; and even a cup of buttermilk is scarcely thought fit to drink unless a fragment of ice be floating in it. During winter large blocks of ice are deposited in deep pits, lined with chaff; matting, for a depth of some feet, is placed over them, and the whole is covered with earth. Another method of obtaining ice is by

directing water into a prepared cavity, and allowing it to freeze. The process is renewed until a sufficient quantity of the congelated mass is accumulated, when it is overspread with matting and soil. Snow is alike preserved, and its square crystalized heaps sparkle during the warm months in the shops of the fruiterers and confectioners.

I made many excursions in the environs, and examined the various interesting objects they present. On one occasion I ascended the hill Koh Takht Shâh, to inspect the building on its summit, mindful that Baber had described it as the palace of an ancient king. I found a substantial erection of about thirty-five feet in length, and eighteen feet in breadth, with a height of about eleven feet. On the western front is a small arched entrance, leading into an apartment of about eleven feet square, crowned with a dome. Four niches were inserted at the angles of the walls, and three others in the respective sides. A little below, on the face of the hill, there is believed to be a cave, which has its opposite outlet at Fatíabád, at the head of the Jelálabád valley, and by which Zâkom Shâh, an infidel king who resided here, escaped from the vengeance of Házrat Alí. Baber appears to have related the tradition of the country connected with the spot, but there can be little question, from the existence of the domed chamber, that the Takht Shâh, or King's Throne, as it is called, is a sepulchral monument of the middle ages. It is rudely

composed of unfashioned stones, and the chamber has been lined with cement. Connected with it, and extending along the summits of the range, and of its ramifications, are parapet walls of masonry. We ascended the hill by the Kotal, or pass of Kedar, leading from the zíarat of that name into Chahár Déh, on the descent of which is another object of curiosity. It is called the Khâna Sanghí, or the stone house, and consists of two apartments hewn in the rock, with the doors also of stone. A terrace, of a few feet in breadth, extends before it, and two or three large hewn stones are lying by the sides of the entrances. It may have been the retreat in former times of some religious recluse. In our descent from the Takht Shâh we came direct down its eastern face, and fell upon the glens, or khols Shams, and Magamast, where are sepulchral vestiges of the old inhabitants. In these we subsequently made excavations, and found a variety of idols, also some Nágarí manuscripts on leaves, which, however, it is feared, were too mutilated to be very serviceable, although the characters on what had been spared were very distinct. At the same spot Dr. Gerard, when at Kâbal, procured the image of Buddha, so called, which figures in the September number of the Journal of the Asiatic Society in Bengal for 1834.

From the khols to the Bálla Hissár the distance is a little above half a mile, and is occupied by a burial-place of the present city; in former times it

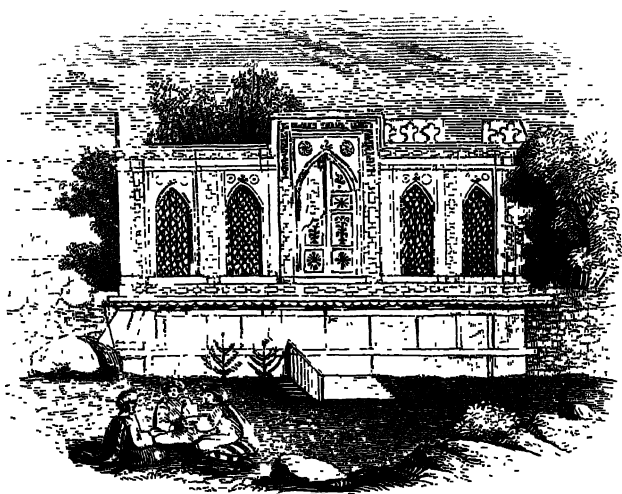
was appropriated to a similar use. On the skirts of the hill overlooking it are the *zíárats*, or shrines of *Jehân Bá*z, *Panja Shâh Merdân*, and *Kedar*, all favourite places of festive resort to the people of the city. I had heard of an inscribed stone, called *Sang Nawishta*, near the hill *Shâkh Baranta*, about five miles south of *Kâbal*, and such an object demanded attention. I therefore walked to it, and found a large square block lying on the right of the road on the bank of the *Loghar* river, over which, close by, a bridge has been thrown. It required no dexterity to see that it was Persian, but whether the characters had been mutilated, or were of too ancient a style, I could find no person able fully and satisfactorily to read it. Copies preserved may tend to its explanation, but I question if it relates to any important event or topic. It had been lying for years neglected, when *Abbás Kúlí Khân*, the proprietor of a castle on the opposite side of the river, set it up in its present position. The *Loghar* river at this point enters the plain east of *Kâbal*, and has a breadth of nearly sixty yards. In another and more extended excursion, I skirted the hill-range from *Shâkh Baranta* to *Bhút Khâkh*, in whose recesses are the *Topes*, subsequently examined by *M. Honigberger*. I was unable at this time to benefit by the knowledge of their existence.

Amongst the glens, or *khols* of these hills, is one called *Sanjítak*, a favourite spot for the pleasure-

seeking parties of Kâbal, who are, however, obliged to come in numbers and armed, as it is a little retired. It is a place of ancient sepulture, and there are mounds and caves at it;—from the former funeral jars have been extracted. The attractions for holiday-makers are, the water of a fine spring, which a little from its source is collected in a deep and spacious tank, cut in the living rock, a work of other days, and the shade afforded by some umbrageous trees, themselves venerable from their age. These are chanars, or oriental planes, but there are likewise walnut-trees and vineyards. The dissolute and eccentric Shâh Máhmúd loved the secluded and picturesque glen of Sanjitak, so convenient, and adapted to the indulgence and concealment of his licentiousness. At the head of the spring he built a pleasure-house, now in ruins; and many tales are told of his adventures here, for he was pleased to ramble about, slightly attended. Once, it is said, the horses of the monarch and of his few attendants were carried off by robbers. The same spot is memorable in the annals of Kâbal, as having been visited, on pretence of diversion, by Shâhzâda Ismael, son of Shâh Ayúb, who intended to have retired to Pesháwer, having failed to convince his infatuated father of the propriety of seizing the property of the deceased Sirdár Máhommed Azem Khân, as well as of his own immediate danger from the violence of the sirdár's brother, Fúr Dil Khân. The nominal Shâh, conjecturing his

son's purpose, sent after him to Sanjitak. The prince was induced to return, and on the morrow was shot in a rash attempt to resist the deposition of his father. This event led to many reflections, and is still held as an undeniable evidence of the impossibility of avoiding the destiny which, fixed and unerring, awaits every mortal.

Numerous were the walks I made, and the days I spent amongst the several *zíárats*, or shrines of the city, as well as amid its delightful gardens and orchards. Of the *zíárats*, that of the Emperor Báber best repays a visit. It is attractive from



TOMB OF THE EMPEROR BABER.

the recollections we carry with us, and the reveries to which they give rise. It is equally so from the romantic situation of the spot, its pic-

turesque aspect, and from the extensive and beautiful view it commands. The tomb of the great monarch is accompanied by many monuments of similar nature, commemorative of his relatives, and they are surrounded by an enclosure of white marble, curiously and elegantly carved. A few arghawân-trees, in the early spring putting forth their splendid red blossoms, flourish, as it were, negligently, about the structure. The tombs, for the truth must be told, are the objects of least attention in these degenerate days. No person superintends them, and great liberty has been taken with the stones employed in the enclosing walls. Behind, or west of the tombs, is a handsome masjid, also of marble, over which is a long Persian inscription, recording the cause and date of its erection. The latter was subsequent to the decease of Baber. Again, behind the masjid, is the large and venerable grove, which constitutes the glory of the locality. The shade of the illustrious prince might not be displeased to know that the precincts of his sepulchre are devoted to the recreations of the inhabitants of his beloved Kâbal; and the indignation it might feel that the present chief does not hesitate to picket his horses under the shade of the groves, might be soothed by the deprecatory enunciations the act of desecration calls forth. The groves are no longer kept in order, and sad havoc has been perpetrated amongst the trees. Probably a diffidence too se-

riously to outrage public sentiment, has saved them from total destruction. The ground is laid out in a succession of terraces, elevated the one above the other, and connected in the centre by flights of ascending steps. At each flight of steps is a plot of chanár, or plane-trees, and to the left of the superior flight is a very magnificent group of the same trees, surrounding as they overshadow, a tank, or reservoir of water. The principal road leads from west to east, up the steps, and had formerly on either side lines of sabr, or cypress-trees, a few of which only remain. Canals of water, derived from the upper tank, were conducted parallel to the course of the road, the water falling in cascades over the descents of the several terraces. This tank is filled by a canal, noted by Baber himself. It is that which he tells us was formed in the time of his paternal uncle, Mírza Ulugh Beg, by Wais Atkeh. The descendants of the Wais still flourish, and are considered the principal family of Kâbal. The rather notorious Mír Wais, put to death by Shâh Sújah, when in power, was a member of it. Below the tomb of the emperor, on the plain, is the hereditary castle and estate, with the village Waisalabâd, due to the same family.

Baber Bâdshâh, so the interesting spot is called, is distinguished by the abundance, variety, and beauty of its trees and shrubs. Besides the imposing masses of plane-trees, its lines of tall, ta-

pering, and sombre cypresses, and its multitudes of mulberry-trees, there are wildernesses of white and yellow rose-bushes, of jasmines, and other fragrant shrubs. The râna zéba, a remarkable variety of the rose (*rosa prostolistiaia*), the exterior of whose petals is yellow, while the interior is vermilion red, also is common. The Englishman is not a little charmed to behold amongst the arborescent ornaments of the place the hawthorn of his native country, with its fragrant clustered flowers and its scarlet hips. Attaining the size of a tree, it is here a curiosity. Its native region is amongst the secondary hills of the Hindú Kosh, in Panjshír, &c.

On Júma, or Friday, the sabbatical day of Máhomedans, in the vernal season, a méla, or fair, is regularly instituted here. Shops are arranged, where provisions and delicacies may be procured, and crowds flock to Baber Bádshâh to greet the welcome return of spring. On Shamba, the day following Júma, the females of the city resort to the umbrageous groves, and divert themselves by dancing to the soft tones of the lyre and tambourine, and by swinging. They amply enjoy their liberty after six days' confinement in the solitude of the háram. On other days, it is no uncommon circumstance for families to make festive excursions to Baber Bádshâh. The place is peculiarly fitted for social enjoyment, and nothing can surpass the beauty of the landscape and the pu-

rity of atmosphere. Its situation is likewise admirably apposite, being without the city, yet conveniently near. Parties from the western parts of the city pass through the opening leading into Chahár Déh. From the eastern parts and the Bálla Hissár, it may be more speedily reached by crossing the ridge Koh Takht Sháh, by the pass of Kheddar, which descends nearly upon it.

The establishment connected with the sepulchre of the illustrious Baber was once very complete. At the entrance of the grove to the west are the substantial walls of a kárávánserái, for the accommodation of merchants; and over the river, which flows contiguously, a massive bridge of masonry, evidently of the same period, has been thrown.

It is instructive, while wandering about the shaded walks of Baber Bádsháh, to reflect on the probable origin of shrines, temples, fairs, &c. The causes being well exemplified in the scenes before us. The tomb of a beneficent and beloved monarch has given rise to a temple, to a sacred grove, to a fair, to a kárávánserái, and to a bridge. The age of hero worship is past, but the state of religion in these countries, while preventing an apotheosis, has still permitted that gratitude should enrol the gay and generous Baber in the calendar of saints.

Adjacent to Baber Bádsháh, on an eminence, is a ruinous building, erected by Jân Nissár Khân in the reign of Sháh Zemân, that the monarch

might thence survey the luxuriant prospect around. Certainly, when the sober shades of evening have invested the landscape with a chaste solemnity, it is unrivalled, and indifferent must be the bosom which is not influenced and enraptured by its calm and serene beauties.

There are few places where a stranger so soon feels himself at home, and becomes familiar with all classes, as at Kâbal. There can be none where all classes so much respect his claims to civility, and so much exert themselves to promote his satisfaction and amusement. He must not be unhappy. To avow himself so, would be, he is told, a reproach upon the hospitality of his hosts and entertainers. I had not been a month in Kâbal before I had become acquainted with I know not how many people; had become a visitor at their houses, a member of their social parties. No holiday occurred that did not bring me a summons to attend some family circle, in some one of the many gardens of the city. The stranger guest will not fail to be astonished at the attentions paid to him on such occasions. It seems as if the entertainment had been expressly designed for him, and that the company had no other object than to contribute to his gratification. The most rigid mind must admire such politeness, and the feelings which prompt its exhibition.

I was accustomed to stroll freely about the city and its immediate neighbourhood, and was never

interrupted, or noticed offensively, but on one day, when a cap I wore, rather than myself, elicited some ill feeling. I had, by chance, left my house with a Persian cap on my head, in lieu of the usual lúnghí. I have seen many changes in Kâbal, and do not know what may yet come to pass there, but I cannot forget that the sight of a Persian cap would, in 1832, have brought insult upon the wearer.

It is matter of agreeable surprise to any one acquainted with the Máhomedans of India, Persia, and Turkey, and with their religious prejudices and antipathies, to find that the people of Kâbal are entirely free from them. In most countries, few Máhomedans will eat with a Christian; to salute him, even in error, is deemed unfortunate, and he is looked upon as unclean. Here none of these difficulties or feelings exist. The Christian is respectfully called a "kitábí," or "one of the book." The dissolute Vazír Fatí Khân, when, occasionally, an Armenian Christian presented himself, desiring to become a convert to Islám, was wont to inquire what he had found deficient in his own religion that he wished to change it? And would remark, that those persons who possessed a book, and would adopt a new faith, were scoundrels, actuated by love of gain, or other interested motive. To the Hindú, anxious to enter the pale of the Máhomedan Church, he made no objection; on the contrary, he applauded him who, having no religion,

embraced one. I at first imputed the indifference of the Kâbal people to their own laxity, for I soon observed that there was very little religion amongst them. Those called Shíás were very generally of the Súfí mazzab, which, whatever its mystical pretensions, I fear, implies no religion at all. The same system largely prevails amongst the Súní professors. But when the same liberality was found to extend over the country, and amongst all races, whether Afghâns, Tâjiks, or others who could not be chargeable with Súfí doctrines, I was sensible that there must be some other reason; however I could not discern it for the fact that the people of Kâbal and the country around, only of all Máhomedans, should be careless or generous, as the case may be, in matters held by others of so much moment. I believe that the invidious distinction of dress, enforced generally on Christians at Bokhára, is according to an edict of no very remote date, nor is it impossible that previously the same liberality of deportment distinguished Túrústân. The political ascendancy of Christians may have an effect; and it is at least consolatory to the pride of the Mússulmán to fancy he possesses an advantage in spiritual matters, when his rival, by superior address and talent, has established his pre-eminence in temporal affairs. It is highly creditable, however, to those of a declining faith, whose higher tone of sentiment can withstand the admission into their bosoms of ungenerous feelings to-

wards those whose superiority they acknowledge. Living with the Armenians of the city, I witnessed every day the terms of equality on which they dwelt amongst their Máhomedan neighbours. The Armenian followed the Máhomedan corpse to its place of burial; the Máhomedan showed the same mark of respect to the deceased of the Armenian community. They mutually attended each others' weddings, and participated in the little matters which spring up in society. The Armenian presented gifts on Id Noh Roz, or the Mahomedan new year's day; he received them on his own Christmas-day. If it had happened that a Máhomedan had married an Armenian female who was lost to the Church of the Cross, I found that the Armenians had retaliated, and brought Máhomedan females into their families, and inducted them into their faith. An Armenian, in conversation with the present head of the Wais family said, that some person had called him a kâfr or infidel. The reply was, "He that calls you a kâfr is a kâfr himself." It is something for a Christian to reside with Máhomedans so tolerant and unprejudiced. Wine, prohibited to be made or sold in the city, is permitted to be made and used by Armenians, who are simply restricted to indulge in their own houses. They have not, unadroitly, induced the Máhomedans to believe that to drink wine is part of their religion, and to interfere on that head is impossible. There are a few families of Jews at Kâbal, but while per-

fectly tolerated as to matters of faith, they by no means command the respect which is shown to Armenians. Like them, they are permitted to make vinous and spirituous liquors; and they depend chiefly for their livelihood upon the clandestine sale of them. Some years since, a Jew was heard to speak disrespectfully of Jesus Christ; he was arraigned, and convicted before the Máhomedan tribunals on a charge of blasphemy; the sentence was sang sár, or, to be stoned to death. The unhappy culprit was brought to the Armenians that they, as particularly interested, might carry into effect the punishment of the law. They declined, when the Máhomedans led the poor wretch without the city, and his life became the forfeit of his indiscretion. It was singular that an attack upon the divinity of our Saviour should have been held cognizable in a Máhomedan ecclesiastical court, and that it should have been resented by those who in their theological disputes with Christians never fail to cavil on that very point. The Jew, in averring that Jesus Christ was the son of the carpenter Joseph, had differed from their own belief on that subject; but had not the assertion been made by a Jew, who would have noticed it? How true is it, that the Jews are everywhere the despised, the rejected race.

CHAPTER XI.

Situation of Kâbal. — Fortifications. — Bálla Hissár. — Defences. — Búrj Húlákú. — Value of defences. — Citadels. — Bálla Hissár Bálla. — Kúla Feringhí. — Prohibition. — Marble thrones. — Bálla Hissár Bálla originally a cemetery. — Discoveries. — Wells. — Gates. — Bálla Hissár Pâhín. — Regulations. — Mallas. — Police. — Gates. — Dafta Khâna. — Tope Khâna. — Palace. — Masjít Pád-shâh. — Anecdote of Taimúr Shâh. — City walls. — Gates. — Chándol. — Walls. — Population. — Aspect of city. — Habíb Ulah Khân's freak. — Construction of houses. — Mallas and kúchas. — Their object and inconveniences. — Public buildings. — Seráis. — Hamâns. — Bridges. — Bazars. — Shops. — Trades. — Markets. — Itinerant traders and cries. — Provisions. — Variable prices. — Famines. — Mode of preventing pressure on supplies. — Enjoyments of winter season. — Sandalís. — Inconveniences. — Economy. — Chimneys. — Flues. — Burial-places. — Inscription. — Má-homedan tombs. — Shía tombs. — Grave-stones. — Englishman's grave. — Belief respecting it. — Removal of grave-stones. — Customs observed at burial-places. — Processions. — Takías. — Zíárats. — Rock impressions. — Gardens. — Namáz Gâh. — Bâgh Taimúr Shâh. — Bâgh Shâh Zemân. — Bâgh Vazír. — Chahâr Bâgh. — Taimúr Shâh's tomb. — Bâgh Khwoja. — Gardens of Deh Afghân. — River. — Júi Shir. — Bálla Júi. — Júi Púl Mastân. — Wells. — Quality of water. — Abundance. — Meadows. — Bogs. — Causes of fever. — Site of Kâbal. — Agreeable vicinity. — Winds. — Whirlwinds. — Commercial importance. — Domestic trade. — Manufactures. — Wants of the community. — Artizans and fabrics. — State of progression.

THE city of Kâbal is seated at the western extremity of a spacious plain, in an angle formed by

the approach of two inferior hill ridges. That to the south is indifferently called Koh Takht Shâh (hill of the king's palace), and Koh Khwoja Safar from a *zíarat* of that name, on its acclivity, overlooking the city. It has also the less used and mythological appellation of Bandar Déo. The ridge to the north, of inferior altitude, is known by the name of the Koh Assa Mâhí, or the hill of the great mother, which is Nature. A temple, dedicated to the goddess, is at the foot of the hill. A huge stone is the object of adoration.

The interval between these two hills allows space for the entrance, from the plain of Chahâr Déh, of the stream called the river of Kâbal, which winds through the city. Over it has been thrown a substantial and fortified bridge of masonry. From it connecting lines of ramparts and towers are carried up the sides and over the summits of the ridges. Useless for purposes of defence, they contribute to diversify the aspect of the city, as seen from the east. The lines of fortifications cresting the Koh Takht Shâh are brought down the eastern face of the hill, and made to close upon the Bálla Hissár Bálla, or citadel, built upon a spur of the same hill, at the south-east extremity of the city. At this point was formerly one of the gates of the old city, (the Derwâza Jabâr,) and as it connected the hill defences with those of the Bálla Hissár Bálla, the *enceinte* of the place was completed according to the notions of the projector, Sirdâr Jahân Khân,

Popal Zai, a veteran chief, of the age of Ahmed Shâh. The Bálla Hissár was originally strongly built, and its walls were accommodated to the form of the rising ground of its site. Their lower portions are composed of masonry, facing the rock, to a depth of fifteen to twenty feet. Their upper portions, six or seven feet in height, are of burnt brick, and form a parapet, which is crenated and provided with embrasures and loop-holes for large and small arms, also with a regular succession of kangaras. Formerly, a shírází, or fausse-braye of mud, was carried between the walls and the trench. The latter is spacious, but of variable depth, and being neglected, has become overgrown with rank grass, amongst which, towards the close of autumn, when the water decreases, cattle graze. At the south-west end of the fortification, where the minor hill of the Bálla Hissár Bálla connects with the parent one, and where the Derwâza Jabár once stood, the nature of the swelling rock has not permitted the extension of the trench; or the obstacles it opposed were deemed too formidable to be encountered, for the advantages to be derived. Still, this point seems to have been thought the weak one of the place; and to strengthen it, on the superior hill commanding it, is a massive tower, called Búrbj Húlákú, from some tradition respecting that barbarous conqueror. To this point, we have already noted, that the lines of Sirdár Jahân Khân were extended, and within them he has included

the Búrj Húlákú. This work, intended for the defence of the place, has, invariably, in the numerous intestine contests happening during the last few years for its possession, fallen into the power of the assailing party on the outbreak of hostilities.

As a fortress, from being commanded on the south-west, and west by the hill overshadowing it, and to the east by eminences, on which Nádír Shâh raised his batteries, the Bálla Hissár of Kâbal can scarcely be deemed competent to resist for any length of time, a scientific attack. In native warfare, it must be considered a strong place, or one capable of being made so. In earlier times, we can give the judicious Baber credit for the importance he attached to its fortifications. At a later period, the siege it withstood against Nádír did not impair its reputation for strength.

The Bálla Hissár of Kâbal comprises two portions, the Bálla Hissár Pâhín, and the Bálla Hissár Bálla. Hissár implies a fortress, and Bálla Hissár the upper or superior fortress, the citadel. Hence, Pesháwer, Kâbal, Ghazní, Kândahár, and Herát, have all their Bálla Hissárs, equivalents to the Args of Persia. Bálla Hissár Bálla, and Bálla Hissár Pâhín, therefore, signify the upper and lower citadels. In some places, as at Hérat, Kandahár, and Ghazní, the citadel may be enclosed within the walls of the city. In others, as at Kâbal and Pesháwer, they may be without, and independent. In the latter reigns of the Sadu Zai princes the Bálla

Hissár Bálla served as a state prison. It is now a solitude, and in ruins. The summit of the eminence on which it is raised is surmounted by a dilapidated square, turretted building, called the Kúla Feringhí (European hat). It is of very recent date, being due to Sirdár Súltân Máhoméd Khân, and arose under the superintendence of a rude architect, Hâjí Alí, Kohistâní, one of his military dependents. It was intended for no more important purpose than to enable the chief and his friends to enjoy the beauties of the landscape around, and was in consequence slightly constructed. As a spectator from it completely overlooks the palace of the chief below, orders, little regarded, have been issued, to forbid the people of the city to visit it, and the Bálla Hissár Bálla generally, on the plea of preserving intact the "pardah," or privacy of the háram.

Under the northern wall of the Kúla Feringhí, however, are two objects deserving inspection, in two masses of hewn white marble, describing what are here called takhts, or thrones; flights of three steps being formed in each. One of them is distinguished by a flagon carved on one of its sides; and this symbol of good cheer and festivity, while it may explain the purpose to which the thrones may have been at some time devoted, forcibly recalls to recollection, that this was the very spot where the social Baber frequently held his convivial meetings, and which probably he had in mind when he

exultingly declared that Kâbal was the very best place in the world to drink wine in. Connected with the thrones is a miniature hous, or reservoir for water, inadequate for purposes of general ablutions, but appropriate for the lavement of fingers and píálas (cups), and the trivial detergent offices consequent upon an oriental regale.

It is certain that the Bálla Hissár Bálla has been at one time a cemetery, for I have been assured by too many people to doubt the fact, that when children they were accustomed in their rambles over it constantly to pick up old coins, &c.; even now they are occasionally found. Discoveries of another nature have been frequently made, of stone cannon-balls, arrow-heads, caltrops, &c.; of course, portions of the munitions once laid in store for the defence of the place. It is not improbable that very much of the hill is honey-combed with vaults and passages, some of which have been casually discovered. The soil spread over the hill is continually carried away for the manufacture of saltpetre. Much of this may be formed of the *débris* of the unsubstantial erections of unburnt bricks, which have been from time to time erected within the limits of the fortifications. Yet, no small part of it may be considered as the soil which, in former ages, has been carried up from the plain beneath, and deposited upon the rocky surface, to form the required basis for the reception of the jars and ashes of the dead.

Within the precincts of the upper citadel are two wells, lined with masonry. One of these, called the *Síáh Cháh* (black well), was used as a dungeon, up to the time of *Shâh Máhmúd*. The *Vazír Fatí Khân* once confined many of his brothers, *Dost Máhoméd Khân* amongst the rest, in this *Síáh Cháh*. After executions, the corpses of the slain were sometimes thrown into it. The other well is now neglected, but once yielded excellent water. The outer line of the *Bálla Hissár Bálla* has three gates. One, the principal, leading into the *Bálla Hissár Pâhín*, a little south of the palace. This gate was mined by *Dost Máhoméd Khân*, when he besieged Prince *Jehângír*, the son of *Kámrán*. The second, called *Derwâza Kâshí* (contraction of *Nakâshí*, or painted), from having been covered with glazed enamelled tiles, looks upon the plain eastward. By this gate Prince *Jehângír* escaped. The third gate, smaller than the others, leads towards the hill *Khwoja Safar*, near the site of the *Derwâza Jabár*. It is called the gate of blood, as through it were carried privily by night, for interment, the corpses of those of the royal family who fell victims to the resentment, or fears of the reigning prince. This detestable gate, with the others, is closed.

The *Bálla Hissár Pâhín*, or lower citadel, under the *Sadú Zai* princes, besides the space occupied by their palaces and appurtenances, chiefly accommodated their servants and select retainers, as cer-

tain portions of the ghúlám khâna, or household troops. Now it is more indiscriminately tenanted.

On the understood fact that it is the property of the crown, or of the ruling power, no house can be erected in it without permission; neither does any house erected become the absolute property of its occupant or founder. In sales, or transfers of possession, the houses are not so much sold as the wood employed in their construction, the value of which regulates the price. It is in the power of the authorities at any time to eject the inhabitants. Of course, such an act is only thought of in cases of emergency. An instance of ejection occurred when Hâbîb Ulah Khân held the Bálla Hissár. His mother appealed to him in favour of the Armenian residents; and the not very rational youth admitted that to displace those who had no connexions in the country to receive them would be harsh. They were allowed to remain.

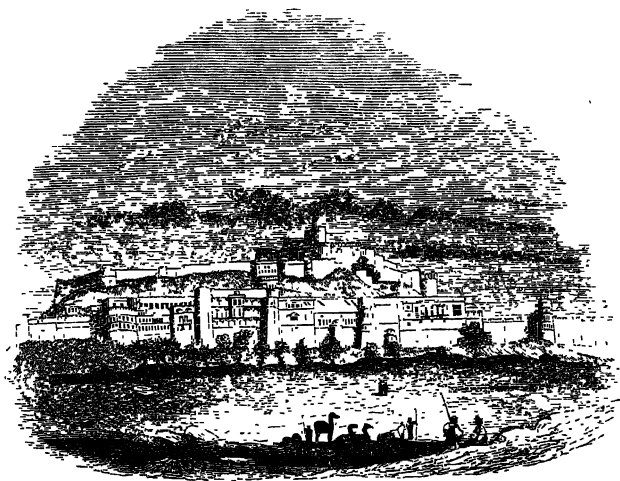
The Bálla Hissár Pâhín may contain nearly one thousand houses, and is provided with a good bazar. It is divided into many quarters, or mallas, called after the classes inhabiting them; as the Malla Araba (Arab), Malla Hábáshí (descendants of negroes), Malla Armaní (Armenian), &c. It has a police, under the direction of a katwâl, and a court under the jurisdiction of a Kází, for the judgment and adjudication of disputes and causes. All serious matters are referred to Dost Máhoméd Khân,

and, indeed, in Kâbal all offices are nominal, the chief attending personally to all matters, however trivial.

In the exterior circumference of the Bálla Hissár Pâhín there are two gates, one on the eastern front called the Derwâza Shâh Shéhîd, from a zîarat contiguous; the other, on the western front, called the Derwâza Nagára Khâna, on account of the nagâras, or drums, beaten daily at certain times, being stationed there. There is an internal and intermediate gate on the road between these two now standing, and there was formerly another, both belonging to a court south of the palace, in which was the Dafta Khâna, or record office. This building, a very gay one, was in being when I first visited Kâbal; Dost Máhoméd Khân has pulled it down, intending with its materials to construct a garden-house, under the hill of the upper citadel. However effectually he may conduct the business of the state, he has no need of public offices, and his ministers write at their own houses, and carry their records and papers about with them in their pockets. From the court of the Dafta Khâna the Tope Khâna, or artillery-ground, is entered, and beyond it the bazar of the Araba leads to the Derwâza Nagára Khâna. This bazar is spacious, and had lines of trees extending along its centre; some of them remain. The artillery-ground and Dafta Khâna were similarly ornamented; and it is easy to imagine, notwithstanding the destruction which has

occurred, and the neglect which prevails, that the interior of the lower citadel was once regularly and agreeably laid out, as was becoming in the vicinity of the palace of the sovereign.

The royal abode built by Taimúr Shâh (Ahmed Shâh was wont to reside in the city) occupies much of the northern front of the lower citadel, and is made



PALACE OF BALLA HISSAR.

to rest upon its walls. It has a sombre external appearance, but commands beautiful views over the surrounding country, particularly towards the north, where the distant snowy masses of the Hindú Kosh terminate the prospect. It is most substantially constructed, and the interior is distributed into a variety of handsome and capacious areas, surrounded

by suites of apartments on a commodious and magnificent scale. These are embellished with ornamental carvings, and highly coloured paintings of flowers, fruits, and other devices. Formerly there were many appendages without the high walls enclosing the palace, in gardens, díwân khânas, masjíts, &c. ; but these have been suffered to disappear, or have been purposely destroyed by the present chiefs, to obliterate, if possible, any recollections of the Sadú Zai dynasty. The masjít Pádshâh, or royal mosque, which it would have been profane to pull down, has been allowed to fall silently into ruin. Near it, is pointed out a withered tree, become so, it is said, from the numberless perjuries which have been uttered beneath it. It is believed to be an evidence of the crimes and perfidies of the times.

When Taimúr Shâh, in his last visit to Kâbal, in progress to the eastward, beheld the palace then unfinished, he complained that the sitúns, or pillars, were too slight. It was submitted, that they were made of the largest timbers procurable. The prince remarked, they might last well enough for fifty years, when he would build a new palace. He never again beheld it, being carried into it a corpse. His palace is now the dwelling-place of usurpers ; and who shall venture to predict its possessor at the close of the monarch's fifty years.

The original city of Kâbal was surrounded by walls, constructed partly of burnt bricks, and partly

of mud. Their indications may be traced in many places, more abundantly in the eastern quarter. The space enclosed by them being largely filled, even now, with gardens, does not contain above five thousand houses; anciently it may be presumed to have comprised a lower number. When we consider that the large suburbs, or additions, to the old city, have been made since the Sadú Zai dynasty had established itself in power, and are owing to the foreign tribes domiciled subsequently to the demise of Nádir, we may question whether the original city could ever have boasted of twenty thousand inhabitants, or have been of one half the size of the present.

Seven gates allowed ingress and egress to and from the old city; the Derwâzas Lahorí, Sirdár, Pét, Déh Afghânân, Déh Mazzang, Gúzar Gâh, and Jabár. Of these, Derwâzas Lahori and Sirdár are the only ones standing, built of deeply coloured kiln-burnt bricks. That of Jabár was removed only four or five years since. The sites of those no longer existing, besides being well known, are the stations of officers appointed to collect the town duties on the necessities of life brought in from the country. Some of the names by which the gates are now known, or remembered, would seem to have replaced more ancient ones. The derwâza Lahorí is certainly the currier's gate of Baber, and adjacent thereto still reside the charm-gars, or leather-dressers of Kâbal.

Without the limits of the ancient city, to the west, is the quarter of Chándol; once a village, its name preserved by Baber, now a large town, surrounded by lofty walls. It is inhabited solely by the various tribes of Persian and Túrki descent, that have become located at Kâbal since the death of Nádir. It contains about fifteen hundred or two thousand houses, and is provided with its independent bazars, baths, masjíts, and other appurtenances of a city. It has, also, its separate police, and courts of law and justice. Its walls were raised under the sanction of the Vazír Fatí Khân. An expression regarding them, made by Attá Máhomed Khân, reported to the Bárák Zai chiefs, the vazír's brothers, led to his being deprived of sight.

Besides the fortified suburb of Chándol, there may be about fifteen hundred other houses, dispersed without the ancient limits of the city. Inclusive of the Bálla Hissár, the number of houses in Kâbal, will be about nine thousand, of which nearly one half are occupied by Shíá families. The population may therefore be computed at something between fifty and sixty thousand. In the summer season, from the influx of merchants, and people from all parts of the country, the city is very densely inhabited; and this pressure of strangers explains the crowds and bustle to be witnessed in the bazars; with the great proportion of itinerant traders in cooked provisions, and the necessities of life, who may be said to infest the streets.

The appearance of Kâbal as a city, has little to recommend it beyond the interest conferred by the surrounding scenery. It is best, and indeed can only be seen from the east. In that direction it is first descried by the traveller from the lower countries, at the crest, of the kotal, or pass of Lataband, (the place of shreds). Formerly, a canopied apartment of the palace at Kâbal was cased in copper, gilt, and besides being very ornamental, it had a conspicuous effect in the obscure and indistinct mass presented by the city when divulged from the kotal. It endured up to the brief government of Habîb Ulah Khân, who, inheritor to the vast treasures of his father, in a freak rather than from cupidity—for he was thoughtless and profuse—ordered the copper-gilt casing to be removed, and the gold to be extracted. A paltry sum did not pay the cost of labour incurred to procure it, and the inconsiderate chief repented that he had exposed himself to ridicule, and to the reproaches of his people, for having destroyed one of the principal ornaments of the city.

The houses of Kâbal are but slightly and indifferently built, generally of mud and unburnt bricks. The few of burnt bricks are those of old standing. Their general want of substantiality does not militate against their being conveniently arranged within, as many of them are; particularly those built by the Shíás in Chándol, and other quarters. These people lay claim, and perhaps justly, to a greater

share of taste and refinement than falls to the lot of their fellow-townsfolk.

The city is divided into *mallas*, or quarters, and these again are separated into *kúchas*, or sections. The latter are enclosed and entered by small gates. In occasions of war or tumult the entrance gates are built up, and the city contains as many different fortresses as there are *kúchas* in it. This means of defence is called *kúcha-bandí* (closing up the *kúchas*). It must be obvious, that an insecure state of society has induced this precautionary mode of arrangement in the building of the city. The necessity to adopt it has occasioned the narrow and inconvenient passages of communication, or streets, if they must be so called, which intersect the several *kúchas*. No predilection for dark alleys, or wish to exclude the pure air of heaven has operated. The principal bazars of the city are independent of the *kúchas*, and extend generally in straight lines; the chief objects of attention, they are when tracing out the plan of a city, defined with accuracy, and the *mallas* and *kúchas* are formed arbitrarily upon them.

In winter the inhabitants clear the flat roofs of their houses of the snow by shelving it into the passages below, whence they become at length choked up. Gradually melted on the advent of spring, the paths are filled with mixed snow, water, and mud, and for a long time continue in a miserable condition. After severe winters, or when

much snow has been accumulated, it is surprising to how late a period it will remain unmelted in many of the kúchas, nearly excluded from, or but for a short hour visited by the genial rays of the sun.

There are no public buildings of any moment in the city. The masjíts, or places of worship, are far from being splendid edifices, although many are spacious and commodious; convenience and utility, other than specious external appearance, being sought for in their construction. There is but one madressa, or college,—without endowment or scholars.

There are some fourteen or fifteen seráis, or ká-rávanseráis, for the accommodation of foreign merchants and traders, named sometimes after their founders, as the Serái Zirdád, the Serái Máhomed Kúmi, &c.; sometimes after the place whose traders in preference frequent it, as the Serái Kandahárá, &c. These structures will bear no comparison with the elegant and commodious buildings of the same kind, so numerous in the cities and country of Persia. Hamâms, or public baths, being indispensable appendages to a Máhomedan city, are in some number, but they are deficient on the score of cleanliness. The approach to many of them is announced by an unwelcome odour, arising from the offensive fuel employed to heat them. Across the river which flows through Kâ-bal, so far as the actual city is concerned, there can be said to be only one bridge, viz. the Púl Kishtí (the brick bridge). It is, in fact, a sub-

stantial structure, however ill kept in repair, of mixed brick-work and masonry. It leads directly into the busy parts of the city, where the *chabú-tra*, or custom-house, *mandéh*, or corn-market, the *chahár chatta*, or the covered arcades, and the principal *bazárs* are found. At a little distance east of it is what is called *Púl Noé*, or the canoe bridge: it is composed of the hollowed trunks of trees joined to each other. It yields a tremulous passage to pedestrians who choose to venture over it, and connects the quarters *Bâgh Alí Mirdân Khân* and *Morád Khâní*. To the west, at the gorge between the two hills, through which the river enters upon the city, is the fortified bridge of *Sirdár Jehân Khân*. This is sometimes called the bridge of *Nássir Khân*, and is probably due to the governor so named, who flourished at the epoch of *Nádir's* invasion, and, it is believed, was one of the dignitaries who invited the Persian. *Sirdár Jehân Khân* connected with this bridge the lines of fortifications, which he threw over the hills; and most likely built the parapet wall which fringes the western, or exterior face of the bridge. Between this structure and the *Púl Kishtí* was anciently a bridge connecting *Chándol* on the southern side of the stream, with the *Anderábí* quarter on the opposite side. It has disappeared, but the *Nawáb Jabár Khân* contemplates its replacement. Beyond the *Púl Noé*, and altogether without the city, is another once substantial bridge,

thrown across the stream, said to owe its origin to Baber. It became injured through age and neglect; but being on the road from the palace of the Bálla Hissár to the royal gardens, it was necessary to repair it; and at length, in the reign of Zemân Shâh it was re-edified by the governor of the city, Sirdár Jehân Nissár Khân, whose name it yet bears. It has, however, again become dilapidated. Immediately north of this bridge are the two castles of Máhomed Khân Bai-yát, since become memorable from one of them having been selected as the commissariat depôt for the English troops at Kâbal, by the capture of which so much and fatal disaster was occasioned, if not wholly, in great measure. The castles are north, and opposite to the palace in the Bálla Hissár, from which a meadow extends to the river, on whose opposite side they are seated. The distance from them to the palace is two thousand yards. It is astonishing that an attack upon this position should have been allowed by the troops in the Bálla Hissár, under whose immediate observation it must have occurred. It is equally singular, that the first attack having been repulsed, the little garrison was not reinforced. Close to the castles is a dam damma, or large mound, on which, in the struggles for the possession of Kâbal, a gun was placed by Dost Máhomed Khân, to play upon the Bálla Hissár. The proprietor, Máhomed Khân, was intimately con-

nected with Dost Máhoméd Khân, and generally his companion at meals and in his rides. He greatly favoured an intercourse with Persia, and was, perhaps, one of the few who might have benefited by it. He therefore used his influence to prevent Dost Máhoméd Khân from forming any connexion with the Indian Government, and was suspected of having forwarded letters to the Persian camp before Herát. Sir Alexander Burnes, it would seem from his letters, printed, and privately circulated, was willing to have wreaked his vengeance on the old offender, but Sir William Macnaghten more generously preserved him from the effects of pitiful resentment, and in the attack on the commissariat his family and retainers assisted the garrison in the defence, for which his son paid the forfeit of his ears to the chiefs of the insurrection.

It was by the destruction of this bridge, or of another, one hundred yards beyond it, over the canal Morád Khâni, that the communications between the camp and Bálla Hissár were cut off. The river has yet another bridge, traversing it west of the fortified bridge at the gorge of the two hills, and parallel to the tomb of the celebrated Baber. It is alike a substantial erection, and its date is probably that of the tomb and its appendages, of which it may be considered one. The river has therefore in Kâbal and the immediate vicinity, four substantial bridges crossing it,

with the probability of having another, the fifth constructed. The canoe-bridge is not entitled to be considered a bridge, being little more important than a plank placed across a rivulet deserves to be thought. Besides these bridges, the river has no other, either to the east or west of them, in the upper part of its course being easily fordable, and soon terminating its lower by joining with the river of Loghar.

Of the several bazars of the city, the two principal, running irregularly parallel to each other, are the Shor Bazár and the Bazár of the Derwâza Lahorí. The former to the south, extends east and west from the Bálla Hissár Pâhín to the Zíarat Bába Khodí, a distance of little more than three quarters of a mile. The latter, stretching from the Derwâza Lahorí, terminates at the Chabútra, at which point a street to the south, called Chob Frosh, or the wood-market, communicates with the western extremity of the Shor Bazár. To the north, another street leads from the Chabútra to the Púl Kishtí. The western portion of the bazár Derwâza Lahorí is occupied by the Chahúr Chatta, or four covered arcades: the more magnificent of the Kâbal bazars, and of which the inhabitants are justly proud. The structure is ascribed to Ali Mirdân Khân, whose name is immortal in these countries, from the many visible testimonies to his public spirit extant in various forms. It was handsomely constructed

and highly embellished with paintings. The four covered arcades, of equal length and dimensions, are separated from each other by square open areas, originally provided with wells and fountains. These were judicious improvements on the plan in vogue throughout Persia, where the covered bazars, extending in some of the larger cities for above two miles, not only exclude the rays of the sun but completely prevent the free circulation of air, producing thereby close and oppressive, and it may be presumed, unhealthy atmospheres. The dokâns, or shops of the Chahar Chat-ta, are now tenanted by bázâzís, or retail venders of manufactured goods, whether of wool, cotton, or silk. Before the shops are what may be called counters, on which sit, with their wares displayed, allâka-bands, or silk-men, makers of caps, shoes, &c. with sarâfs, or money-changers, with their heaps of pais, or copper monies, before them. Beneath the counters are stalls; and as they exactly resemble the cobblers' stalls of London in situation and appearance, so are they generally occupied by the same class of craftsmen.

In Kâbal, the several descriptions of traders and artisans congregate, as is usual in Eastern cities, and together are found the shops of drapers, saddlers, braziers, ironmongers, armourers, book-binders, venders of shoes, postíns, &c. The cattle-market, called Nákâsh, is seated north of the river, and west of the Púl Kishtí, in the Anderábí quar-

ter. It is held daily, and sales of all animals are effected, whether for slaughter as food, or for purposes of pleasure, use, or burthen. There are two mandés, or grain-markets; one near the Chahár Chatta, called Mandé Kalân, the other Mandé Shâhzâda, in the quarter Tandúr Sâzí, or earthenware manufactory, between the Shor Bazâr and the Derwâza Lahorí. The quarter called Shikârpúrí, adjoining the Púl Kishtí, on the right bank of the river, may be considered the fruit-market of Kâbal. To it the various fruits are brought from the neighbouring country, and thence are dispersed among the retail venders of the city, to form those rich, copious, and beautiful displays, in their due seasons, which fail not to extort the admiration of strangers. Melons, an important branch of the fruit-trade, and of which the consumption is immense, are sold principally at Mandé Kalân. There are, in like manner, markets for wood and charcoal, while every malla, or quarter, is provided with its depôts of these articles of fuel for the winter demand. In Kâbal, as in other places, all traffic is transacted through the medium of the broker, or dalâl.

Besides the shopkeepers, or fixed tradesmen, a vast number of itinerant traders parade the bazars, and it is probable that the cries of Kâbal equal in variety those of London. Many of them are identical, and the old clothesman of the British metropolis is perfectly represented by the Moghat

of Kâbal, who, although not a Jew, follows his profession, and announces it by the cry of “Zir-i-khona? rakht-i-khona?”—“old bullion? old clothes?”

While the quality of the provisions brought into the Kâbal markets is excellent, prices are liable to much fluctuation, especially in the various kinds of grain; and the reason is, obviously, that the country at large scarcely yields a sufficient quantity for the supply of its inhabitants, and wheat becomes an article of import. It follows hence, that not only are prices subject to variation from extraordinary accidents, as partial or general failure of the crops, the ravages of locusts, &c., but that they are affected by the ordinary and constantly occurring changes of the season. Winter in Kâbal is always distinguished by high prices, and the advance immediately follows the stoppage of its communications by snow. In the famines which, from time to time, have afflicted Kâbal, the misery has naturally been most intense within the city during the winter; and it would appear, that the calamity has been only experienced there, while in the provinces supplies, if not abundantly, might still have been spared to have relieved the distress of the capital; but the roads were closed by snow, and the little energy wanting to overcome the slight impediment was absent, or no one thought of bringing it into action. The last serious famine occurred in the reign of Shâh Mâh-

múd; and since that time so great an evil has been happily averted, notwithstanding occasional years of scarcity have, in the order of things, presented themselves. The present chief is always anxious to relieve the pressure which would attend the residence of a large body of troops in the city throughout the winter; and the collection of the revenues of Bangash and Taghow affords him the opportunity of employing them advantageously during that period. The warmer region of Jelálabád also provides for the reception of a large body of troops, and contributes to lighten the demand upon the winter stores accumulated for the supply of the city, which are never altogether sufficient, both from want of capital and improvidence.

In despite of the evils consequent upon winter, and the severity of the climate, which prohibits exercise abroad, the inhabitant of Kâbal seems to consider it as the season of luxurious enjoyment as it is that of supine sloth. The enjoyment vaunted of is not, however, of an enviable nature, and consists merely in regaling upon the fresh fruits of the past autumn, while the individual is seated, with his legs under the cover of a sandalí, drawn up to his chin. The sandalí, it must be explained, is the ordinary mode of exhibiting fire for the purposes of warmth in most countries of Western Asia. It consists merely of a takht, or table, placed over a cavity in the ground, or some other receptacle to contain fire, and covered with a number

of capacious cloths and quilts. A little fuel suffices to raise heat, which is retained by the quilts, and as little is necessary to sustain it. Around this sit, during the day, the various members of a family. Upon the surface of the takht they arrange their repasts; and at night, when inclined to repose, have only to fall backwards, and draw the cover of the sandalí over them. Could the imagination, so fertile and powerful, unroof during a winter's night the houses of Kâbal, upon what a singular scene would it look down. Dismissing the revelations which might interest an Asmodeus, and a bachelor of Salamanca, how curious the spectacle of a countless number of sandalís, appearing as the centres of an endless succession of circles, their radii formed by extended human beings! There are some inconveniences attending the use of sandalís, and the bursting of an imperfectly made piece of charcoal, the description of fuel generally employed, frequently occasions danger. There would also seem danger in the use of charcoal itself, but I never heard of any accident occurring on that account, which may be perhaps accounted for in the fact that there is not, even amongst the houses of the opulent, an apartment perfectly air-tight in Kâbal: moreover, the quantity of charcoal used is small. The confinement during so many months, the postures in which it has been passed, and the fumes of the charcoal, occasion the legs of many individuals to be par-

tially benumbed on the advent of spring, and it needs the elastic energies of the season, and exercise, to enable them to recover their tone and action. The sandalí is simple and economical, yet could only be in fashion or employed in countries where the mass of the people can afford to sit idle during the winter, as it is incompatible with labour. The wealthy, while not rejecting sandalís, also use mangals, or open iron vessels, in which they burn wood, that of the balút, or holly, being preferred. There are few chimneys, or bokhárís, as called, although not absolutely unknown. They are considered a Persian invention; and the centre of the room is still held the proper place for the fire intended to warm it; while the smoke, although admitted to be an inconvenience, is yet supposed to have its effect in heating the atmosphere of the chamber; and, again, its inconvenience is said less to be felt, as it is the custom to sit on the ground, not on chairs; and smoke, as every one knows, ascends. Some of the higher classes have especial winter apartments, heated by flues to a regulated degree, after the manner of baths, or of hot-houses in England.

Attached to the city are several places of burial, the different sects having their distinct ones, and even the different classes of the same sect. In general, they resemble European localities of similar character. The larger burial-places, which are always without the city, are those of the Zíarat

Khedar, and Panjah Shâh Mirdân, the Derwâza Shâh Shéhîd, and of Ashak Arífân, under the hill Koh Khwoja Safar, with that east of the Derwâza Lahorí, belonging to the Súnís. The Shías of Chándol have a burial-place on the part of the hill Khwoja Safar which overlooks their quarter; a large one, is that of the Afshárs, so called from being near them, but where the dead of many of the Shía tribes are deposited; this lies on the brow of the hill Assa Máhí. The Mórád Khânís have a distinct place of sepulture, as have the Cúrds, and other tribes. The skirts, indeed, of all the superior hills, and of the minor eminences in the environs of the city, are occupied by graves and burial-places. On those of the Tappa Márinjân, east of the city, are the burial-place of the Jews and the Hindu Soz, or spot where Hindú corpses undergo cremation. The Armenians have their peculiar, and walled-in cemetery, amongst the Máhomedan graveyards of Khwoja Khedarí, south of the Bálla Hissár, and directly opposite the takía, or shrine of Shír Alí Lapchâk, over the entrance to which is an inscription on a marble slab, recording that Jehânghír visited Kâbal, on an excursion of pleasure, in the year 1002 of the Hejra.

The Máhomedan tombs vary little, except in position, from ordinary Christian ones. They are placed from north to south. They have the same shaped head-stone, generally of marble, either of

the costly kind imported from more eastern countries, or of the native alabaster, procured in the quarries of Maidân. The head-stone also bears an inscribed epitaph, and is ornamented, if not with faces of angels and cherubs, with sculptured flowers, and other fanciful devices. It is no uncommon circumstance amongst the graves of the Shîa tribes, to see shields, swords, and lances engraved on the tombs, commemorating the profession of the deceased, a practice observed in various parts of Persia, particularly in Kûrdistân, where, if expense deters the sculptured stone, a rudely painted figure of a warrior on the humble monument of wood constitutes the simple memorial.

There are many head-stones in the Kâbal burial-grounds, which have an antiquity of several centuries; many of these may have been removed from their original sites, but they bear inscriptions in antiquated Arabic and Persian characters. I am not aware that stones with Cufic epitaphs exist, which, however, would not have been deemed strange, looking at the long period the Cáliphs dominated in these countries. In the grave-yards of the hill Assa Mâhi a neglected stone, distinguished by a sculptured mitre, denotes the place of rest of a Georgian bishop, who it would seem died at Kâbal three or four centuries since. In the Armenian cemetery likewise a mitre on one of the stones points to the rank of the person deposited beneath it, although tradition is silent as

to him or to his age. But the more curious, and to Englishmen the most interesting grave-stone to be found about Kâbal, is one commemorative of a countryman, and which bears a simple epitaph and record, in large legible Roman characters. The monument is small, and of marble, not of the very frequent description of upright head stone, but of another form, which is also common, and which imitates the form of the raised sod over the grave. It is to be seen close to the zîarat, or shrine of Shâh Shéhîd, in the burial-ground east of the gate of the same name, and within some two hundred yards of it. It is rather confusedly engraved around the sides of the stone, but runs as follows :

HERE LYES THE BODY OF JOSEPH HICKS THE SON OF THOMAS
HICKS AND ELDITH WHO DEPARTED THIS LYFE THE ELEVENTH
OF OCTOBER 1666.

The date carries us back to the commencement of the reign of Aurangzêb, when Kâbal was held by one of his lieutenants. This monument was one of the first objects of curiosity brought to my notice at Kâbal, and residing immediately within the gate of the Bâlla Hissâr near to it, I had it in sight whenever I left my house on a stroll. In those days there was a kabar-kan, or grave-digger, well-versed in the histories and traditions of the monuments and graves of the ground in which his practice prevailed. He was communicative, and informed me that he understood from his predecessors, that

the monument commemorated an officer of artillery, who stood so high in the estimation of the governor, that they were buried close to each other on a contiguous mound. This, and the monument raised over the governor, were pointed out to me by the venerable depositary of funeral lore, and he assured me that the monument placed over the Feringhí (European), or of Mr. Hicks, had been removed, before his memory, from its correct locality, and placed over the grave of a Máhomedan; such transfers, however indecorous or indelicate, being sometimes made. On a tappa, or mound, some distance to the south, is another monument of the same form, but of larger dimensions, which is also believed to rest on the grave of a Feringhí. The inference is here drawn from the direction of the stone, which is from east to west, no epitaph being present to render the fact certain.

It is customary for people to sit and weep over the graves of their deceased relatives; and this task principally falls upon the females, who may be presumed to enjoy greater leisure than their lords. It also gives a fair pretence to exchange the confined atmosphere of the háram for the healthy breeze of the external country. Priests, on recent occasions, are also hired to repeat prayers and recite the Korân, sometimes for so long a period as one year. At the revival of spring, annually, a day is appropriated to the visit of the graves of the dead; it is called the Day of the Deceased; and would almost

seem a Máhomedan conservation and transposition of the ancient rites paid in honour of Adonis and Osiris. On such occasions the graves are visited in procession ; they are sprinkled with water ; garlands are placed on them, and any injuries which may have occurred during the preceding year repaired. These pious offices do not, however, preclude a due manifestation of grief, in lamentations and howlings. It is worthy of note, that the same sanctity does not attach to burial-places amongst Máhomedans as with Christians. At least, they are in nowise offended by persons walking or riding over and trampling upon them. Neither are they consecrated localities.

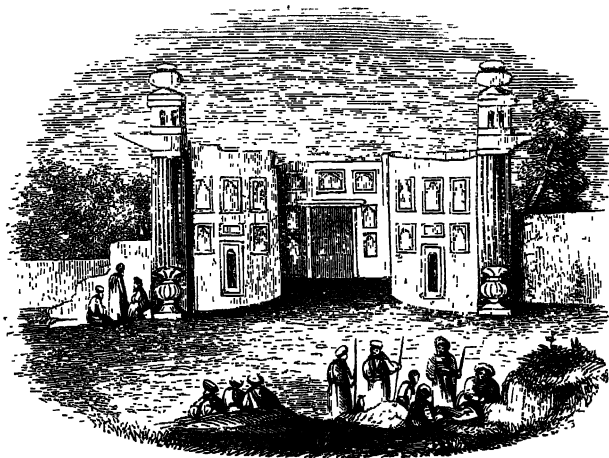
Many takías are interspersed amongst all burial-places ; nor does the admixture of things so profane with objects entitled to reverence appear to be thought improper, indeed, it is never thought of at all. Very many of these places, dignified with the higher appellation of zíarat, or shrine, deserve notice, not merely on account of the holy repute attaching to them, but that they are amongst the chief and usual spots of holiday resort to the inhabitants of the city, owing to the beauty of their picturesque sites. Found generally on the acclivities of hills, in recesses supplied by springs of water, and embellished by groves and gardens, they also command extensive views of the country around. At many of these localities the largest trees in the country are to be seen, usually the chanár, or plane,

and each of them has some peculiar attraction. The more eminent of these are the zîárats Jehân Báẓ, Panjah Shâh Mirdân, Khwoja Khedarí, Khwoja Safar, and Ashak Arífân, on the eastern skirts of the hill Koh Takht Shâh; and the tomb of Baber and the zîarat Shâh Mallang on the western skirts, overlooking Chahár Déh. At the zîarat Panjah Shâh Mirdân, the object of estimation, indeed of adoration, is an impress on the surface of the rock, in the shape, nearly, of the human hand. This is held to be a token of Házrat Alí. It is clearly, however, no impression of the human hand, but a geological curiosity, being the indenture made by some animal passing over the rock when in a plastic state. Such impressions abound in the countries of Kâbal, and are generally made zîárats, although not always so. A very common variety is the form of a hoof; and this is always accepted as that of Daldal, the charger of Házrat Alí. I have observed, that these vestiges occur in the same kind of black stone. In the instance of Panjah Shâh Mirdân the token is upon a perpendicular rock; in all other cases I have found them on horizontal surfaces. There can be little doubt but that all the zîárats on the acclivities of hills were, in the ages prior to Máhomedanism, alike places of sacred note with the then inhabitants. The ancient sepulchral mounds visible in the precincts of all of them, with their accompanying caves, attest it; and it is not unusual, as happened at Panjah Shâh Mir-

dân, on digging to prepare the soil for the foundation of a building, to discover quantities of buried idols.

Amongst the other scenes of recreation to which the inhabitants of Kâbal, essentially a holiday people, repair, are the various gardens and orchards. These are numerous interspersed amid the houses under the hill Assa Mâhí, as well as partially throughout the city; while many are found without its limits to the north and north-east. The vast supplies of fruits brought to the markets are produced in the orchards of Chahár Déh, Paghmán, Koh Dáman, and the Kohistân. Gardens are invariably open to the public, even those belonging to private individuals. The principal of these are, the royal gardens of Ahmed Shâh, Taimúr Shâh, and Zemân Shâh, Bâgh Vazír, the Chahár Bâgh, Bâgh Khwoja, with the gardens of Déh Afghân. The garden formed by Ahmed Shâh is called Nemáz Gâh (the place of prayer), and appears to have been the Id Gâh (place of celebrating the festival of Id) of his time. Of the masjid erected in the centre the ruins remain, but the encircling space is still carefully swept, and about it are planted irises and other flowers. The trees of this garden are all mulberries, venerable as to age and proportions. We are told, that the roots of them were originally nourished with milk, in lieu of water. The under soil is now annually sown with shaftal, or trefoil, but numerous kâhkowas, splendid

varieties of the tulip, spontaneously growing in their season, proclaim that it was once under the dominion of Flora. The garden of Taimúr Shâh is on the Kaiabân, or race-course leading from the Derwâza Sirdâr, and occupies a space of nine kolbahs. The greater part of the trees has been destroyed by the ruling chiefs, who raise shaftal on the denuded soil. The Bâgh of Zemân Shâh is seated also on the Kaiabân, but lower down, or more easterly, and on the side opposite to that of Taimúr Shâh. It fills a space of seven kolbahs, and agreeably to the plan upon which all these gardens have been laid out and formed, it had a pleasure-house in the centre, from which diverged the four principal roads. Of this erection, as in the case also of the preceding garden, merely the remains exist. Surrounded by walls, the entrance was distinguished



ENTRANCE TO BAGH SHAH ZEMAN.

by a handsome building, the remnants of which are still interesting.

This, like all the other royal gardens, is now the property of Dost Máhoméd Khân, who derives a revenue from the produce of the fruit-trees, and turns the soil to profit by the culture of grasses. To this garden, and that of Taimúr Shâh, the chief makes his ordinary evening rides. A little beyond the garden of Zemân Shâh terminates the Kaiabân, or race-course, which extends in a direct line east from the Derwâza Sirdâr, one of the old city gates. It was made by Sirdâr Jân Nissâr Khân, and passes the several royal gardens, and the village of Bímárú. Where it terminates the British cantonment was formed; the village and heights of Bímárú (a contraction of Bíbí Mâh Rúí, of the moon-faced, or beautiful lady, Baber's appellation,) are a little to the north of the Kaiabân. These spots have derived a mournful celebrity from the late unhappy occurrences.

The Bâgh Vazír is seated on the left bank of the river, west of the Púl Kishtí, and near Chándol, and is noted for a conspicuous pleasure-house, built by Fatí Khân. It is also memorable as having been the place where Attá Máhoméd Khân, son of the Múkhtahar-a-dowlah, was deprived of sight by Pír Máhoméd Khân, the younger of the brothers of the Vazír. The Châhâr Bagh is also similarly situated. It is well stocked with standard mulberry trees, and in the centre is the unfinished

tomb of Taimúr Shâh, an octagon of kiln-burnt bricks, surmounted by a cupola. The crowning monument is sadly fractured; and we are told that the injury was occasioned by the reckless Habib Ulah Khân, who, during his short sway, was accustomed to amuse himself by witnessing the scene afforded by a man, who, for the consideration of a ducat, would place himself on its summit as a mark, upon which he and his companions might exercise their dexterity as artillerymen. Bâgh Khwoja, so called from its founder, a religious character, is seated between the river and Dêh Afghân, a small village without the city on the eastern front of the hill Assa Mâhí. It is furnished with fruit-trees of various descriptions. Dependent upon Dêh Afghân are many gardens; one of them, in which is the tomb of a saint of the Shías, is of repute, as being entirely laid out as a flower-garden. Its visitors are of a disorderly class. In this neighbourhood are also the bulk of the kitchen-gardens, which supply the city with vegetables. They are very creditably tended, and the horticulturists are esteemed the best in the country. Kâbal is abundantly supplied with water, and generally of good quality. The river, on its entrance from the plain of Chahâr Dêh, is beautifully transparent; but after a course of a few hundred yards its waters are little used by the inhabitants of the city as a beverage, from a belief that its quality is impaired by the large quantities of clothes cleansed

in it preparatory to bleaching upon its banks. Parallel to the river in the first part of its course, is the canal called Júi Shír (the canal of milk), whose water is esteemed excellent. We must discredit tradition, or believe that it was once flowing with milk. The southern parts of the city are supplied with water from a canal called Bálla Júi, (the upper canal,) which is brought from the river at its entrance into the plain of Chahár Déh, and being carried on the western face of the hill Koh Takht Sháh, passes the sepulchre of Baber Pádsháh, and thence winds around the same hill until it reaches the Bálla Hissár Bálla. This is the canal noted by Baber as having been formed in the time of his paternal uncle Ulugh Beg, by Weis Atkeh. Without the Bálla Hissár, to the east, flows a canal, the Júi Púl Mastân, whose water is held in high repute. It is derived from the river of Loghar, as it enters the plain of Shévakí, and has a course of about five miles, a length a little inferior to that of the Bálla Júi. There are very many wells throughout the whole extent of the city, indeed numerous houses are provided with them; the same remarks apply to the Bálla Hissár. The waters of these are more or less esteemed, but are generally considered heavy, and decidedly inferior to river-water undefiled. In Kâbal, water, to be good, must be light in weight. The monarchs were accustomed to have the water drank by them brought from Shakr Dara, a distance of nine miles; and

the experiments, testing its superiority over that of the neighbouring valleys of Ferzah, &c. are narrated.

Water is very readily procurable throughout the whole valley of Kâbal; which, notwithstanding its superior elevation, is still, with reference to the altitude of the hills surrounding it on various sides, a depressed one. The presence of the rivers of Kâbal and Loghar, and the facilities they afford, with the multitude of springs and rivulets issuing from the bases of the hills, render a recourse to wells here, as throughout the country, unnecessary; but in situations where they may be needed, as in gardens, there is no difficulty in finding water at moderate depths.

To the north-west and north of the city, are the chamans, or pastures of Vazírabád and Bímárú. To the east those of Bégrám, and to the south-east and south, those of Shévakí and Bíní Hissár. In seasons when snow has been plentiful, they are covered, on the breaking up of the winter, with large sheets of water, becoming indeed lakes, and are the resorts of immense numbers of aquatic fowl. As the waters are absorbed or evaporated vast quantities of rank but very nourishing grass abound; and the steeds of the sirdár are let loose upon them. As the season advances, the cattle of the inhabitants are also permitted to graze over them, on the payment of regulated fees. These chamans have all their nuclei of bibulous quagmire; and

they can scarcely be looked upon without the suggestion arising to the imagination that the entire valley was once under water, and that these still tremulous bogs, the deeper portions of them, are testimonies to the fact. Their existence, however, is by no means beneficial to the health of the city; for it cannot fail to be remarked, that in those years when the accumulation of water is large dangerous autumnal fevers prevail, and that the contrary happens under converse conditions. In cases of excess, the ordinary causes of diminution, absorption, and evaporation, are not sufficient to carry off, or dissipate the mass, and the superfluity stagnates towards the close of autumn. The effluvia arising from this putrid collection are borne full upon the city by the prevailing winds, particularly by the northerly winds, or Bâd of Perwân, which incessantly rage at that time of the year, and sweep over the more noxious chamans of Vazírabád and Bímárú.

Still Kâbal may not be considered an unhealthy city. Its disadvantages, besides these just noted, are, its situation, wedged in, as it were, between two hills, its confined streets and buildings, with the evils consequent upon them. In compensation, it has the benefits of a fine atmosphere, excellent water, and provisions, with delightful environs. A considerable part of the city, from its locality, is deprived of the benefit of the winds from many quarters, as from the west and south. There are

two spots without the city to the east and west, where it is remarked that amid the calm which pervades the intermediate space strong breezes are always playing; the one towards the junction of the two hills, between Chándol and the Púl Jehân Khân, where a constant current of wind drives through the slender aperture, separating them, as through a funnel; the other, as you quit the Bálla Hissár Pâhín to the east, where, immediately without the Derwâza Shâh Shéhîd, a northern breeze incessantly plays.

During the summer and autumnal months, but chiefly during the latter, the city is visited every evening by a khâk-bâd, or whirlwind. As this phenomenon is so very constant, and regular, as to its time of occurrence, showing itself about three or four o'clock, its causes may, no doubt, be sought for in the relative situation of the neighbouring plains and hills. It arises in the north-west, apparently in the barren tracts between Paghmân and Chahâr Dêh, and is impelled with great violence over the city. The complete obscuration of the atmosphere in the direction in which it originates announces its formation; as a furious blast, and sudden decrease of temperature, gave warning of its immediate approach. It is necessary to close windows, but the precaution does not prevent the apartments from being filled with subtile particles of dust. Its duration is short, or so long only as may suffice for its impetuous transit over the city; and it is rarely,

although sometimes attended by a few drops of rain.

The Emperor Baber vaunts the commercial importance of Kâbal, and the consequent resort to it of the merchants of all countries, and the display in its markets of the fabrics and produce of all climes. The eminent advantage possessed by Kâbal is that of locality. It is one which cannot be impaired. It is conferred by nature; and so long as the present conformation and arrangement of hill and plain endure so long will she preserve and enjoy it. There has always been, and there always will be a commercial communication between India and the regions of Túrkestân. Kâbal, happily situated at the gorge of the nearest and most practicable passes connecting the two countries, will always profit by the intercourse between them. Whether the tide of commerce roll up the Ganges or up the Indus, its course must be directed upon Kâbal.

It is not our purpose here to expatiate on the external trade of the city, but to consider it merely in the character of a capital to a petty state. In the centre of a considerable population, it dispenses to its dependent districts the products of other countries, and stands to them in the relation of a mart for the reception and sale of their produce and manufactures. Of the latter the city has scarcely any to offer of home fabric. Indeed the

manufactures of the country do not rise to mediocrity, and are suitable only to the consumption of the lower and less wealthy classes. If all ranks were of the one description, and satisfied with the humble products of the industry of their native country, no doubt their necessities would be amply supplied. Such is not the case. If great wealth does not prevail, people in easy circumstances are very numerous. A spirit of fashion predominates, and with it an appetite for the novelties and superior fabrics of foreign countries. From the middle classes upwards it would be difficult to find an individual who is clad in the produce of his native looms. Even amongst the lower many are found little satisfied unless they carry on their heads the lúnghís, and hide their feet in the shoes of Pesháwer.

The presence of the court, and of a comparatively large military force, not a little contributes to the bustle and activity to be observed in the city. It also imparts life and vigour to many professions and crafts engaged in the preparation of warlike instruments and necessities.

As a class, the artisans, and there are nearly all descriptions, while not inexpert, and perfectly competent to meet the wants of their customers, do not excel. There is not an article made or wrought in Kábal which is not surpassed by specimens from other countries. It is probable that

many of the trades did not exist before the foundation of the monarchy, and they should perhaps be even now considered in a state of progression. A remark perhaps applicable to the whole country. It is cheering to be able to conceit, that the progression is towards improvement.

CHAPTER XII.

Introduction to Hâjî Khân.—His conversation.—His proposal.—Delay in the Khân's movements.—His letter from Bísút.—Sirkerder Kamber.—Bísút.—Mír Yezdânbaksh.—Defeat of Mír Abbás.—Decisive authority.—Reputation.—Nádir's policy.—Persian tribes in Kâbal.—Their influence.—Religious differences and contests.—Precautions of the Shías.—Power in Bísút.—Humbled by Mír Yezdânbaksh.—Elevation of Dost Máhommed Khân.—Mistrust of Dost Máhommed Khân.—His fears of Mír Yezdânbaksh.—Plots his destruction.—Invites him to Kâbal.—Counsel of the Mír's wife.—Seizure of Mír Yezdânbaksh.—Ransom offered.—Escape of Mír Yezdânbaksh.—Rebuke to Dost Máhommed Khân.—Escape of the Mír's wife.—Pursuit.—Perplexity of pursuers.—Mír Yezdânbaksh increases his power.—Bísút tribute.—Carriage of Mír Yezdânbaksh.—Kârzár.—Defences.—Site.—Invasion of Shékh Alí tribe.—Hâjî Khân.—His jághír.—Afghân territories in Turkistân.—Tâjik and Tátar chiefs.—Their policy.—Máhommed Alí Beg.—His forays.—Hâjî Khân's designs.—Baffled by Máhommed Alí Beg.—Hâjî Khân courts Mír Yezdânbaksh.—His artful conduct.—Mír Yezdânbaksh deceived.—Náib Réhimdád.—Gained over by Máhommed Alí Beg.—Plans of Mír Yezdânbaksh.—Apprehensions of Máhommed Alí Beg.—His overtures to Hâjî Khân.—Mír Yezdânbaksh's measures.—Ivadnes Bámiá.—His successes.—Fear of Dost Máhommed Khân.—Taghow expedition.—Hâjî Khân's dexterity.—His engagements and oaths.—Hâjî Khân visits Bísút.—His liberality.—Movements of Mír Yezdânbaksh.—Hâjî Khân farms Bísút tribute.—His renewed oaths.—Earthquake.—Religious strife.—Hâjî Khân's hopes.—Arrangements.—Jealousy between Dost Máhommed Khân and Hâjî Khân.—Value of Hâjî Khân's jághír.—His troops.—His rude countrymen.—Dost Máhommed Khân's suspicions.—Hâjî Khân's in-

trigues.—Mission from Kúndúz.—Supposed object.—Results.—Rumours.—Hâjî Khân's departure for Bísút.—His progress.—His interview with Mír Yezdânbaksh.—Auspicious commencement of expedition.—Hâjî Khân's ultimate views.—His brothers.—Despatch of troops against Séghân.

I HAVE before mentioned my intention to visit Bámíân, and the proposal of Hâjî Khân that I should accompany him. Soon after my arrival at Kâbal I requested Sûlímân, an Armenian, in a house belonging to whom I resided, to notify to the khân my desire to see him, and was informed that he would send for me by night, when few or no persons were present, that our conversation might be free and unrestrained. I also received a gentle rebuke for having been several days in Kâbal without calling on him. After some time I was summoned; and, accompanied by Sûlímân, repaired to the khân's house. Passing a variety of dark passages, continually ascending, the buildings here being built upon the brow of a hill, I was finally introduced to the khân, sitting in a small apartment, to enter which we were obliged to creep, as the aperture of admission, or door, if it must be so called, was of very scanty dimensions. There were some eight or ten persons present of his own household, and I was saluted with a profusion of terms of civility and welcome; the khân styled me *raffik*, or companion, and rejoiced at seeing me again. He informed me that he was going to Bámíân, and that he should be happy if I could

accompany him. He then entered into a florid description of the interesting objects there, the immense colossal statues, the samúches, the ruins of Gúlghúleh, and the castle of Zohâk, which he portrayed in a very lively manner. He gave an account of the metals to be found in the hills, asserting there were gold, silver, copper, lead, antimony, &c.&c., adding, that he and his people were khurs, or asses, and did not know how to extract them. The affairs of Turkey, Egypt, and Persia, were also duly discussed; and the khân alluded to Buonaparte, affirming he had been told, that his son was to prove Dadjâl.* I had been told of the detention of Sikandar, or Lieutenant Burnes, at Kúndúz, and mentioned it to the khân, who had not heard of it, and was surprised. He remarked, that the Afghâns were devils. I replied, it was true, but they were good devils. At which he smiled, and rejoined, that the Uzbeks were devils altogether. After a long desultory conversation, the khân coming to the essential point, acquainted me, that owing to Músúlmâní scruples he should not march from Kâbal until after the 13th of the next month, Saffar, (it being considered unlucky to do so,) but he hoped that I would wait till that time. In the interim he desired me to amuse myself freely in the environs of the city; and telling me his horses were at my command, I received my dismissal.

* Antichrist.

The 13th of Saffar passed, and there was no sign of movement on part of the khân. Month after month followed; and it was not until the month of Rabbí-as-Sâní that he left Kâbal: which he did without signifying his departure to me. I might reasonably have felt surprise, but rather indulged the conjecture that the khân was acting prudently towards me; and so it proved. As soon as he reached Bísút he forwarded me a letter, through Múlla Ibrahím Khân, his náib at Kâbal,—in which, after begging many pardons for his forgetfulness of me, which he imputed to the multiplicity of his affairs, he earnestly entreated me to join his camp, whence he would expedite me, in care of approved men, to visit Bámiân. He moreover directed Múlla Ibrahím Khân to provide attendants to escort me to camp. I now prepared for the journey, hired a yábú (pony), and engaged a neighbour, named Yusef, to attend it. It chanced that one Kamber, of Abyssinian extraction, who had formerly been sirkerder, or chief of the Hábbashes under Shâh Máhmúd, and now in the khân's service, was about to proceed to the camp, and hearing that I was going, came and offered his attendance and services. These were gladly accepted, the sirkerder being a man of trust, and valuable from his experience; and our arrangements being completed, it was decided that we should start from Kâbal on the 4th of the Máhomedan month Jamadí-owal.

I shall here premise such observations as may be

necessary to render intelligible the circumstances interwoven with the subsequent narrative. The Hazára districts between Kabal and Bámíân are collectively called Bísút; and málîa, or tribute, is enforced from them by the authorities of Kâbal. This fluctuates in actual receipt, but the registered amount is 40,000 rupees. Some twenty or twenty-five years since the superior chief of Bísút was Mír Walí Beg, of Kârzâr. He was treacherously slain by an inferior chief, the Vakíl Sifúlah, at Síáh Sang (black rock), a spot in the valley leading from Kârzâr to the vale of the Helmand. Mír Walí Beg had twelve sons, the elder of whom, Mír Máhoméd Shah, became Mír of Bísút. The younger of these sons, Mír Yezdânbaksh, assembled troops, defeated and took prisoner the Vakíl Sifúlah, whom he slew at the same spot (Síáh Sang) where his father had been sacrificed. Mír Yezdânbaksh next directed his arms against his eldest brother, Mír Máhoméd Shâh, whom he compelled to fly to Kâbal. He now assumed the mírship, but his claim was contested by an intermediate brother, Mír Abbâs. The fortune of Mír Yezdânbaksh prevailed, and Mír Abbâs suffered defeat; but the former, alike unwilling to proceed to extremities with a brother, and anxious to secure to his interests a gallant soldier, tendered a reconciliation, which Mír Abbâs accepted, and for some time resided with his brother. He was induced, however, to make a second struggle for supremacy, was again worsted,

and again reconciled ; since which his obedience has been constant. Mír Yezdânbaksh, the acknowledged lord of Bísút, turned his attention to the affairs of his province, and by the humiliation of the several petty chiefs, established a more decisive authority than any former mír had enjoyed. Inexorable to the haughty, and such as opposed his plans, he was equally careful of the interests of the subject, and his name was venerated among the Hazáras. The high road between Kâbal and Bá-miân led through his territory, and had hitherto been a theatre for forays and depredations : forays from the independent Hazáras of Shékh Alí, and depredations from the inhabitants of Bísút. By the energetic measures of Mír Yezdânbaksh order was restored ; the road became safe ; the Hazáras of Shékh Alí dared not make their appearance, and the people of Bísút became as eager to show civility as they had been before to offend, while the single traveller passed as securely as if in company with a host. To kâfilas the chief was particularly attentive, and merchants were diligent in spreading his praises and renown. It was evident that a chief of superior ability had arisen among the Hazáras, and he became an object of much attention both to the Shías and government of Kâbal ; the former congratulating themselves in having a potent ally in case of need, the latter apprehensive of his views, and of the effects of a consolidated authority in the Hazárajât

It may be noted, that one of Nádír Shâh's features of policy was the colonization of the countries he conquered, and in pursuance thereof he encouraged settlement in Afghânistân by the various tribes of the vast Persian empire. At the time of his death numbers, under such intention, had reached Meshed, and were subsequently invited by Ahmed Shâh Dúrání; while a large Persian force, escorting treasure from India at that critical period, were also induced to enter the employ of the new Afghân sovereign, and renounced their native country. Hence at Kâbal, at this day, are found, Júânshírs, Kúrds, Rikas, Afshárs, Baktiáris, Shâh Sewâns, Tálishes, Báiyáts, in short, representatives of every Persian tribe. Under Ahmed Shâh, and his successors, they formed the principal portion of the Ghúlám Khâna, or household troops; and the appellation they still preserve. Like their fathers, they are Shías by religion. They have exceedingly multiplied, and become affluent, and, decidedly, are the most powerful and influential body in the city of Kâbal, of which they occupy one half, and exclusively the quarter called Chándol, which is fortified. They occupy also many castles in the vicinity of the city. An unextinguishable rancour is known to exist between the two leading sects of Máhomedanism, the Shía and the Súní, which, however for a while dormant, or concealed by consent of both, is ever ready to burst forth upon the most trivial occasion; and this circumstance has been taken advantage of by the

intriguers of Kâbal, who, when determined upon subverting the existing government, have only to excite a jang Shía and Súní to effect their object. As soon as the contest is fairly commenced in the city the rude hordes of Paghmân, Koh Dáman, and Kohistân flock to it, animated equally by zeal for what they believe the orthodox faith, and by thirst of plunder. Hostilities and confusion continue until the desired change in authority is produced, when saiyads, and other worthies, interpose, and a temporary calm is restored. The Shías of Kâbal, aware of their constant exposure to conflict, and of the possibility of defeat, have endeavoured to provide for such a calamity by securing for themselves an asylum. They have, therefore, turned their eyes upon Bísút, where the most wealthy of them have purchased castles and lands, and have, in fact, become joint proprietors of the soil with the Hazáras. Prior to the sway of Mír Yezdânbaksh they possessed a paramount superiority in Bísút, arising not from power of force but from that of the influence which they possessed over the mírs, divided in councils and feeble in talents, and who were glad to avail themselves of their mediation and support in their domestic quarrels and transactions with the Afghân authorities. Mír Yezdânbaksh, early made it apparent that he would allow no rival or controlling influence in Bísút, and even confiscated some estates of such Kâbal Shías who had favoured his opponents; and it became manifest to the re-

mainder that to enjoy their properties they must submit to conciliate the favour of the new chief. The general good understanding between the Kâbal Shías and the Hazáras was not disturbed by these occurrences; the former, indeed, found that they could no longer dictate in Bísút; but alliances, as before, were contracted between the principal families of either; and the daily increasing power of the Bísút mír was an universal subject of triumph and exultation.

We now come to the period when, after the elevation and degradation of numerous shâhzâdas, after a flagrant series of civil dissensions, cabals, intrigues, treacheries, perjuries, confiscations, and assassinations, the inhabitants of Kâbal, disgusted with the tyrannic and oppressive government of Shír Dil Khân, and his minister, Khodâ Nazzar, entered into negotiation with his brother, Dost Máhoméd Khân, then a fugitive in the Kohistân; and Shír Dil Khân, unable to contend with the combination against him, abandoned the city and retired to Kândahár. There was a prepossession among the Shías of Kâbal in favour of Dost Máhoméd Khân, on account of his mother being a Kazzilbâsh. No doubt they principally contributed to his accession to power; and on attaining it he was assiduous in attention to them.

Dost Máhoméd Khân was an Afghân. He had gained Kâbal; his first cares were to look around him, and discover if there was any one near him

likely or able to disturb him in its possession, and to destroy, by any means, the mistrusted person or persons. The state-prison of the Sadú Zaí princes had long been empty; the descendants of Ahmed Shâh were dispersed in foreign climes; not one of them remained in Kâbal that an enemy could erect into a monarch for the day; his brothers of Kândahâr and Peshâwer, although hostile to him, were unable seriously to annoy him, being too much occupied in providing for their own security, the first against Kâmrân of Herât, the last against Ranjit Singh of Lahore,—the Khâns of the Dûrání tribes had perished in the field, or under the hands of the executioner, and their families were in exile, or destitute. But Dost Máhommed Khân was uneasy; he beheld, amid the bleak hills and wilds of the Hazâras, a chieftain, able in council and valiant in the field, extending his power in every direction,—a power not ephemeral, but promising to be durable, being raised by superior genius, and consolidated by good faith. He was aware that the Shías of Kâbal had been the instruments of his elevation—they might become those of his degradation. Already too powerful, they were irresistible if joined by Mír Yezdânbaksh. He saw his safety only in the destruction of that chief, which he in consequence planned. Profiting by the cordiality subsisting between himself and the Shías, he represented to them that he held the character of Mír Yezdânbaksh in high

esteem, and desired to establish a personal acquaintance with him; and he requested them to employ their influence to induce the chief to visit Kâbal. They made communications to Mír Yezdânbaksh; and Dost Máhoméd Khân forwarded to him a Korân, with his seal affixed, as a solemn pledge for his safety; for which also the principals of the Shías, at the Kâbal chief's suggestion, became guarantees. Mír Yezdânbaksh, who had not hitherto come into collision with the Afghâns, apprehending no hostility from one to whom he had given no cause for enmity, decided to visit Dost Máhoméd Khân, calculating on making arrangements relative to Bísút which might be mutually beneficial. One of his wives (a daughter of a Deh Zanghí chief) alone cautioned him not to repair to Kâbal. This lady, of masculine understanding and habits, was accustomed, arrayed in male attire, well armed and mounted, to accompany her lord in his expeditions; she fought by his side in the field, and out of it assisted him in his councils. It was usual with her, on every occasion, to recommend to the mír never to place himself in the power of the Afghâns. The Hazára mír, on this occasion, listened not to her advice; and she, unable to dissuade him from his purpose, evinced her fidelity by accompanying him, although her mind foreboded every disaster. The pair, arrived at Kâbal, were courteously received by Dost Máhoméd Khân; but, on the first favourable op-

portunity, Mír Yezdânbaksh was seized and confined a prisoner, as was his wife. The Afghân chief would immediately have slain his captive; but the latter, aware of Afghân cupidity, intimated his willingness to pay fifty thousand rupees for his ransom, provided he was released immediately, that he might repair to Kârzâr and collect it, the Júânshírs of Kâbal becoming bondsmen for its due payment. Dost Máhoméd Khân, remarkably needy, without any design of sparing the Hazára chief, was nevertheless anxious, by some fraud or other, to obtain his property, and therefore rescinded the orders for immediate execution, that he might concert measures for so doing. While these were in agitation, Mír Yezdânbaksh found means to escape, and reached Bísút. Exasperated at the escape of his intended victim, Dost Máhoméd Khân, in the first transports of his rage, resolved to immolate his wife, and ordered her to be brought before him, when he reviled her in opprobrious terms. The Hazára Amazon exclaimed, "Oh, son of Pâhínda Khân, art thou not ashamed to array thyself against a female?" It is said, that the Afghân chief was abashed, and hung down his head. There were not wanting men of influence amongst the Afghâns, who, admiring the woman's magnanimity, deprecated any species of violence being offered to her; and Dost Máhoméd Khân himself, perhaps recovering his reason,

consented that she should be placed in custody of the Kazzilbáshes, who would treat her with more kindness than Afgháns. She was accordingly conveyed to Chándol, whence, in a short time, she also fled, attired as a male, and well armed and mounted, her escape probably favoured or connived at by her gaolers. On her flight becoming known to Dost Máhoméd Khán, he despatched a small party of horse in pursuit of her, and these came up with her in the valley of Honai, immediately before entering the Hazára territory. Finding herself overtaken, she turned about and presented her matchlock, and, by alternately advancing and halting, keeping her pursuers at bay, she gained the kotal, or pass of Honai, which being Hazára soil, pursuit was abandoned. The lady's good fortune was principally owing, of course, to the indecision of her pursuers; they had proceeded with sufficient alacrity in chase, but, on reaching the object of it, as men and soldiers, felt perplexed how to secure it, and ashamed to attack a female. The heroine joined her husband at Kârzár, to his great satisfaction. She has since paid the debt of nature.

Mír Yezdânbaksh had no sooner regained his liberty than he applied himself with unwearied assiduity to the extension of his power among the Hazáras. Although his sentiments towards the chief of Kâbal could not be doubted, he refrained

from manifesting any ill will towards the Afghâns, and kâfilas passed to and fro from Kâbal to Tûrkistân with the same security as before.

The collection of the Hazâra mállâ, or tribute, Dost Máhoméd Khân had confided to his brother Amír Máhoméd Khân, the chief of Ghazní, who, for this purpose, made annual incursions into Bísút. Mír Yezdânbaksh did not indeed assist him in the collection, as before wont to do, but while punctually making over the portion immediately due from himself, left him to exercise his discretion, and to do as well as he could with the several petty and refractory chieftains; nor did he join his camp until it was far advanced in the province, and then with so powerful a force as to defy treachery. The principal castle and residence of Mír Walí Beg, father of Mír Yezdânbaksh, was at Kârzâr, a valley watered by a fine rivulet leading from the base of the kotal, or pass Hâjikak, to Girdan Díwâl and the valley of the Helmand. Mír Yezdânbaksh erected a new castle adjacent to, but on the opposite side of the rivulet; the walls he intended to raise to the height of twenty-five pakhsas, or about fifty feet, while their breadth was eleven pakhsas, or about twenty-two feet. About fourteen pakhsas, or twenty-eight feet of the height had been effected in 1832. The castle was rectangular, in common with other Hazâra castles, but much larger than they generally are, and the entrance was defended by towers, after the mode in vogue

at Kândahâr. The walls and towers were perforated with apertures for the insertion of matchlocks, which, although really weakening them, by their disposition and regularity contributed to embellishment. In this castle the mîr laid in large stores of lead and powder. Untenable against a regular force, and perhaps so even against an Afghân army, it might be considered impregnable in a war of úlús, or of the tribes. Its site was admirable, completely commanding the high road, which led immediately under its wall.

Mîr Yezdânbaksh had united himself by marriage to the Hazâra chiefs of Deh Zanghí and Shékh Alí; but among the latter tribe, there being some chiefs inimical to him, he marched against them, and chastised them, as well as the several petty tribes in the vicinity of Ghorband.

Among the Afghân khâns who had been serviceable to Dost Máhoméd Khân in his designs upon Kâbal, was Táj Máhoméd Khân, Khâkâ, or Hâjí Khân, as commonly called; on more than one occasion he had preserved him from being blinded, if not put to death, by his brother, Shír Dil Khân. Dost Máhoméd Khân, on accession to power, in return for his services, bestowed upon him, in jághír, the district of Bámiân, with its dependencies, for the support of himself and troops, limited to three hundred and fifty cavalry. The Afghân influence, it may be noted, in the time of Shâh Zemân, extended to the Amú, or Oxus; at that period, how-

ever, it was considerably lessened by the wary and able conduct of the celebrated Killich Alí Beg of Balkh, and pending the convulsions in Afghânistân, subsequent to the blinding of Shâh Zemân, was lost altogether. On the death of Killich Alí Beg, Balkh became a dependency on Bokhâra, his sons holding authority at Khúlm and Haibak, as vassals to Mír Máhomed Morád Beg, the chief of Kúndúz, who seized the opportunity of extending his arms and influence, and became, what he now is, the most powerful Usbek prince south of the Amú; Bámíân, with its contiguous districts of Gandak, and Ak Robát to the north; Súrkhdar and Júí Fóládí to the west; Kálú to the south, and Irâk and Shibr to the east, only remained to the Afghâns.

North of Ak Robát, now become the northern frontier of the Afghâns, and between it and the acknowledged limits of Kúndúz, are many petty chieftains, Tâjík and Táatar, who for many years have availed themselves of the disinclination of Mír Máhomed Morád Beg to provoke a war with the Afghâns, and of the inability of the latter to attack the chief of Kúndúz, to maintain a kind of independence, asserting, if pressed by the Afghâns, that they pay tribute to the Usbeks, and if incommoded by the Usbeks, that they are tributaries to the Afghâns; while, by making annually small presents of horses to both parties, they preserve appearances with each, and their little estates from invasion. The principal of these are the Tâjík

chiefs Máhoméd Alí Beg, of Séghân, Ráhmátúlah Beg, of Káhmerd, and Nasrúlah Beg, of Ajer, with the Tátar chiefs, Sirdár Saiyad Máhoméd Khân, Shâh Pessand, Ferhâd, &c. resident on the Dasht Saféd.

In order that the events subsequently to be related may be more clearly comprehended, it is necessary to note that the first named of the Tâjik chiefs, Máhoméd Alí Beg, of Séghân, was a man of considerable political dexterity and military enterprize. With no other legitimate resources than a scanty revenue, derived from his small territory, and the *bâj*, or duty levied from passing *kâfilas*; he maintained four hundred horse, which he subsisted by forays upon the Hazára districts to the south and south-west of Séghân, carrying off men, women, and children, whom he sold to the Usbeks. One year he had ventured to proceed to Dêh Zanghí, and had exacted the payment of a year's *mállia*, or tribute. It was natural that he should become an object of dread and execration to the Hazáras, and he was, in fact, the Nimrod of these regions,

“ A mighty hunter, for his prey was man.”

So soon as Hâjî Khân obtained the government of Bámiân his attention, for several reasons, was directed to the extension of his influence in the direction of Túrkestân, and the possession of Séghân and Káhmerd he deemed essential to his designs; but as he was himself constrained to be present

at Kâbal, he was obliged to entrust his affairs in those quarters to his náibs, or deputies, whom Máhoméd Alí Beg ever found means to amuse and to outwit, and the khân's projects towards the close of 1832 had no farther advanced towards maturity than at the period of their conception. He was, or feigned to be, exceedingly incensed against Máhoméd Alí Beg.

Bámíân being separated from the districts of Kâbal by the whole breadth of Bísút, it is evident that Mír Yezdânbaksh had the power at any time to cut off all communication between the two places, and even to overrun the former, if hostilely inclined. Hâjí Khân, therefore, at an early period, sought to cultivate a good understanding with the Hazára chief. The Afghân khân, a profound master in dissimulation, had hitherto contrived in his public career to pass himself off as a man of veracity, and of fidelity to any cause he espoused; and although a few may have had penetration sufficient to question his integrity, it is certain that no public character in Afghânistán stood in so high or universal esteem.

Such favourable impressions of his character availed him in his attempt to attach the Shías of Kâbal to his party, and in his overtures to Mír Yezdânbaksh. He taught the former to believe that in any religious contest they would behold the most able of Dost Máhoméd Khân's sirdárs an ally under their banners, as in his public capa-

city he looked to the equal protection of all classes of subjects, whether Shías or Súnís, and the preservation of order, without reference to matters of faith. He taught the latter to believe, that he might secure a friend, independently of any considerations as to Dost Máhomed Khân, and pledged himself to frustrate any evil designs of that chief, even at the risk of being reputed in rebellion. The Shías of Kâbal reiterated to Mír Yezdânbaksh the amicable sentiments of the Khân, and he so far consented to a mutual good understanding as to pledge, on his part, that he would hold Bámiân inviolate, and allow two soldiers of the khân to be stationed at certain castles in the line of road from Sir Chishma to Kâlú, to provide for the wants and conveniences of the khân's people, who might pass to and fro.

The khân assigned Mír Yezdânbaksh an annual allowance of one hundred kharwârs of wheat, Mír Báaz Alí fifty kharwârs of wheat, and chiefs of inferior note smaller allowances of grain, from the produce of Bámiân, sparing no means in his power to ingratiate himself into the good-will of the Hazára chieftains.

In 1830 Hâjî Khân, nominated as náib in Bámiân Réhimdád Khân, his relative, a man of business, and personally brave. He had instructions to proceed to extremities with Máhomed Alí Beg, and in conformity thereto marched in the direction of Séghân. Just so much skirmishing followed

that one or two men were wounded on either side, when he also was gained over by Máhoméd Alí Beg, and returned to Bámiân, reporting to the khân at Kâbal, as instructed by the Tâjik chief, that it was necessary to secure Máhoméd Alí Beg's friendship, and to provide against the designs of Mír Yezdân-baksh. Réhimdád Khân had hitherto been friendly to the mír; he now became an avowed enemy.

It had long been a favourite object with Mír Yezdânbaksh, and one universally cherished by the Hazáras, to exterminate the chief of Séghân, infamous from his frequent forays, and for vindicating the sale of captives on plea of their being Shías and infidels. In pursuance of his intended measures, Mír Yezdânbaksh had gained over to his interests the Tátar chiefs of the Dasht Saféd, which, of course, became known to Máhoméd Alí Beg, who also in some manner had offended Mír Máhoméd Morád Beg, of Kúndúz, and could not look to him for assistance, while he was at variance with his neighbour Ráhmatúlah Beg, of Káhmerd. He saw himself on the eve of a contest with the Hazáras, to whom he had only his own feeble resources to oppose; and to rescue himself from impending destruction he resolved, if possible, to court the Afghâns; and now that he had secured Réhimdád Khân in his interests, his offer of services and tender of submission were made with perfect sincerity, his only fear was that they would not be accepted by Háji Khân.

Mír Yezdânbaksh on receiving intelligence of the arrangements made between Máhoméd Alí Beg and Réhimdád Khân, did not doubt but that the latter acted in conformity with instructions from Kábal, and, convinced that any league to which Máhoméd Alí Beg was a party must prove injurious to his interests, instantly resolved on decisive measures. He ejected the soldiers of Hâjí Khân stationed in the castles of Bísút, and with a considerable force marched into Kálú, the Hazára chief of which, Mír Zaffar, joined his standard. Thence he proceeded into Irák, the inhabitants of which he put under heavy contributions. From Irák he marched into Shibr, and alike exacted large quantities of cattle, grain, and roghan; his ally Mír Zaffar here also obtained two thousand sheep. From Shibr the Hazára chief passed by Irák into the valley of Bámiân, where the several proprietors of castles either voluntarily repaired to his camp or were intimidated into submission. The most powerful of these was Alladád Khân, Moghal, who occupied an ancient castle, now called Saiyadabád, adjacent to the ruinous citadel of Ghúlghúleh. This man had ever set the governors of Bámiân at defiance, and now espoused the cause of Mír Yezdânbaksh with alacrity. The whole of the castles of Bámiân were obedient to the mír, excepting the one in which the governor for Hâjí Khân resided, opposite the celebrated colossal statues. Therein he invested Réhimdád Khân, and imposed jirim, or

finer, at pleasure, on the individuals of the district obnoxious to him.

These events happened in 1830. Bámiân appeared on the point of being lost to the Afghâns, and the chief of Kâbal became more than ever apprehensive of the ultimate designs of a powerful chief, who in attacking one of his provinces made it manifest that he did not shrink from a contest with him. This year the Kâbal chief was also engaged in an expedition against Taghow, to the north-east of Kâbal, which prevented him from giving immediate attention to the affairs of Bámiân and Bísút. Hâjî Khân accompanied him, and had no difficulty in agreeing with his chief that it was necessary in some mode or other to circumvent Mír Yezdânbaksh, a service which he proffered to perform.

As a remedy was necessary for the emergency of the moment, the dexterity of Hâjî Khân, who was particularly interested for the safety of his jâghír, was exercised—his Shía friends were put forward; and they induced Mír Yezdânbaksh to evacuate Bámiân. By their means he persuaded Mír Yezdânbaksh that Réhimdád Khân had acted without orders; to confirm which he appointed in his place another governor for Bámiân; he also sent a Korân, by which he swore to forget what had past, and that he would not in any manner molest Mír Zaffar of Kâlú, or any other of the Hazára and Tájík chieftains, his dependents, who

had sided with Mír Yezdânbaksh ; and he farther swore that he would personally exterminate Máhoméd Alí Beg, or compel him to supplicate for mercy at the feet of the Hazáras.

In 1831 Amír Máhoméd Khân, as usual, entered Bísút to collect mália, and Hâjí Khân at the same period proceeded there, having obtained an order on Amír Máhoméd Khân for six thousand rupees. This he readily obtained from Dost Máhoméd Khân, urging, in advertence to his promises the preceding year of ensnaring Mír Yezdânbaksh, the propriety of adopting preliminary measures. His principal object was, no doubt, to examine the country ; and while in it he comported himself with unsparing liberality and indulgence to the Hazáras ; and such manners and conduct so contrasting with the stern severity and even cruelty of Amír Máhoméd, procured for him a very high character in the Hazárajât. Mír Yezdânbaksh refused this season to attend the Afghân camp, and at the head of two thousand horse marched, as he said, on pilgrimage to the zíarat (shrine) of Házrat Alí, at Band Amír, or Band Berber, as generally called, seated a little north of Yek Auleng, and south-east not very distant from Séghân. Thither he went ; but having settled his religious affairs, he applied his attention to his political ones, and marched to the valley of Séghân, where on two or three successive days he drew up his forces in order of battle, inviting Máhoméd Alí Beg to a conflict, which the Tájik

chief declining, he decamped and returned to Kârzâr.

In the early part of 1832 Hâjî Khân stood a candidate for the collection of the Bísút mállia for the year. From the transactions which had occurred at Bámíân, it was clear that the province was in a precarious state of allegiance; and the khân might reasonably enough represent that it required no less authority than his own to reduce it to order, and to teach the several Hazára and Tâjik chiefs that they were raiyats, or subjects of Kábal, and not allies or partisans of Mír Yezdânbaksh. The destruction of that chief being also undoubtedly a secret condition, Dost Máhoméd Khân appointed Hâjî Khân to the collection of the Bísút mállia, which was farmed to him for forty thousand rupees; after the collection of which he was to proceed and settle the affairs of Bámíân. The Kábal chief engaged to furnish him with fifteen hundred horse, two guns, and an elephant, in addition to his own quota of troops.

Hâjî Khân's whole attention was now directed to his preparations for the expedition into Bísút and Bámíân. He was assiduous in cultivating friendship with Mír Yezdânbaksh, and in inspiring him with confidence through the means principally of Khân Sherín Khân, the principal of the Júânshírs at Kábal; he succeeded, the Mír promising to act in cordial co-operation with him—the annihilation of Máhoméd Alí Beg being ever a leading topic

in the negotiations. Hâjî Khân despatched no less than seven kalâm-múllas, or oaths, upon the Korân at various times, as solemn vouchers for the sincerity of his engagements.

In the month of Mohoram (June) an event happened at Kâbal which tended greatly to confirm Mír Yezdânbaksh and the Shías of Kâbal in their good opinions of Hâjî Khân. A very smart earthquake occurred, which about an hour after was followed by a conflict between the Shías and Súnís at the city, in consequence of some Atchak Zai Afghâns, neighbours of the Júânshírs, interrupting the celebration, by the latter, of the commemoration of the death of the sons of Alí. Some lives were lost on the occasion, and on the intelligence reaching Hâjî Khân, who at the time was confined to his couch, he despatched the ever-ready Korân to Khân Sherín Khân, and swore himself prepared to stand by the Shías. He probably expected that the conflict would become general, and that the rude tribes of the Kohistân would hasten to defend the orthodox faith; but aware that the Shías, from their superior intelligence and union, were likely ultimately to prevail over their more barbarous opponents, he feigned to espouse their cause, as their triumph, or the convulsion that would follow would involve the subversion of Dost Máhomed Khân's authority, which was exactly what he wished. It did not, however, happen so. The Shías, indeed, manned the walls and towers of their for-

tified residences for some days ; but the combat was not renewed, and a truce being gained for negotiation, Hâjî Khân, now recovered from his disorder, was appointed vakîl, or agent, on part of the Afghâns, as the Nâwab Jabâr Khân was on part of the Jûânshîrs. The principal point to accommodate was the compensation for the blood that had been shed, the loss of which was chiefly on the Afghân side ; and Hâjî Khân favouring the Jûânshîrs, matters were so contrived that the affair, without being arranged, was suffered to die away.

It is time to observe that between Hâjî Khân and the chief of Kâbal a mutual distrust had for some time existed. The latter, a man of great ability, is naturally suspicious ; and Hâjî Khân had become very influential and powerful. His jâghîr was originally fixed at 72,000 rupees per annum, Bâmiân being valued at 55,000 rupees per annum, half the sayar, or transit-duties of Chârikâr in the Kohistân at 10,000 rupees per annum ; Robât, near the latter place, with villages at Sir Chishma and Loghar, completing the amount. The Khân derived from Bâmiân, as he assured me, 120,000 rupees per annum ; the half of the transit-duties of Chârikâr also much exceeded the sum fixed, as did the revenues of all his villages. There can be little doubt but that at this time the Khân was in receipt of a lâkh and half of rupees from his jae-dad, valued at less than half the amount. The quota of troops he should entertain was limited

to three hundred and fifty horse; he had in pay above seven hundred, and, with foot soldiers, he had certainly a thousand soldiers in his service. The *khân* was of the *Kháká* tribe of *Afghâns*, whose seats are in the hilly regions on the south-eastern confines of *Afghânistân*, where they are neighbours of the *Baloches*. He was entirely a soldier of fortune, and his great fame drew numbers of his rude and destitute countrymen around him. These on their arrival at *Kâbal* in their ragged felts and uncouth attire were a spectacle to the inhabitants. The *khân* always sent such men to *Bámíân*, where they were quartered upon the inhabitants, and progressively as he was able to provide, received clothes, arms, and horses. To many he assigned lands; some formed villages; and, had his plans matured, *Bámíân* would have been colonized by *Kháká Afghâns*. Such circumstances may have been sufficient to attract the attention of *Dost Máhoméd Khân*, whose vigilance and penetration they were not likely to escape; but the whole political deportment of *Hájí Khân* was calculated to excite the mistrust of a chief, in whose character jealousy is a principal ingredient. He had induced *Dost Máhoméd Khân* to despatch his brother, *Dáoud Máhoméd Khân*, on a mission to *Lahore*; it was whispered to *Dost Máhoméd Khân*, that the envoy had rather furthered his brother's objects than those of his mission—and whether he had or not, *Dost Máhoméd*

Khân's suspicions were excited. Hâjî Khân moreover, maintained a regular correspondence with foreign princes, as those of Balochistân and Sind, while his intrigues and connexions with the various ghúnds, or factions in Kâbal were notorious, under whatever colour he might represent them, or seek to excuse them to Dost Máhoméd Khân.

In the summer of this year (1832) Díwan Atmar, the Hindú minister, and confidant of Mír Máhoméd Morád Beg of Kúndúz, arrived, on a mission at Kâbal. The Uzbek chieftain, sufficiently rude and barbarous, is, nevertheless, the most able and energetic ruler in Túrkestân, and is strongly suspected to regret that no opportunity presents itself to allow his interference in the affairs of Kâbal. As it is, he has no party there; and the Díwân's object was generally supposed to be for the purpose of forming one, and making a political reconnoissance. His avowed purpose was to conclude a treaty, offensive and defensive, with Dost Máhoméd Khân, and to unite by a family alliance the rulers of Kâbal and Kúndúz. Dost Máhoméd Khân, remarkably shrewd, politely declined any kind of treaty or alliance. Among his nobles who reprobated a connexion with the Uzbeks, no one was so prominent as Hâjî Khân. Yet, from subsequent events, there is every probability that the khân formed an intimate connexion himself with the Díwân; and while in the darbâr he contended with so much vehemence against Máhoméd Morád Beg, he privately, through

the Díwân, pledged himself to advance his views in another and more effectual way.

Whatever may have passed was probably known to Dost Máhoméd Khân, and he possibly repented having appointed Hâjí Khân to the collection of the Bísút mállia. To annul the appointment would have been ungracious and irritating, and therefore he contemplated to seize the khân,—in his estimation too powerful for a subject, and become dangerous,—and at once remove all uneasiness and apprehension. But the Kâbal chief could more readily conceive than execute so decisive a measure; and while his irresolution continued, his intentions became known, and that Hâjí Khân was selected for a victim became the current chit-chat of the day. The chief's irresolution, the publicity of his design, and the new turn of ideas occasioned by the accounts about this time received of Shâh Sújâh's projects, conduced to the safety of Hâjí Khân; and his chief, unwillingly, but without help, allowed him to depart from Kâbal; but to cripple him in his operations as much as possible, instead of fifteen hundred cavalry, originally arranged to have been furnished him, about three hundred were commissioned for the service of Bísút.

Hâjí Khân had expended above 12,000 rupees in the purchase of Kashmírian and British manufactured shâls, lúnghís, and dresses of descriptions to be distributed as khelats. He had originally in-

tended to have left the city in the month of Safar, as before noted, but he did not take his departure until the month of Rabbí-as-Sâní, when he encamped at Alíabád, about a coss distant; here he halted some days, and shifted his quarters to Killa Kází, where a second halt of some days occurred; thence he finally marched for Bísút by the valley of Jelléz and Sir Chishma. The motive assigned for these delays, was the prudence of allowing time for the Hazáras to collect their harvests, that there might be a certainty of provender for the horses of the army. The real cause was the difficulty the khân found to raise funds to enable him to put his troops in motion. The khân was accompanied in his expedition by two of his wives, the most favoured; a circumstance by his admirers imputed to his fearless spirit.

At Sir Chishma the khân summoned Mír Yezdânbaksh to meet him on the frontier of Bísút, who returned for answer that he would first deliver over the tribute due immediately from himself, as a proof of his fidelity and good faith, and next wait upon the khân. The khân therefore crossed the kotal Honai, and by short stages passing the plain of Yúrt, arrived at Girdan Díwál in the valley of the Helmand. By this time Mír Yezdânbaksh had made over the tribute from Bísút dependent upon him, which in former years had given Amír Máhomed Khân so much trouble, and had taken so much time to collect, and advanced to an interview with

the khân. This took place on the crest of a small eminence called the Kotal Girdan Díwâl. The Hazára chief halted in line his force of fifteen hundred cavalry, and advanced alone. Hâjî Khân did the same, and in presence of the two forces the mír and khân met and embraced each other. Mír Yezdânbaksh affirmed, that he should consider the khân's enemies as his own, whether Hazáras, Uzbeks, or others, and asked only one favour, that in the day of battle he might be placed in front. This meeting was succeeded by a renewal of oaths; and Hâjî Khân affianced one of his infant sons to an infant daughter of Mír Yezdânbaksh. Nothing could be more auspicious than the commencement of this expedition; satisfaction and confidence were general, and the united Afghân and Hazára army moved along the banks of the Helmand; the Hazára chiefs, vying with each other in delivering their tribute, in emulous imitation of their superior mír, who attended at once to prevent any evasion and to provide for the entertainment of his guest the khân.

With the knowledge of subsequent events, it is impossible to decide what the real intentions of Hâjî Khân were on quitting Kâbal; although it may be conjectured that he had determined, if possible, not to return there. He knew that he had become an object of suspicion to the Amír, and he knew that no Afghân spares even a supposed enemy, if he possess the power to destroy him. He may have considered it possible, with the alli-

ance of Mír Yezdânbaksh, to have maintained himself independently at Bámíân, or, if he preferred a connexion with the Uzbeks, he had paved the way for it by his intercourse with Díwân Atmar. The possible appearance of Shâh Sújah in the field, if other chances failed, would give him an opportunity, in possession of Bámíân and commanding the resources of Bísút, of rendering the Shâh an important service, and of enhancing his claims in the distribution of favour, which would follow his re-accession to sovereignty. Like every Afghân, however, he was essentially the child of circumstances: his grand object was to preserve himself, and, if possible, at the same time to signalize himself; but his ability, great as it was, like that of all Afghâns, while it sufficed to enable him to accommodate himself to and profit by circumstances, was not adequate to enable him to direct and command them.

Hâjî Khân at this time had four brothers; one, Gúl Máhoméd Khân, was resident at Toba, in the Khâká country; two, Dáoud Máhoméd Khân, and Khân Máhoméd Khân, were in the service of Amír Máhoméd Khân, at Ghazní; and the fourth, Dost Máhoméd Khân, was attached personally to Hâjî Khân, and accompanied him. The two brothers from Ghazní, it was arranged, should join his camp in Bísút with their followers; and, as a strong confirmation that he had little idea of returning to Kâbal, he had invited Gúl Máhoméd Khân to repair from Toba to Bámíân, with as large a body

of his countrymen as he might be able to raise. The three first-named were all able and gallant leaders ; Dost Máhoméd Khân was less assuming.

Having conducted the Khân to the banks of the Helmand, with his Hazára auxiliaries, from whence he wrote to me, the narrative may turn to the detail of our progress to join him, and of the incidents which afterwards fell out ; we should note, however, that after the first meeting with Mír Yezdânbaksh at Girdan Díwâl, some two thousand Hazára infantry were despatched to act in conjunction with the Khân's troops at Bámiân, in the reduction of Séghân, the country of Máhoméd Alí Beg ; and, in justice perhaps to ourselves, it may be premised, that at the time we were perfectly unacquainted with the Khân's political views and ideas, and proceeded to his camp with no other object than of examining, under favourable circumstances, the antiquities of Bámiân.

CHAPTER XIII.

Departure from Kâbal.—Arghandî.—Kotal Khâk Safêd.—Jelléz.—Villages and castles.—Scuffle at Hazâra castle.—Tîrkhâna.—Honai.—Message from Shâh Abbâs Khân.—Joined by him.—Hazâra party.—Chokîdârs.—Kirghû.—Our reception.—Violence of Afghân horsemen.—Hospitality of Hazâras.—Koh Bâbâ.—River Helmand.—Appearance of Koh Bâbâ.—Ghowch Khol.—Ab Dilâwar.—Kotal Sang Sûrákh.—Bâd Assîah.—Zîárat.—Altercation with Hazâras.—Conduct of Shâh Abbâs Khân.—Disputes amongst Hazâras.—Results.—Distress of Hazâras.—Their hospitable offices rejected.—Stratagem.—Hazâra repast and Afghân delicacy.—Departure.—Eye medicine.—Doubtful roads.—Joined by Shâh Abbâs Khân.—Vakîl Shaffî's castle.—Immense grave.—Fear of women.—Arrival in camp.—Meeting with Hâjî Khân.—Quarters.—Companions.—Evening repast.—Fare.—Hâjî Khân's conversation.—His humble pretensions.—His vaunts of liberality.—His avowal of his intentions.—His counsels to Dost Máhomed Khân.—Approbation of his auditors.—Diwâl Khol.—Mír Alí Khân.—Composition of Hâjî Khân's force.—Hazâra force.—Dependents on Hâjî Khân.—Camp arrangements.—Notice to march.—Order of march.—Taking up ground.—Foragers.—Evening invocation.—Prayers.—Majlis.—Guests.—Entertainment.—Termination of the majlis.

BEING joined by Sirkerder Kambar and his servant, our party of four persons left the Bálla Hissár by the Derwâza Nagára Khâna, and by the road of Chándol passed the defile, called by Baber,

Deveren—an appellation now forgotten—into the plain of Chahárdéh, at this season beautifully sprinkled with fields of maswâk, or safflower, the plant being charged with its fine orange-coloured blossoms. We passed Killa Kází, and by night reached Arghandí, where we took up quarters at a masjít contiguous to one of the castles, intending there to have passed the night, when the inhabitants of the castle entreated us to lodge within their walls, asserting, they had enemies, who might assassinate us in the night, for the purpose of throwing the opprobrium and consequences of the crime upon them. As this mode of effecting the disgrace and ruin of enemies is common among Afghâns, we complied, and entered the castle.

In our road from Arghandí we met a numerous cavalcade of men, children, camels, horses, asses, bullocks, and flocks of sheep, which proved to be the Afghân pastoral tribe of Hássan Khél, with their property, in progress from their summer residences in the Hazárajât to the more genial districts of Lúghmân. About a mile from Arghandí we followed a ravine, which led to the base of the pass called Kotal Khâk Saféd (white earth). The pass was neither long nor difficult, and brought us on an extensive table-space, in which we found an abandoned watch-tower, and springs of water in two or three spots. The descent from this table-space was gradual, and brought us into the beautiful valley of Zémaní, Jelléz, and Sir Chishma,

speckled with castles, villages, and gardens, through which flowed a fine stream of water, rising at Sir Chishma. The road we followed traced the eastern side of the valley, and successively passing the zíá-rat of Khwoja Isâ, distinguished by a grove of trees, and the villages Zébudâk and Zémaní, left of the stream, we arrived at a splendid grove of chanar, or plane-trees, with the village of Jelléz immediately to the right of the road. Jelléz has an ancient appearance; may contain some eighty houses, and has two or three Hindú dokândárs, or shopkeepers. It is said to be twelve jeríbí cosses from Kâbal, or twenty-seven and a half miles. From Jelléz the valley has the name of Tírkhâna; at a castle in which, inhabited by Hazâras, we took up quarters for the night. This march was a very agreeable one, from the generally romantic and fine scenery. The villages and castles, usually constructed of stones, had invariably their stock of winter provender piled upon the flat roofs of their houses; the various substances, such as grass, clover, &c., being arranged in distinct layers, recognizable by their various hues of brown, pale, or dark green. Among them were interposed layers of a vivid red colour, which were found, on inquiry, to be composed of the dried leaves of the rhubarb plant, collected by the peasants from the neighbouring hills, and made to contribute to the sustenance of their cattle during winter. The operative cultivators of the soil were invariably Hazâras.

The villages are inhabited by mixed Afghâns and Tâjiks. The district of Zébudâk is entirely occupied by the Afghân tribe of Rústam Khél. Wheat, grown throughout the valley, is proverbially esteemed, and the lands, watered by the river, yield large quantities of shâli, or rice. At this castle, in the evening, a terrible hubbub ensued, which we found occasioned by my man Yúsef, who was a chillam-kash, or tobacco smoker; he needed the chillam, or apparatus for smoking, and maltreated the Hazáras for not producing what they had not to produce. The Hazáras made common cause, and the Sirkerder and myself had not only difficulty to appease the tumult, but were ourselves very nearly ejected forcibly from the castle. The uncompromising chillam-kash, however, triumphed, for a chillam was brought for him from a neighbouring castle.

In the morning, crossing the stream, we traced the western portion of the valley of Tírkhâna, which contains several castles and small hamlets. These have always, as indeed is general throughout Afghânistân, neat masjíts without them, serving at once as places for devotion and for the accommodation of the stranger: numerous water mills were seated on the stream. Where Tírkhâna terminates the stream flows through a narrow defile, or tanghí, and the spot is romantic; on the rocks to the right is perched an ancient tower. The defile passed, we enter the valley called Sir Chishma,

which in its expanse comprises many castles and hamlets. A spring at the north of the vale is considered the source of the river, whence the name applied to the district. In it Hâjî Khân holds some lands, and a castle, called Júi Foládí.

At the head of the valley, where is seated a village on an eminence, we inclined to the west, having on our right a rivulet flowing in a deep ravine, and on our left high undulating grounds, among which were interspersed a few castles and some cultivation. The last of these castles, with two contiguous ones, is the property of Ismael Khân, Merví, mírokâr, or master of horse to Dost Máhoméd Khân. About half a mile hence the valley winds to the north, and leads into Honai, at the commencement of which is the handsome castle of Mastapha Khân, son of Yúsef Khân Jú-ânshír. A fine rivulet flows down Honai; ascending which, we reach two or three castles with contiguous hamlets, the latter being now called kishlâks, belonging to Zúlfakâr Khân, a considerable land proprietor, also a merchant, trafficking with Déh Zanghí. At this point the stream turns a water-mill. Proceeding up the valley, which widens, the remains of walls and parapets are observed on the adjacent eminences. These might be supposed to represent old castles, but now that we are better acquainted with such ruins, we conjecture them to denote the burial-places of the old inhabitants of the country. Clearing this extended

space, the valley again contracts until we reach the base of the pass, or Kotal of Honai. A little while after leaving Sir Chishma I was overtaken by an Afghân horseman, who informed me that he was sent by Shâh Abbâs Khân, mîrâkor to Hâjî Khân, to acquaint me that he was behind, with three camels laden with provisions and articles of clothing, which he was escorting to the camp, and he hoped that I would halt for him, that we might join the khân together, who would be pleased with him for having paid me attention. I knew nothing of the mîrâkor, but on reaching a small patch of chaman, or pasture, the sirkerder and myself agreed to wait for him, and allowing our horses to graze, we threw ourselves on the ground until he reached us. He did so in due time, when we mounted and pushed on, leaving the camels to follow at their leisure. On reaching the base of the kotal we found a party of Hazâras, endeavouring to procure karij, or duty, from a small ass-kâfila, carrying fruit and coarse calicoes to the camp. The men of the kâfila disputed payment on the plea of being camp-followers and privileged persons; and the Hazâras were about to employ force to obtain what they asserted to be their due. Their party consisted of two very personable youths mounted, who called themselves saiyards, and five or six matchlock-men on foot. The youths observed, that on our account, they would not now use compulsion, but that their claims were just. They were satisfied

with a few bunches of grapes; and Shâh Abbâs cautioned them not to interfere with the khân's camels in the rear. Commencing the ascent of the kotal, we fell in with Mír Alí Khân, Hazára, and názir, or steward to Mír Yezdânbaksh, proceeding on business to Kâbal. We gave him a few bunches of grapes procured from the kâfila, and he gave us a nishân or token, by employing which we might secure a courteous reception at a castle in Kirghú, where he recommended us to pass the night. The kotal was not difficult, but consisted of alternate ascents and descents; and in the hollows were always small rivulets, fringed with margins of chaman. On the crest of the kotal, where is a large table expanse, were the ruined walls of a small square enclosure, under which were sitting two or three Hazára chokídárs, or collectors of duty. They claimed duty from the ass-kâfila, and on being refused, threatened to chapow (plunder) it, but were satisfied with a few bunches of grapes and a small quantity of tobacco. We remained here until the camels joined. The road divides into two branches, one to the right, the high road to Bámíân by Yúrt and Kârzár, the other leading to the front, which we followed. We had now entered upon a country indeed dreary and bleak, but abounding with rivulets, and in which every spot on its irregular surface at all capable was appropriated to cultivation; castles were occasionally seen in nooks or sheltered recesses of the hills, at a distance from

the road. We soon reached Kirghú, where we found three castles belonging to Mír Yezdânbaksh and his brother, Mír Máhomed Shâh. We had intended to have halted at the farthest in situation of the three castles; but the people asserted their inability to provide us and our cattle with supplies. Notwithstanding the outrageous behaviour of Shâh Abbás, they were firm in refusing us accommodation, but advised us to proceed to a castle behind, seated on a rise, belonging to Mír Máhomed Shâh, where, although the mír was at Kâbal, the mír-zádâs his sons were present, and we should find every thing we needed. We accordingly went there, and the young mírs accepted the nishân of the názir, and were polite enough to say, that without it they would have entertained our party on my account. A carpet was immediately spread without the castle, and a chillam produced. Here we found four Afghân horsemen, who asserted they had a barât, or written order, for their entertainment that night, but refusing to show it, were denied reception. Much foul language was uttered by the Afghâns, and it growing nearly dark, two, the most violent, drew their swords, vowing they would obtain by force what was refused to civility. The Hazáras took up stones, begging us to remain quietly in our seats, as we had nothing to do with the affair. Matters did not proceed to extremities. The Afghâns, finding their menaces ineffectual, were content to mount their horses, and seek lodging

elsewhere, lavishing terms of abuse, and reviling Mír Yezdânbaksh as a sag, or dog. A large flock of sheep now appeared in sight, which proved to be in charge of these men; on which the young mírs called for their jisâls, or guns, and with four or five armed attendants, hastened to protect their standing crops of wheat from being devoured. In the course of this day's march we had met many large flocks of sheep, on their road to Kâbal, being portions of the tribute of Bísút, made over to awâleh-dárs, or persons holding awâlehs, or orders, from Dost Máhoméd Khán. To ourselves every attention was paid, and a sheep was set before us as peshkash (a present), which we would fain have declined, but it was pressed upon us, and a huge vessel of a composite metal, called chodân, was provided, in which to cook it, with abundance of chelmer for fuel. Cakes were prepared, of a mixture of múshúng, or pea and barley-flour. I was undoubtedly an object of curiosity, and even the female infants, beautiful in features, were brought to see what they had never seen before, a Feringhí; but the modesty of the mírzâdas prevented them from asking me a single question. The night here was very cold, and in the morning the rivulet was slightly iced over. Kirghú is south of Kârzár.

^Bade adieu to our hospitable friends at Kirghú; and crossing a rivulet, made a slight ascent, which brought us to the commencement of a fine level dasht, or plain, of large extent. At this point were

a few castles; and we had a magnificent view of Koh Bábá to the north-west. The road was excellent. At some distance to our right we had the river Helmand, flowing in a deep valley, and between the river and the skirts of Koh Bábá was the district Ferai Kholm, abounding in castles and cultivated land, but without a tree. On either side of the road we were following were also many castles, and the soil was generally under cultivation—several vast heaps of stones occurred on the road side, and occasionally graves and burial-places. We halted awhile at a castle on this plain, that the camels might appear. I asked the old men, if Koh Bábá was accessible, and was told that the summit might be reached in one day by persons who were “níat sáf,” or pure in heart, but those who were not might ramble many days, or even be unable to gain it. This mountain is remarkable for its abrupt, needle-shaped pinnacles, and stands a singular spectacle, from its contrast with the surrounding hills. Having traversed the plain, we had low hills to our left, while to our right was the Helmand, flowing beneath us through a space of chaman; its banks fringed with rose-bushes and osiers. In so inviting a spot, we descended from the road, and refreshed ourselves awhile. Although the cold was so severe by night the sun was powerful by day, so much so that while halting here I was glad to sit in the shade of contiguous rocks. Hence a short distance brought us to Ghowch Khol,

(the deep glen). Here were two castles on the opposite bank of the Helmand, over which a rustic bridge was thrown; the castles were also seated on the opposite sides of a ravine, down which from the north a considerable rivulet flowed, and here joined the Helmand. This river also receives at Ghowch Khol the waters of another rivulet, Ab Diláwer (the high spirited water), so called from its never being ice-bound. Ab Diláwer flows from the south-west. Our road probably led straight on along the banks of the Helmand, but, for the convenience of our camels, we followed the valley, down which flowed Ab Diláwer. It was of considerable length, and although without dwellings, there was much cultivated land in it. The rivulet rises at its upper extremity, and from its source a portion of its water is diverted into a channel, or rural aqueduct, carried along the hills to the left, throughout the whole extent of the valley. The aqueduct is supported by a parapet of stones, sufficiently regular in construction to produce a pleasing and picturesque appearance. At the head of the valley is a kotal, or pass, the descent of which is considerable. Here a large rock, with a cavity therein, occurs, called Sang Súrâkhí (the perforated rock), from which, we believe, this pass is called Kotal Sang Súrâkhí. At the base of this pass we found, as usual, a rivulet, and on the right a castle, where we halted until the camels came up. Hence passing over a succession of irre-

gular, but low ascents and descents, we reached a castle, at the opening of the extensive plain Bâd Assiâh, where we resolved to pass the night. Above us to the right, at a trifling distance, was another castle, and to the left on the opposite side of the valley was a small kishlâk; beyond which, in a sheltered recess of the hills, was a cheerful grove of trees, now rare objects, denoting a zîarat of Hâzrat Alí, or, as called, Hâzrat Shâh Mirdân. The Hazâras of the castle at which we had halted were unwilling to furnish us with supplies, alleging that the sûrsât they had contributed to the army had exhausted their means. Shâh Abbâs would not admit excuses, and was liberal in the discipline of the whip, and but that I deprecated in strong terms, violence, I presume a curious scene of insolence on the one side, and resistance on the other would have followed. I wished to have proceeded to a castle a little lower down in the plain, where, I learned, Mír Alí Khân Kúrd was fixed, with thirty horsemen, but the Sirkerder did not appear consenting. I, however, insisted that nothing on my account should be taken from the Hazâras forcibly, or even gratuitously, and flour was given to them, which they cheerfully engaged to prepare into bread. These people had now consented to furnish chaff and barley for the cattle, but wished to divide the charge of our entertainment with their neighbours in the castle and kishlâk. These refused, those of the castle telling them to take

charge of their own guests; adding, that if the whole party had originally taken up quarters with them they would willingly have provided everything needful. Contention now arose among the Hazáras themselves; stones were taken up; and Shâh Abbás and his companions were obliged to draw swords to terminate the strife. Night was now drawing on, and neither chaff nor barley was forthcoming. Shâh Abbás told me that the quarrel among the Hazáras had been a feint, to shuffle giving anything, and that I had spoiled all his arrangements by forbidding violence; that with Hazáras it was necessary to employ kicks and cuffs. Chaff was at last brought; but information given that the Rísh Saféd (white bearded old man), who had undertaken to provide barley, had ran away and secreted himself in the upper castle. On this, Shâh Abbás lost patience, and sent his companions, armed, to secure him. They went, and after some scuffling, in which a few stones were thrown by the Hazáras, they succeeded in bringing away the old gentleman, and another fellow, who had been prominent in opposing them. Shâh Abbás ordered them to be bound, and would have flogged both. I was enabled to save the old man from disgrace, but was compelled to abandon the younger one to his fate. The Hazáras now betook themselves to supplication; the old and young women of the castle assailed the Afghâns with cries of sorrow, and entreaties to unbind the men. Barley was pro-

duced, and their prayers were granted. A sheep was also offered, as peshkash, which Shâh Abbâs disdainfully rejected, threatening the people of the castle with all the vengeance of Hâjî Khân and Mîr Yezdânbaksh, for their inhospitality. The bread, prepared with our own flour, was now brought, and with cheese, also our own property, we made our supper.

Shâh Abbâs and his companions had some Kâbal-baked cakes on which they regaled. The Hazâras however prepared for the party cakes of pea and barley-flour, and brought them, with large bowls of boiled milk. Their hospitable offices were indignantly refused by Shâh Abbâs, nor could all their entreaties, their expressions of contrition, and their kissing of hands and feet, induce him to partake of the provided fare. It was ridiculous enough to behold five hungry Afghâns refusing to satisfy their appetites; but the fact was, they were now employing stratagem. A sheep had been exhibited, and although in the first instance scornfully rejected, it was not intended that it should escape slaughter. On this account, therefore, they persisted in not accepting the cakes and milk, and laid themselves down to sleep, execrating the Hazâras as inhospitable infidels.

By times in the morning we made signals of motion, when the Hazâras of the castle besought us to partake of an entertainment first. The stratagem of the Afghâns had succeeded; an entire

sheep had been roasted during the night. Afghân delicacy was again amusing; it was not until they had wearied the Hazáras, in supplication, weeping and kissing their feet, that they consented, as a matter of especial favour, to sit down to a magnificent breakfast of a fine hot roasted sheep, bowls of moss, or curds, and warm bread-cakes. I partook of the banquet; but on its conclusion inquired for the master of the sheep that had been slain, and presented him with its value in money, which he gratefully accepted; after which, my nag being saddled, I mounted and departed, receiving the benedictions of the people of the castle. Sirkerder Kamber remained until Shâh Abbás started, as the latter wished, and would otherwise have taken the money from the Hazáras. We crossed the northern extremity of the plain Bâd Assiáh, the soil of irregular surface, bleak and uncultivated, the castles with the appropriated soil lying at some distance to our left. On leaving the dusht we reached a spot of chaman, where, with Shâh Abbás, who had previously joined, we halted until the camels appeared. Shâh Abbás commenced digging up the roots of a small bulbous plant, which, he said, yielded arún túta. This is a medicine of high price, and of high repute for diseases of the eye. Its qualities are decidedly stimulant, and as it is indiscriminately applied, its use must be in many cases improper. I afterwards found this medicine was one of the articles particularly inquired for by

the people of the camp in the Hazárajât. It is sold in small pieces, of a dark brown colour, and would appear to be the inspissated juice of some bulbous plant, if Shâh Abbas was right, of some species of colchicum possibly. From this spot Shâh Abbás and his companion took the lead of us; and when we followed, we came to a point where the road divided into two branches, both passing over ascents; the road to our right was evidently the principal one, but it was as evident that Shâh Abbás had taken the other, the impression of his horses' hoofs being visible; we therefore followed it, although convinced we were in error, and were fearful that our servants and camels might be bewildered. We passed a slight ascent, which brought us into a narrow valley of some length, with a fine rivulet, which, at the mouth of the valley, or just before it opens into another and larger, disappears suddenly. In the larger valley was a still more considerable rivulet, with a variety of springs, excellent chaman, and patches of cultivated soil. Shâh Abbás was not to be found, and we rested here, determined to await the arrival of our servants. These at length arrived. We were in a dilemma, being conscious that we had lost the right road, and there was no castle in sight where we might obtain information. A flock of sheep came down the valley, but the shepherd as soon as he saw us, abandoned his charge and fled over the hills. The Sirkender mounted and pursued him,

and although he did not overtake the fugitive, he ascertained on gaining the heights that a castle, with a few trees, was at some distance. Shâh Abbâs and his companion had now joined us. They had proceeded far down the valley, but finding no person or habitation, had wandered in doubt. Shâh Abbâs started for the castle discovered by the Sirkerder; on his return, from the information obtained, our party moved down the valley awhile, and then ascending the heights to our left, crossed over an undulating country, and gained a spacious valley, in which were several castles, much cultivated land, and fine plots of chaman, with a fair rivulet flowing through it. Three or four brood mares, and two or three foals were grazing, indications of the prosperity of the inhabitants, and we found that the castles belonged to the Vakîl Shaffî and his úlús. We were now directed into a well-defined road, which led us into an extensive plain, bounded to the right by low hills of a white porcelain clay, of which the few castles dispersed over the surface were constructed, giving them a peculiar appearance. Two or three of these were in ruins, having been destroyed the preceding year by Amír Máhoméd Khân. Traversing this plain, we passed through a burial-ground, where on the right of the road was an immense grave from twenty to twenty-five yards in length. This, of course, was a zîarat, and, like everything wonderful among the Házaras, was ascribed to Házrat Shâh Mirdân. Shâh Abbâs and

his companion had again preceded us, and we came up with them lying before a castle, in which were only women, who through fear had fastened the entrance. We found that the Afghâns had endeavoured to break open the door with stones, under pretence of procuring a chillam and fire. Sirkerder Kamber succeeded by fair language in inducing the women, who stood on the ramparts of one of the towers, to lower down the indispensable chillam and fire. These women, on our inquiries as to the situation of the camp, in their anxiety to get rid of us, or through ignorance, directed us wrongly, and we went on until, passing many successive and considerable elevations, we made a valley with two or three castles, whence, being made sensible of our error, we turned to our right, and at no great distance descried from the heights the Afghân camp on the banks of the Helmand, which we joined, it being still day.

My arrival was notified to the khân, who immediately sent for me and the Sirkerder. He was profuse in expressions of satisfaction at seeing me, and said that when at Kâbal, from the pressure of his affairs, he was prevented from showing me the attentions he wished; now we should be constant companions. He added, if I wished to proceed directly to Bámíân he would provide attendants, but he had rather I should postpone the visit for a few days, until the affairs of Bísút were arranged, when we should all go together. To this I assented.

After being regaled with grapes and melons, now articles of luxury to us, we took leave. A quarter of a large tent, appropriated to the Sandúk Khâna establishment, was assigned for my quarters, and Sirkerder Kamber, who shared it with me, was directed to attend to me in particular, as were generally all the péshkidmats, or servants of the household. A second quarter of this tent was occupied by Akhúnd Iddaitúlah and his son, the first tabíb, or physician to the khân, a venerable Rísh Saféd, or white-bearded old gentleman; the son, a stuttering youth, attár báshí, or apothecary. They had two or three enormous boxes, containing a various collection of sanative drugs and simples. The other half of the tent was occupied by the two sandúkdárs, persons in charge of the chests, two khaiyáts, or tailors, and Saiyad Abdúlah and his son, who called themselves the khân's pírkhânas, or spiritual guides. The old saiyad was an ignorant and intolerant bigot, who agreed badly with Sirkerder Kamber, who was not perhaps altogether orthodox in his opinions, and had no particular reverence for saiyads in general, and none for Saiyad Abdúlah. The latter, therefore, was wont to fulminate his curses and to revile the Sirkerder as a kâfr, or infidel, who in return charged the holy man with imposture. The young saiyad was a meek inoffensive youth.

In the evening a péshkidmat announced that the khân invited me to sup with him in the tent of

Máhomed Bâgher Khân, where he was himself a guest. Thither I repaired, and was placed by the khân by his side, which on all occasions after was my seat. Here I found most of the Ghúlám Khâna chiefs assembled. Our entertainment was composed of pillau and kórmeh, or stewed meat, with sherbet, or sugar and water. After the repast the khân observed to me, that all the persons present were sons of noblemen ; the father of him pointing to Mír Alí Khân Kúrd, spent crores of rupees under the Sadú Zaí monarchs. "At that time tribute was received from Káshmir, Dérâh Múltân, and Sind ; now we are all compelled to scour the Hazára hills in search of sheep and goats." Máhomed Bâgher Khân remarked, it was a subject of congratulation, that amid the various vicissitudes that had passed, his (the khân's) gúzerân (circumstances) were prosperous. The khân exclaimed Shúkr ! (thanks !) and added, that he had a sirdár who possessed insáf (equity). He next panegyricized the Hazáras, professing to be delighted with their frank, unsuspecting manners, and love of truth ; affirming, that he himself was both a hâjí and hâjíz (unassuming), who had come into Bísút solely for the kidmut (service) of those good people, who had been maltreated by Amír Máhomed Khân. He expatiated on the large sums he had expended in khelats since his entrance into the country, observing, that his liberality had already excited umbrage at Kâbal, where

his enemies were numerous ; and he had understood that the sirdár should have said, "The Hazáras, incapable of appreciating generous treatment, would the following year refuse the payment of tribute altogether." He complained that the sirdár had not forwarded him, as promised, supplies of flour from Ghazní ; and that, instead of sending one thousand five hundred troops of the Ghúlám Khâna, had only despatched a few above two hundred. He affirmed, that he had written to the sirdár, that any disgrace generated by failure in the present expedition would attach mainly to himself,—that he was aware many persons in Kâbal would exult and chuckle if Hâjî suffered defeat. He then asserted his intention of reducing Séghân and Káhmerd, and vowed, that until he had effected those objects the water of Kâbal was gosht-khúk (swine-flesh) to him, and, if necessitated to pass the winter at Bámíân, he would do so at the risk of being reputed yâghí, or rebellious. He dwelt on his many efforts to prevail upon Dost Máhoméd Khân to aggrandize himself at the expense of his brothers at Kândahár and Pesháwer, remarking, that any one who had read the histories of Jenghiz Khân, Taimúr Lang, Nádir Sháh, or any other great man who had become Pádsháh, would see the necessity of disregarding family ties ; that it was by the slaughter of kinsmen they had reached the summit of power ; and he who would be, like them, fortunate

must be, like them, cruel. He said, that the preceding year at Jelálabád he had exhorted Dost Máhoméd Khân to advance upon Bájor and the Yuséf Zaí country, or upon the Dérájât and Banú. He, moreover, entered into an explanation of his motives in the negotiations between the Shías and Súnís, which followed the affray in the month of Mohoram, avowing unbounded liberality in religious sentiments, and insisting on the sacred duty of a chief to dispense justice equally to all classes of subjects, whether Shías, Súnís, or even Guebres and Hindús. In this and similar conversation the Khân, who engrossed all talking, spent the evening; his auditors, indeed, every now and then exclaiming, by way of admiration and approval, "Insábí insábí!" or Just, very just! until, it growing late, he rose, and the company broke up. He accompanied me to my tent, just behind his own; and, although I did not need it, sent me bed-clothing and furniture from his háram.

This day a moderate march of four or five miles, passing two or three bolendís, or rising grounds, brought us to a valley called Díwál Khol, or the wall-glen, a name I could not discover for what reason conferred. In the course of the march I was passed by Mír Alí Khân Kúrd, who remarked to his party, that the preceding evening the Khân intended to have given me a postín, which I missed by telling him I was already provided with one. This was the man whose father,

the khân told me, had spent crores of rupees in his time, and who himself was possessed of much property, and at the head of thirty horse. Still, to him it appeared wonderful why I had told the truth, when by a falsehood I might have gained a postín. The khân, alluding to the cold of Bísút, asked me in Máhoméd Bâgher Khân's tent, whether I was provided with a postín, no doubt intending to have given me one had I replied in the negative. I told him the truth, and the matter dropped. In this encampment we had the Helmand some distance to the north, and from it the plain ascended to the skirts of Koh Bá bá, and was studded with castles. In the evening supped with the khân in the tent of his brother, Dost Máhoméd Khân.

It may not be irrelevant to note here the forces accompanying the khân, as well as other particulars relative to the affairs of the camp. The khân's own troops at this time with him, were about four hundred Kháká cavalry; the chiefs, Réhimdád Khân, the former governor of Bámíân, Náib Sadúdí, Ghúlám Akhúndzáda, Pír Máhoméd Khân, Abdúl Rasúl Khân, Mírza Uzúr, the khân's secretary, and the khân's brother, Dost Máhoméd Khân. He had also, of his own retainers, about one hundred soldiers, thirty of whom were Hindústánís, who furnished his personal guard. The Ghúlám Khâna troops were two hundred and twenty in number; their chiefs, Máhoméd Bâgher Khân and Máhoméd Jáffer-Khân, Morád Khánís, Mír Alí Khân Kúrd,

Hússén Khân, Chaous Báshí, and Ghúlám Réza Khân Rika, Abdúl Azzíz Khân Kâlmúk, and Saiyad Máhoméd Khân Paghmaní. Besides these were the following troops furnished by Dost Máhoméd Khân: Shakúr Khân, Terín, with fifty horse-jísálchís, and Juma Khân, Yusef Zai, with twenty foot-jísálchís,—the latter a guard for the guns, of which there were two, one of heavy and one of light calibre, with some twenty or twenty-five gunners. Attached to the guns was an elephant. The whole forming a total of something above eight hundred fighting men. The khân, moreover, had about thirty servants, who officiated as shâhghâssís, názirs, péshkidmats, chillam-berdárs, sandúkdárs, &c., most of whom were really effective as soldiers, being all armed and mounted, and many of them were constantly employed on diplomatic and military business. He was also attended by six or seven youths, his nephews, called khânzâdas; each of these had two or three or four attendants, so that the number of effective troops may be calculated at nine hundred; a small number, compared with the force which always accompanied Amír Máhoméd Khân.

The Hazára force consisted of about two thousand cavalry, under the orders of the Mírs Yezdânbaksh and Bázh Alí, and other chieftains of less note.

Dependent on the khân were five or six Hindú múnshís, or secretaries, and two or three Shikárpúris; these formed his commissariat department.

Attending the camp was a bazar, which was tolerably supplied. I have before noted, that the khân's establishment comprised a physician, apothecary, sayyads, tailors, &c.; it had also sâzindâhs, or musicians; and accompanying him as friends, or hangers, on, were many other persons, a sayyad from Mastûng, in Balochistân, some Hâjís of Hindústân, Din Máhoméd, a Júânshír merchant, who came, hoping to recover some property plundered by the Déh Zanghí Hazáras the preceding year on his route from Herát to Kâbal. His nephews were under the direction of Múlla Shahábadín, who boasted descent from Shékh Jám, and himself officiated as kází, múftí, &c. as occasion required.

Previously to marching the khân communicated his orders to an old toothless jísálchí, who acted as herald, and moved about the camp, shouting, as well as his disabled organs of speech would allow, "Khaiméh páhín kon," or strike tents. Upon this notice, horses were saddled, and the grooms loading their yábús (ponies) with their stable stores, were the first to move; they were followed by the camels, more heavily laden; and when the ground was cleared of these, parties of horse, at discretion, marched. The khân was generally the last to mount, bringing up the rear with a more or less considerable party. His march was announced by the beating of nagáras, which was repeated on his approach to any inhabited spot, as well as on his nearing the new encampment. It

was usual to send in advance during the night the pëshkhâna, or a tent with servants, attached to the háram seráí, and kárxhâna, or kitchen establishment, that his wives on arrival at the ground might be forthwith accommodated, and that the food for the evening's meal might be in a state of preparation. His wives rode on the march in kajáwas, carried by horses, and, attended by a slight escort, moved with the heavy equipage. On reaching the fixed halting-place the khân's grooms, under the direction of Náib Gúl Máhommed, Hazára, superintendent of the stables, described by long lines of rope an oblong square, to which the khân's horses as they arrived were picketed. Within the area of this square were put up the tents of the khân and his establishment, while other individuals without it selected spots at pleasure. The Ghúlám Khâna troops always encamped distinctly and together, as did the Hazáras. As soon as the yábús of the grooms were relieved of their loads they were again mounted by their masters, who, in charge of Náib Gúl Máhommed, rode to the Hazára castles that might be near, and laid hands on all the chaff and chelmer they met with, for the use of the forces. These men were the foraging party of the army. The camp being arranged, every one was occupied by his own immediate affairs until nimáz shâm (evening prayers), which concluded, general shouts of "Damm bhâwal hâk," thrice repeated, resounded throughout the Afghân portion of it, imploring

the protection of the holy Bhâwal, the Pír, who is most revered by the khân, and whose zîarat is in the citadel of Múltân.

At the conclusion of nimáz shâm, which the khân usually repeated in the tent of his nephews and Shékh, or Múlla Shahábadín, he was wont to read a portion of the Korân, that, as he expressed it, “khazâneh shúwad,” or, that wealth might follow; after which he repaired to the tent, where he received his evening majlis, or party.

The majlis consisted of three descriptions of persons; firstly, those whom the khân invited; secondly, such of his dependents who were privileged to attend, and lastly, of such Afghâns and Hazáras who voluntarily came. The khân sat, of course, at the head of the tent, and his most honoured guests immediately on his right and left hand. Two or three shâhghâssís (masters of ceremonies) were in attendance, with their wands of office, to announce arrivals, and to conduct visitors to the seats due to their rank. The company seated, at intervals the khân called for the káliún, which would be passed to others of the party who were smokers. In due time supper would be ordered, which was invariably composed of the same fare. A few covered dishes of pillau, or boiled rice and meat, with two or three búshkâbs, or plates of kormeh, or stewed meat for the khân and those adjacent to him, and bowls or basins of âb-gosht, or meat and broth, for the multitude at the lower end of the tent, and

less entitled to distinction. The repast was followed by conversation, in which the khân seldom left room for others to mingle. Occasionally individuals rose and took their leave, by making an obeisance and exclaiming "Salâm Alíkam !" but the majlis was only finally dissolved by the rising of the khân himself.

CHAPTER XIV.

March to Shaitána. — Halt and negotiations. — Hazára custom. — Evening majlis. — Fatíha. — Hindústán Hâjí. — His loquacity. — Darmirdighân. — Sang Nishânde. — The Khân's guns. — Treatment of Hazáras. — Their consolation. — Vakíl Shaffí. — The Khân's delight. — Hazára Saiyad. — His learning. — Azdhá. — A natural curiosity. — Hazára belief. — Composition of rock. — Tepid springs. — Volcanic products. — Azdhá of Bámiân. — Zíárat. — Rock impressions. — Sources of Loghar river. — Subterranean passage. — Revelations by the Khân. — Missions from Máhoméd Alí Beg and from Shibrghân. — Transactions at Séghân. — Mír Wais's introduction. — Guests. — The Khân's declamation. — Mír Wais's replies. — The Khân's elevated style. — Humility of Mír Wais. — The Khân's interrogation. — Reply of Mír Wais. — The Khân boasts his liberality. — Mír Wais implores his protection. — Fatíha. — Mission from Khairpúr. — Múlla Jehân Máhoméd. — The Khân's vaunts. — Sindian presents. — Death of Khân's brother. — Fall of snow. — Hazára prognostications. — Zíárat. — Táatar Walí. — Ghírú Mainí. — Depredations of the troops. — Indisposition of the Khân. — Tribute from Jírgai and Búrjehgai. — Khelats. — Expedients. — Site of Ghírú Máiní. — Retrograde march. — Quagmire. — Wújaí. — Bâd Assiáh. — Ghowch Khol. — Cold and ice. — Forethought of Mír Yezdânbaksh. — Results of campaign. — Increase of revenue. — Confidence inspired. — Advantages of expedition. — Benefits to the chief. — Peshkash presents. — Gain to the Khân. — Service rendered. — Pleasing anticipations. — View of the Khân's projects. — Mír Yezdânbaksh. — His customs and dress. — Singular appearance. — March towards Bámiân. — Kotal Siáh Régh. — Splendid view. — Mír Yezdânbaksh visits Kârzár. — Kâlú. — Inclement season. — Mír Zaffar. — Kotal Haft Pailân. — Magnificent prospect. — Topchí. — Ahíngar. — Caves. — Ghúlghúleh. — Entry of Khân into Bámiân. — Premature winter. — Arrivals from Séghân. — Máhoméd Hassan. — Múlla Shahábádín's treaty. — Dismissal of Séghánchís.

FROM Díwál Khol we marched four or five miles to Shaitána, over a similar black, undulating surface, and halted in a barren spot, with castles adjacent. The place had a portentous name, as shaitân signifies the devil.

We halted here, owing to the necessity of negotiation with the chiefs of some districts in advance, who had been hitherto accustomed, when asked to pay tribute by the Afghâns, to offer, according to an old Hazára custom, “sang ya búz,” or a stone or a goat; that is, they held a goat in one hand and a stone in the other, saying, if the Afghâns are willing to accept the goat in place of a sheep we will give tribute, if unwilling, they shall have stones, or that they would resist. Amír Máhoméd Khân had been obliged to accede to their conditions, from the advanced state of the season when he approached these parts; but now the khân insisted on receiving full tribute, which, owing to his personal reputation, his avowed determination to exterminate Máhoméd Alí Beg of Séghân, and, above all, the powerful influence of Mír Yezdânbaksh, was delivered to him. As usual, I passed my evenings with the khân, in the majlis tent. There were generally some of the Hazára chiefs present, as well as many of the Hazára and Tâjik proprietors of Bá-miân, and its districts. The conversation naturally turned on the affairs of Máhoméd Alí Beg of Séghân, and it always happened that twice or thrice in the course thereof the khân would raise his hands,

in which he would be followed by the company, and repeat *Fatíha*, swearing to exterminate the *Ség-hân* chief, which he finished by stroking down his beard, and exclaiming "*Allah Akber*," or By the order of God. He particularly inquired, if *Máhommed Alí Beg* had any wealth; but all answered, nothing but a few horses and their equipments. Among the constant visitors at the *majlis*, was a pert *hájí*, of *Hindústân*. This man had visited Persia and Asia Minor, and, being particularly loquacious, would sometimes, uninvited, enter into a narration of the events which had occurred in those countries during his sojourn in them, and detail the circumstances of the wars between Russia, and Turkey, and Persia. He informed the *khân* that Russia made war upon the *súltân* because he would not grant her sovereign a "*kúlá*" or hat, as he had bestowed on other *Feringhí* potentates, but that the *súltân*, having been worsted, had now been compelled to give his majesty, the autocrat of all the Russias, permission to wear a hat. Relative to the Persian war, he observed that *Abbás Mírza* throughout the contest connived at the defeat of his own forces, being favourable to the Russians, whom he loved, as was believed in Persia, better than his own father.

At *Shaitâna* we had the *Helmand* to the north, and beyond it were the districts from which the *khân* now received full tribute, in place of being satisfied with half, or *sang ya búz*. They were

called Darmirdíghân, or the land of heroes, literally, the land of men one of whom is equal to ten; it being usual with the Hazáras, if they wish to convey the impression that a man is valiant, to call him "darmird," or ten men, implying that he is equivalent to ten others of ordinary valour. The castles of Darmirdíghân were visible from Shaitâna, distant some seven or eight miles. The soil of a dark red hue.

From Shaitâna our march was a trifling one of between two and three miles, up the valley of Sang Nishânde, of which Shaitâna was a portion. There were seven or eight castles, with some cultivated lands and chaman, with the never-failing rivulet, in this valley. The Sang Nishânde, which gives the name to the locality, was a large black stone, perpendicularly inserted in a heap of small stones, and serves, or did serve, as a boundary mark. I omitted previously to notice, that the two guns attached to the force were dragged through Bísút by the Hazára peasants, who were collected by the officers of Mír Yezdânbaksh. About eighty of these poor fellows were provided for the smaller, and two hundred for the larger gun. In most of the marches the direct line of road was not practicable in certain spots for artillery, there always occurring tanghís, or narrow defiles, where wheeled carriages could not pass. To avoid these, the guns were dragged by circuitous routes along and over the brows of hills, and the operation was tedious

and toilsome. The Hazáras, who by compulsion were reduced to act the part of beasts of burthen, on arrival in camp were dismissed without receiving even a cake of bread, or the still less costly expression of thanks. It may be, they consoled themselves with the idea that the guns they were dragging would one day be employed in effecting the destruction of Máhoméd Alí Beg. The elephant with the force, accompanied the large gun, and was serviceable in preventing it from running back in the passages of the hills, by the powerful resistance he opposed with his trunk.

At our evening's majlis at this halting place, we had among our Hazára visitors Vakíl Shaffí. He was a fine, straightforward, ingenuous young man, and introduced to the Khân a saiyaḍ, who might be serviceable to him, in his projects upon Búrjehgai and Déh Zanghí. The khân appeared to be much delighted, and spoke in highly flattering terms to the Vakíl Shaffí. He said, that from the first interview he had with him he was much prepossessed in his favour, and vowed that he would make such a man of him that "five men in the hills should stare again." With the saiyaḍ he was no less charmed, or feigned to be so. This descendant of the Prophet indulged in incessant citations from the Korán. The khân was lost in ecstasy and surprise that so accomplished and learned a personage should be found among the hills of the Hazáras. He promised to advance the saiyaḍ's temporal

interests, who in return vowed to render obedient to him all the sturdy and turbulent men of the hills. The presence of the saiyad gave occasion to many fátihas, in all of which the destruction of Máhomed Alí Beg was sworn. When he took his leave with Vakíl Shaffí, the khân observed, that he had now found an "ajáib mirdem," (admirable man,) and that his mind was completely set at rest. There were Afghâns in the camp who had before seen the saiyad, and they affirmed that his influence had been useful to the chiefs of Kândahár in their transactions with the Hazáras in their vicinity.

From Sang Nishândeḥ we made a more considerable march of fourteen or fifteen miles. The route across a bleak, elevated, and irregular country, towards the conclusion a long, and, in spots, precipitous descent brought us into a fair valley, with a few castles to the right and left, and a remarkable spot called the Azdhá, or Dragon, beyond which we halted, on elevated ground, in the valley of Shesh Búrjeh, or the six towers, and contiguous to us were as many castles.

The Azdhá of Bísút is indeed a natural curiosity, which the creative imagination of the Hazáras supposes to be the petrified remains of a dragon, slain by their champion Házzrat Alí. Nor are they singular in the belief, for all classes of Máhomedans in these countries coincide with them, and revere the object as an eminent proof of the intrepidity of the son-in-law of Máhomed, and as a standing evidence of

the truth of their faith. It is, geologically speaking, of volcanic formation, and a long projected mass of rock about one hundred and seventy yards in length; the main body is in form the half of a cylinder, of a white honey-combed friable stone; on its summit is an inferior projection, through the centre of which is a fissure of about two feet in depth and five or six inches in breadth, from which exhales a strong sulphurous odour; and a portion of the rock having been set on fire, it proved to contain sulphur. This part of the rock is assumed to have been the mane of the monster. In the superior part of the projection, which is supposed to represent the head of the dragon, there are numerous small springs on the eastern face, which trickle down in small lucid currents, having a remarkable effect from rippling over a surface of variously coloured red, yellow, and white rock, and exhibiting a waxy appearance. The water of these springs is tepid, and of a mixed, saline, and sulphurous flavour. They are supposed to exude from the Azdhá's brains. On the back of what is called the head are a number of small cones, from the apices of which tepid springs bubble forth. These cones are of the same description of white friable porous stone, but singular from being as it were scaled over, and this character prevails over the greater portion of the Azdhá. On one side of the head large cavities have been made, the powdery white earth there found being carried away by visitors, extraordinary efficacy in various diseases

being imputed to it. The vivid red rock which is found about the head is imagined to be tinged with the blood of the dragon. Beneath the numerous springs on the eastern face occur large quantities of an acrid crystalline substance resembling sal-ammoniac, and I was told it occurs in some of the neighbouring hills in vast quantities; lead is also one of the products of the hills near this place. I afterwards found that an analogous mass of rock, but of much more imposing size, occurs in the vicinity of Bámíán, and is alike supposed to represent a petrified dragon.

Near the north-western extremity of the dragon of Bísút, on high ground, is a small building, a zíarat. Here are shown impressions on a mass of black rock, said to denote the spot where Házrat Alí stood when with his arrows he destroyed the sleeping dragon, the impressions being those of the hoofs of his famed charger Daldal. At the entrance is also a stone, with some other impressions, and over the door is an inscription, on black stone, in Persian, informing us that the building was erected some one hundred and fifty years since. In various parts of Afghânistân are found impressions on rock, certainly resembling the cavity which would be formed by the hoof of an animal, rather than anything else. Most of such impressions have zíarats erected over them, but I have seen them in spots where they have not hitherto been so consecrated, and where they occur, beyond doubt, in the solid rock

of the hill. They may conceal some curious and important geological facts.

The valley in which we were now encamped is, moreover, remarkable for containing the sources of the river of Loghar, and these are also a curiosity of themselves. About a mile above the Azdhá the springs issue from a large verdant expanse of bog, not far from which the stream has a subterranean passage for about two hundred yards, when it reappears in a small lake or cavity of about eighty yards in circumference. Here it turns two water-mills, and again disappears for about five hundred yards, in which distance it passes under the Azdhá, and issues east of it. Hence its course is unimpeded, and it flows, a small but clear stream, through a verdant valley, and, traversing the Hazára districts, crosses at Shékhábád the valley leading from Kâbal to Ghazní.

At this place the khân sent for me privately by night, and entering into a long account of his early history and adventures, his services to Dost Máhomed Khân, and the return he met with from him, disclosed to me his views and intentions, of which I had been for some time suspicious.

The khân explained, that he was favoured by visions, and had been instructed in them that he was to become a great man; that the country, whether Afghân or Uzbek, was "bí-sáhib," or without a master; and he proposed that he and I should benefit by such a state of things, and turn

ourselves into pādshâh and vazír. I forget which of us was to have been the pādshâh, but in proof of his sincerity, he offered me the charge of his signet, which I modestly declined, assuring him it could be in no better custody than his own. As I have been recently suspected of being willing to establish a principality at Kalât, by the aid of Arab auxiliaries, justly indignant at the imputation of so paltry a project, I may lament that at this time I did not lend a hand to the vision-seeing khân, and that I had not revived the old Bactrian empire. The khân farther observed that Dost Máhomed Khân could not assail him at Bámián; that he had, indeed, left the greater part of his wives with his family at Kâbal, but that when he fled from Herát Prince Kamrân did not molest them, and he should hope Dost Máhomed Khân would in like manner respect them, and permit them to join him, if not, he coolly remarked, that he could get plenty more.

We halted some days at Shesh Búrjeh, and were joined by a party from Bámián, composed of Mír Wais, Tájik, and confidential agent of Máhomed Alí Beg of Séghân; two or three Uzbek vakíls of the chief of Shibrghân, bringing horses as presents to the khân and sirdár of Kâbal; Mír Zaffer, the Hazára chief of Kálú; Mír Faizí, the Hazára chief of Foládí; these two subjects of the khân, with Karra Kúlí Khân, and two or three others in the khân's employ. The last gave an account of the

transactions which had taken place in the vale of Séghân; they reported, that the khân's troops, in conjunction with the Hazára infantry, and a Tátar force from the Dasht Saféd, had possessed themselves of five castles belonging to Máhomed Alí Beg and his adherents, that the Hazáras originally stationed in the new conquests had voluntarily given them over to the Tátars, who now refused admission to the Afghâns, asserting, that they held them on behalf of Mír Morád Beg of Kúndúz. They continued, that the Hazára troops had returned to their homes, and strenuously insisted that they and their chief were acting treacherously toward the khân.

I was present at the evening's majlis, at which Mír Wais had his first interview with the khân. There was in company a large concourse of Hazára chiefs, all the new guests from Bámíân, Dost Máhomed Khân, the khân's brother, a saiyad of Mastúg, in Balochistán, Réhimdád Khân, the former governor of Bámíân, with many others of less note. The khân descanted on the uncompromising conduct of Máhomed Alí Beg towards himself; affirmed that he had rejected all his overtures of friendship; that he had duped all his náibs of Bámíân; that he had rendered himself infamous by his chapows (forays) for the purpose of carrying off slaves; that he had been audacious enough to kidnap five individuals from Shibr, immediate raiyats of his own, which the Hazáras virtually were, since they paid

him tribute; that on account of Máhoméd Alí Beg's contumacy, he had been compelled to defer the execution of his designs upon Deh Zanghí, Yek Auleng, and the Shékh Alí districts; that he had been necessitated to station three hundred troops in Bámiân, when every one of them was needed at Kâbal; that this disposal of his troops had prevented him from giving assistance to that martyr to Islâm, Saiyad Ahmed Shâh, who fell waging war with the infidel Síkhs. He contrasted his conduct with that of Mír Yezdânbaksh; enumerated the numerous important services the mír had rendered, and was rendering him; professed himself charmed with Mír Yezdânbaksh, and swore that he would reduce Máhoméd Alí Beg to the condition of a raiyat, or annihilate him. Mír Wais observed, that Máhoméd Alí Beg was willing to become his raiyat, or had the khân resolved to annihilate him, it was an easy matter. The khân continued; that he had no wish to annihilate, but it was necessary that the Séghân chief should become as truly attached to him as Mír Yezdânbaksh was; all the húshíarí he had hitherto displayed was on the side of falsehood, it now behoved him to veer to the side of truth. "Neither shall I be satisfied," said the khân, assuming the buskin, "with the possession of Séghân; I must have Káhmerd also; until I have reduced both the water of Kâbal is ghost-khúk (swine-flesh) to me. Here," pointing to the saiyyad of Mastúg, "is a Saiyyad of Baloch;

shall I allow him to circulate in Baloch that I was baffled by Máhoméd Alí Beg; and here," taking me by the hand, "is a Feringhí, shall I allow him to tell his countrymen that Hâjî Khân marched from Kâbal with a fine force of gallant cavalry, and guns, and elephants, and returned without striking a blow? Forbid it, heaven!" Mír Wais reiterated, that if the khân could forget the past, Máhoméd Alí Beg was now actuated only by sincerity, in which sentiments he was supported by Réhim-dád Khân, and Karra Kaúlî Khân. The khân, catching the eyes of the Hazára chiefs, asked Mír Wais, what makes you carry off and sell the Hazáras; are they not Mússulmâns, and Bandí Khodâ? He replied, that Máhoméd Morád Beg was imperious in his demands for slaves; that grain, and not men, was the produce of Séghân, and that necessity led Máhoméd Alí Beg to chapow the Hazáras. The khân said, if Máhoméd Morád Beg requires men from you, refer him to me; if dissatisfied with my representations, I will send him my own sons. The khân asked Mír Wais, if Máhoméd Alí Beg would join his camp in Bísút? who positively answered that he would not, but if the khân wished, he would send a son. The khân observed, that this was a subterfuge: Máhoméd Alí Beg was aware that his son would be exposed to no injury, on the contrary, would be kindly treated; he knew that he (the khân) was a Mússulmán, and how could he punish an innocent youth for his father's crimes? Much

conversation passed, in which the khân was amazingly liberal in his own praises. He endeavoured to persuade every one that he was a most pious Mússulmân, that his gratitude to such as rendered him services was unbounded, as was his liberality and he instanced his having already expended above twelve thousand rupees as presents in Bísút. Whenever he alluded to Máhoméd Alí Beg he always expressed himself angrily, seeming to doubt his sincerity. At length Mír Wais rose, and seized the hem of the khân's garment, affirming, that he looked up to no other person, and conjuring him to suppose Máhoméd Alí Beg in the same condition. The khân applauded the action, and asked Mír Wais, if Máhoméd Alí Beg should hereafter turn to his old trick of deceit, whether he would abandon him, and adhere to himself. Mír Wais said he would, on which the khân immediately raised his hands and repeated fátíha, being joined as usual by the company.

At Azdhá, also, arrived in camp, Múlla Jân Máhoméd, bearer of letters and presents for the khân and sirdár of Kâbal, from Mír Rústam, the chief of Khairpúr, in Upper Sind. This man had formerly been in the khân's service, and his governor at Bámiân, but intriguing with the Hazára chiefs, the khân had seized him, confiscated his effects, and after shaving his beard, and subjecting him to a variety of ignominious treatment, set him at liberty, when he went to Sind, and found

service with Mír Rústam. Whatever the object of his mission might have been, it afforded the khân an opportunity of vaunting to the Hazáras that the following year he would lead an army of an hundred thousand Mússulmâns against the Sikh infidels. Múlla Jân Máhoméd brought as presents, two Sindí muskets, one mounted in silver, the other in gold, cut-glass kílayún bottoms, shawls, mixed silk and cotton, of Sind fabric, British muslins, calicoes, &c., with three running, or mári camels.

The múlla, in his route from Khairpúr, had passed by Tobá, in the Khâká country, and brought intelligence to the khân of the decease of his brother, Gúl Máhoméd Khân, a rude but gallant soldier. This naturally affected the khân, and more particularly so at this crisis, when he had expected his arrival at Bámíân in co-operation with the designs he entertained.

While at Azdhá two or three slight falls of snow occurred, on which occasions the khân summoned his sâzindas, or musicians, which gave rise among the troops to a contrast of his conduct with that of Amír Máhoméd Khân, who on the first appearance of snow hastily decamped for Kábal, even though the whole of the tribute had not been collected. We had also for two or three days, violent wind storms, which the Hazáras, skilful prognosticators of the weather, with the falls of snow, ascribed to a tokal, and affirmed they would be succeeded by fine settled weather. My horse,

however, was nearly destroyed, and having before been provided with a better one, for riding by the khân, I despatched it to Kâbal from this place, with Yúsef, who also complained of the cold.

Our next march was a long one of sixteen to eighteen miles, and conducted us to the frontiers of Jírgai and Búrjehgai. On leaving the valley of Shesh Búrjeh, a little north of the Azdhá, we passed amid low elevations covered with a deep red soil, and gained a narrow valley, down which flowed a rivulet, and to our left were two or three castles; this valley terminated in a narrow defile, which cleared, we entered upon a more level country, and the road was good and well-defined. Arrived at the zíarat of Tátar Walí, whom the Hazáras represent as having been brother to Bábabá Walí, whose zíarat is at Kandahár. This zíarat resembles in form and appearance that of Házzrat Shâh Mirdân at Azdhá, and adjacent to it are two kishláks, or villages. Hence, a long distance, passing a castle or two on our right, brought us to the valley of Ghírú Mainí, where we halted. Here were three or four castles, deserted by the inhabitants, who had also broken or hidden the grinding stones of their ássíáhs, or water-mills, of which there were six or seven seated on various parts of the rivulet which watered the valley. Many of the soldiers at this place, availing themselves of the castles and kishlaks deserted by the inhabitants, had made free with the wood employed in their con-

struction. The khân, observing this, paraded his camp, and with a large stick personally chastised those he detected with the wood in their possession.

At this place we made a halt of some days ; for two or three the khân was indisposed, and his disorder at one time was so serious, that he became insensible. The chiefs of Jírgai and Búrjehgai, after some negotiation, consented to pay tribute ; influenced a little by the approach of the khân, but more by the interposition of Mír Yezdânbaksh. The former district gave tribute to the amount of three thousand rupees, the latter to the value of seven thousand rupees. The khân originally insisted upon the delivery of two years' tribute, but the advanced state of the season, with his own anxiety to direct his attention to the affairs of Séghân and Kâhmerd, operated in favour of these Hazáras. Their chiefs, after the delivery of their tribute, joined the camp and received khelats. The khân, profuse in the distribution of presents, had long since exhausted the stock he brought from Kâbal, of shâls, lúnghís, chapans, &c., and it was now amusing enough to see his servants, by his orders, despoiling the heads of the khânzâdás his nephews, and others of his troops, to bestow them upon the Hazáras. Even this resource at last failed, and the peshkidmats were reduced to the expedient of purchasing a khelat from one who had received it, that they might re-deliver it to

the khân to confer upon another. Snow again fell here, but not in such quantity as to remain on the ground. Ghírú Mainí was the limit of our expedition, from which Karábâgh of Ghazní was represented to me as lying S. 20° E., three marches distant. The district of Jírgai was due west of it, and Búrjehgai north-west; the southern extremity of Deh Zanghí was pointed out as being about fifteen miles distant, its direction a little north of west.

We now retrograded and made a very long march of perhaps twenty-two to twenty-four miles. We followed nearly the same road by which we had advanced from Shesh Búrjeh, repassing the zíarat Táatar Walí, and crossing the valley of Shesh Búrjeh at a point more northerly than the Azdhá, which, although at no great distance, was not visible. At that spot we were compelled to be cautious in selecting our road, for the soil, although verdant and covered with grass, was boggy. The Hazáras told us that some years since a gun belonging to the Afghâns had been swallowed up in it. From this valley, a slight ascent passed, we entered into another, where were three castles, one called Killa Kâsim; hence, after traversing a bleak wild country, we finally reached Wújai, where we halted. Here were two or three castles, with a fine rivulet of water.

Our next march was the longest we had made. On starting, we crossed the rivulet of Wújai, and tra-

versing a high ground, had other two or three castles to our left. A long course over a wild dreary country brought us into the southern and most populous part of the plain Bâd Assiáh, a term which signifies windmill, but I looked in vain for such an object. In this plain were numerous castles and kishláks; many of the houses displayed gúmbúzes, or domes, and many of the towers of the castles were also covered with them, imparting a novel and picturesque appearance. The cultivated land was of considerable extent. At the north-eastern extremity of the plain we crossed a very deep ravine, with a powerful rivulet flowing through it, after which we passed the castle, at which we remained a night when proceeding to join the khân's camp, as noted in the fourth march, and where Shâh Abbás so signalized himself. I was in advance, riding with some of the khân's Hindús, and was not recognized by the inmates, but Sirkerder Kamber, who was behind, was on coming up taken into the castle, and regaled with milk. From this spot we passed the Kotal Sang Súrâkhí, and descended the valley of Ab Diláwer,—both before described,—and crossed the Helmand at Ghowch Khol, halting on the high grounds beyond it, and near a castle, the proprietor of which, although a relative of Mír Yezdânbaksh, had thought prudent to fly, having on some occasion been imprudent enough to say he would slay the mír if opportunity occurred. Above us to the north was another castle, and two kishláks. A

little to the east was a deep ravine, through which flowed the stream which I have before noticed as joining the Helmand at this spot. The cold here was severe, and a rigorous frost predominated. The stream was not ice-bound, but its banks and the contiguous shrubs, were clad with vast icicles. Our ground of encampment was also free from snow, but it lay heavily on the hills we had to cross in the next march.

As this march closed our expedition in Bísút, Mír Yezdânbaksh had, by previous orders, collected at Ghowch Khol large stores of provisions, which he presented to the khân. About to leave the province, it may be in place to note, briefly, the results of the khân's bloodless campaign. The revenue of Bísút, farmed by the khân at its accustomed valuation of forty thousand rupees, had been raised to sixty thousand rupees, the increase owing to the receipt of full tribute from some districts formerly wont to pay but half, or sang ya búz, and to the receipt of tribute full also from Jírgai and Búrgehgai, which before had paid no tribute at all. By the cordial coöperation of Mír Yezdânbaksh, the collection had been made with facility and promptitude, without the necessity of firing a musket. The Hazára chiefs were full of confidence in the good faith of the khân, and even two or three leaders of Deh Zanghí had visited his camp at Ghírú Mainí, and promised the next year to lead him into their country. Nothing but the untoward state of

the season, as Mír Yezdânbaksh observed, prevented this year the collection of tribute from Deh Zanghí and Yek Auleng. During preceding years, when Amír Máhoméd Khân, the sirdár of Kâbal's brother, collected the revenue of Bísút, and when, unassisted by the influence of Mír Yezdânbaksh, he was left to pursue his own harsh and uncompromising measures, he was always compelled to leave a portion of it behind; and of the portion collected much was lost by the Hazáras chapowing the flocks in their passage to Kâbal and Ghazní. To the European, accustomed to transactions of consequence, the advantage of sending a large force on an expedition of two or three months for so small a sum as 40,000 rupees, or about £4000, may appear very equivocal; but, in these countries of poverty and bad management, even such a sum is deemed of importance. It serves also to appease the clamours of some of the hungry soldiery, and to furnish employment for others in the collection. The superior officer, and, indeed, all the troops employed, find a benefit in it, as their cattle are supplied gratis with chaff, and themselves with fuel, and sometimes food, which they would be obliged to purchase if stationary at Kâbal. It is the custom at every new encampment to furnish one day's provisions for the troops, collected from the inhabitants of the district. This, indeed, is chiefly profitable to the superior chief, who receives it; and, if he distributes it among

his followers, he charges it to their accounts. The chief likewise receives a great number of horses as peshkash, for no Hazára chief comes before him empty-handed. In the same manner he receives a great number of carpets, nammads, or felts, and barraks, or pieces of coarse woollen fabric, all of which he turns to profit, valuing them as money if made over to his troops, as well as being enabled to display a costless liberality. The provisions received with the peshkash offerings must all, therefore, be estimated at so much value received from the Hazáras, and included in the amount of tribute. The khân had collected as tribute, 60,000 rupees; under the heads just noted he had received probably more than half that amount, from which deducting the 40,000 rupees made over to the awâlehdárs, and 10,000 rupees, the value of the presents disbursed, we may safely calculate that the khân had netted a profit of 30,000 rupees; it being noted, that agreeably to the sheríkí, or partnership relation, in which the khân considers himself with the sirdár of Kâbal, he did not make over to him the excess in tribute collected.

With regard to the political situation of Bísút, it was evident that the khân, had he been zealous in devotion to Dost Máhoméd Khân, had rendered that sirdár an important service, having placed the province, by his artful management, in a state of dependence it had never before acknowledged. The

revenue was augmented by one half, and the next year he might collect tribute from Deh Zanghí and Yek Auleng, as probably from the Shékh Alí districts, the chiefs of which it were absurd to suppose could resist the united forces of the khân and Mír Yezdânbaksh. It was fair to compute, that the revenue of the Hazára districts near Kâbal might be raised to one lákh and a half of rupees, without including the incidental advantages, so considerable, as has been previously demonstrated. It was also pleasing to reflect, that these advantages might be gained without bloodshed, viewing the high character the khân seemed to have established among the Hazáras, and the apparently sincere attachment of Mír Yezdânbaksh to his interests. But knowing, as I did, the khân's secret intentions, I was not sanguine enough to imagine that these gratifying anticipations would be verified. It was probable, indeed, that Mír Yezdânbaksh, guided by his personal enmity to Dost Máhoméd Khân, and influenced by his confidence in the khân, would espouse his cause; and the large force he could bring into the field, with the khân's Khâká horse, were sufficient to create much uneasiness to Dost Máhoméd Khân, surrounded, as he is, by enemies. It was reasonable to suppose, that the khân and mír united might be enabled effectually to resist the efforts of Dost Máhoméd Khân, even if he put forth his strength; while, if discomfited, the Shías of

Kâbal, who could not separate their interests from those of Mír Yezdânbaksh, and who considered the khân as their friend, were always at hand to interpose and negotiate a reconciliation. Mír Yezdânbaksh, we may note, was a man of about forty years of age, of tall, athletic form, with a remarkably long neck. His complexion was ruddy and his features prominent, of the genuine Hazára cast, but withal pleasing; he had scarcely any beard, or rather a few straggling hairs in place of one. When in company, he had always his tasbîh, or string of beads, in his hand, which he passed between his fingers, ejaculating lowly to himself, and turning his head continually from one side to the other, with his eyes averted upwards, like a person abstracted in thought, or even like one insâne. He usually sat bare-headed, alleging, that his head was hot, and that he could bear no pressure upon it. On the line of march, were the cold ever so intense, he always rode with a simple cap, without other covering, and only on extraordinary occasions did he put on a turban of white muslin. His garments were plain and unaffected; his vest of barrak of Deh Zanghí, with two stripes of gold lace down the front. A lúnghí was his kammar-band, in which was inserted a Hazára knife. He seldom took part in general conversation, and, indeed, seldom spoke at all, unless immediately addressed, when his answers and remarks were brief and pertinent. His appearance and manners were

certainly singular, but would, nevertheless, induce the observer to credit his being an extraordinary man, which he undoubtedly was.

. From Ghowch Khol our march, in the direction of Bámíân, was a very long one. Traversing the table space, on the extremity of which we had encamped, and passing a castle and two or three kishlâks, we entered the ravine, down which flowed the rivulet before mentioned, and followed its course nearly north east; our road led over rocks of dark primitive slate, and, although the course of the rivulet was sometimes very narrow, was not upon the whole difficult to cavalry, although impracticable to wheel-carriages. We eventually reached the base of the Kotal Síáh Régh, or the pass of black sand. The ascent would not probably be very difficult, or even very long at any other time, but now was troublesome, from the frozen snow, which caused many of our animals, particularly the laden ones, to slip, and lose their footing. On gaining the summit of the pass, which was strewn with huge fragments of rock, we had a splendid view of the hilly regions around us; below us were the few castles of the district called Síáh Sang, to gain which a long and precipitous descent was to be made. To our left we had, very near, the craggy pinnacles of Koh Báábá, seen to advantage from the plains of the south. I dismounted, and sat awhile on the rocks; when the khân arrived, who also dismounted, and took a

survey of the country around with his dúrbín, or spy-glass. We were joined by Mír Yezdânbaksh, who pointed out the position of Ghorband, and other places. The idols of Bámíân were not hence visible. The mír obtained permission to visit his castle of Kârzâr, not far distant to the right, and left us at this spot. The descent of this pass was so difficult that most of us thought fit to lead our horses. On reaching Síah Sang we took a westerly direction, and crossed two successive and long passes, with rounded summits, the country covered with snow; and descended into a valley, leading into the vale of Kâlú, through which passing many castles and kishlâks, we proceeded to the western extremity, and encamped near the castles occupied by the chief Mír Zaffer, and his relatives. The spot itself was free from snow, which lay on the low hills behind us to the south, as well as on the loftier ones to the north. We here observed the scanty crops of wheat at the skirts of the hills bounding the vale, still green, and immersed in snow. The principal crops had, indeed, been reaped, but heaps of the untrodden sheaves were lying on the plain, some of them covered with snow. Kâlú is one of the principal districts dependent on Bámíân, and contains some twenty castles and a few kishlâks. Its chief, Mír Zaffer, Hazára, had a family connexion with Mír Yezdânbaksh. He had joined the khân's camp in Bísút, and now provided an abundance of provisions. The mír was about

fifty years of age, tall, stout, and of respectable appearance; of manners frank, and in conversation plain and sensible.

From Kâlú, passing south of the castle of Mír Zaffer, called Killa Nóh (the new castle), built on an eminence, with some ruins of burnt bricks on the summit of a hill to the left, we proceeded to the base of the pass, or Kotal Haft Pailân. The commencement of the ascent was somewhat steep, but the road large and unencumbered with rock or stone; this surmounted, the road winds round the brows of elevations and then stretches over a gradually ascending plain until we reach the crest of the pass. Hence we had a magnificent view of mountain scenery. The hills of Bámiân and vicinity were splendid, from the bright red soil with which many are covered, interspersed with sections of white and green. The mountains of Túrkestân in the distance presented a beautiful and boundless maze. The valley of Bámiân was displayed, and the niches in the hills which contain its idols visible. The descent of the kotal, although of great length, was perfectly easy, and the road excellent throughout: it led us into the northern extremity of the vale of Topchí, where we found a rivulet fringed with numerous mountain willows, a spot revered as a zíárat of Házzrat Alí, and above which was an ancient tower, perched on a rock. A little below we encamped; and near to us were five or six castles, of a red colour, which distinguishes the soil and

most of the hills of the vale. In those to the west were some inhabited caves, or samúches. Up the darra, or defile, leading from Topchí is a road, which avoids entirely the Kotal of Haft Pailân, and leads to its base. Some of our cattle followed this road. The inhabitants of the place provided the khân with supplies.

Proceeding down the valley of Topchí for above two miles, we entered the valley of Bámiân at a spot called Ahínggar, or the iron foundry. The rivulets of Topchí here also fell into the river of Bámiân; its course had been, latterly, fringed with zirishk, or barberry bushes, mixed with a few tamarisk shrubs. Towards the close of the valley, on the hills to the east, were some ancient ruins. At Ahínggar were two castles with kishlâks, and hills to the north had a few inaccessible caves. From Ahínggar, proceeded westerly, up the valley of Bámiân, skirting the low hills to the north, the river flowing in a deep bed in a more or less extensive plain beneath us to the left. The hills soon began to be perforated with caves, which increased in number as we advanced. Passing the castle of Amír Máhoméd Tâjík to our right, we arrived opposite the ruinous citadel of Ghúlghúleh, where in the hills near to it on the opposite side of the valley, were great numbers of caves. A short distance brought us to Bámiân, where we encamped, opposite the colossal idols. The troops this day marched in line, with banners displayed; the khân

preceding with his Khâkâ horse, being followed by the feeble line of the Ghúlâm Khâna. Amid the beating of nágáras he entered Bámiân, and received the congratulations and welcome of his raiyats. Our guns had been left in Bísút to be dragged through by the Hazáras.

We found a strange state of things at Bámiân; the winter had set in prematurely, and the sheaves of grain were lying untrodden under snow. The oldest inhabitants did not remember such an occurrence

We halted here several days, and a vast quantity of provisions and provender was collected from the inhabitants of Bámiân and dependent districts. The Hazára troops had now become guests of the khân, and received rations in the same manner as his own troops. On our arrival here Mír Wais, the agent of Máhommed Alí Beg, accompanied by Múlla Shahábadín on part of the khân, set off for Séghân. Mír Yezdánbáksh rejoined the Afghân camp, and the Hazára auxiliary force was augmented by the arrival of four hundred horse from Deh Zanghí, commanded by two young chiefs, related to Mír Yezdánbaksh. In the course of a few days Mír Wais and Múlla Shahábadín arrived in camp, bringing with them Máhommed Hassan, a son of Máhommed Alí Beg, and five or six horses as pesh-kash. Máhommed Hassan was a very handsome youth, of about sixteen years of age, and was received with much kindness by the khân, who

seated him on his knee. Máhoméd Alí Beg had entirely gained over Múlla Shahábadín by presenting him with a chapán of scarlet broad-cloth, two horses, and, as was said, a few tillas (gold coin) of Bokhára; and a treaty had been concluded, by which the Séghân chief acknowledged himself a tributary to the khân, and consented to give him his daughter in marriage. These arrangements, however consonant with the khân's ideas and views, were by no means agreeable to the Hazáras, the destruction of Máhoméd Alí Beg having been ever held out to them as the reward for their co-operation, and which the khân had vowed, in numberless fátíhas, in Bísút. An advance having been determined upon, on Séghân and Káhmerd, Máhoméd Hassan, after receiving a magnificent khelat, was dismissed in charge of Mír Wais; the khân, in order still to amuse the Hazáras, avowing, he would only be satisfied with the personal attendance and submission of Máhoméd Alí Beg. One of the khân's finest horses was also despatched as a present to the Séghân chief.

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CHAPTER XV.

Colonel Tod's observations on Báiâm.—Opportunities of examination.—Inscription.—Memoir.—Idols and caves.—Testimony of Abúl Fazil.—Conjecture on idols.—Buddhist temples and idols in Salsette.—Analogy with Báiâm idols.—Paintings.—Parthian coins.—Conclusion and influences.—Antiquity of Kaiâm dynasty.—Curious coincidence.—Towers.—The Castle of Zohâk.—Construction.—Probable nature.—Remains of Ghúlghúleh.—The citadel.—Buildings.—Discoveries.—Defences.—Site of city.—Solemnity of scene.—Emotions.—Effect of winds.—Alexandria ad Caucasum.

WE were encamped at Báiâm opposite to the idols and caves, so much the objects of European curiosity. I was aware of the importance attaching to them, and that the late Colonel Tod had affirmed, that "In the cave temples of Báiâm inscriptions might be met with; and were but the single fact established that the colossal figures in the temple were Buddhist, it would be worth a journey. Perhaps no spot in the world is more curious than this region."

As my stay at this time was brief, I could do little more than visit and examine the antiquities, with the view of ascertaining what they were,—a necessary step prior to speculating on their origin and character. On my return from Séghân, one of

the most intense winters remembered prevented farther research, which I did not much regret at the time, supposing I should be able at a future period to resume my inquiries. I did not, indeed I could not, foresee that circumstances would arise to defeat my intentions.

I had discovered, in the niche of the superior idol, a six-lettered inscription, with which, and the other facts I collected, I returned to Kâbal. Subsequently, the discovery of a coin of a well-marked series, with a legend, plainly in similar characters, encouraged me to attempt the removal of the mystery enshrouding the remains, especially as the coin presented the bust of a sovereign identical with one figured amongst the paintings in the niche of the second idol as to size, unquestionably establishing a connexion between them. I therefore drew up a Memoir on the Antiquities of Bámîân, which I forwarded through my friend, Sir Henry Pottinger, to the late ever-to-be-lamented James Prinsep, and which was inserted in his Journal of the Asiatic Society in Bengal.

In it I pointed out that there were now in existence three large idols, with the niches in which many other smaller ones had once stood. That every idol had its suit of caves, amongst which some had domes or vaulted roofs, being, as I supposed, temples. I further showed, that besides the mass of caves obviously connected with the idols, there were certain apertures in the face of the rock, now inaccessible,

which never could have been intended for dwellings of the living, but were, probably, the repositories of the dead. I could but remember that the corpses of the older Persian monarchs were consigned to such receptacles, and I thence drew an inference bearing materially on the character of the locality. I have since observed, not without satisfaction, that Abúl Fazil notes, that in his time the inhabitants showed a corpse in one of the caves, whose state of preservation, and period of deposit, were matters of wonder and conjecture to them. No doubt an embalmed corpse of an ancient sovereign of the country, or other illustrious person deposited here.

Presuming the site to be one of royal sepulture, it occurred to me, that the statues might represent sovereigns or the deities they adored. This question remains to be decided. It has been remarked to me that Lieutenant Burnes in his visit saw the remains of mitres on the heads of the two longer statues. I did not notice this peculiarity, (no proof that it does not exist, as it may have escaped my attention,) yet, could I be certain of it, I should be more confident that they are not images of Búddha, which I believe are never so distinguished. I have recently visited the Búddhist temples in the island of Salsette, and certainly there can be no doubt of the resemblance between the colossal figures of Búddha in them, and those of the Bámíân niches. They are, in like manner, erect, clothed in the same



VIEW of a portion of the CAVES at BÁMIÁN, and of the SECOND IDOL.

London: R. Sharpe, Bentley New Burlington Street 1842.

drapery, and stand in the same attitude. Amongst the innumerable smaller seated figures of Búddha at Salsette the attitudes are only three, those of meditation, prayer, and teaching or expounding. The colossal and erect figures invariably represent him in the last, or teaching attitude, with one arm extended, while the other supports the drapery of his robes, which attitude is that of the Bámíân idols. The latter, in common with those of Salsette, have what have been called "pendulous ears," but an examination of the Salsette images enabled me to verify, beyond doubt, that the ears have been formed with due care as to their proportions, the seeming excess being merely occasioned by the rings affixed to them, which is manifest in all of them when closely inspected, but palpably so in some instances where circular rings have been substituted for the ordinary oblong and lengthened ones.

The inscription over the superior idol at Bámíân induced me to suggest to James Prinsep, that with reference to the number of its letters, and the recurrence of some of them, it might be the equivalent for Nanaia ; but this was merely a suggestion, and not entitled to much weight. The painted bust of the sovereign in the niche of the second idol, identical with the coin bust, I consider, however, of greater importance, if the probability be admitted that its presence would intimate that the idol and its accompaniments were due to the monarch whose

portrait has been preserved and handed down to us, for if we can establish the age of the coins we have also that of the monuments.

On regarding the paintings at Bámíân, it struck me that it would be unreasonable to assign them any inexplicable antiquity, and equally so to suppose them late additions with relation to the idols, for they are equally found in all the niches, whether now occupied or not by idols, and were clearly a portion of their original embellishments, and I have been gratified to observe in the Búddhist temples at Salsette that such embellishments are there also part of the very system of the cave temples, which would not have been complete without them.

Reverting to the coin which bears the bust of a sovereign commemorated at Bámíân, we find it one of a series extensively found in Afghânistân, the reverse of which displays a plain fire-altar, or what has been called such. Comparing them with known coins, the busts have a great resemblance to those of the Arsakian, or Parthian dynasty of Persia ; and this caused Colonel Tod, who had discovered some of them in India, to designate them as "rare ones of a Parthian dynasty, unknown to history." Parthian coins, or such as are Arsakian, have never, however, the fire-altar, therefore the coins under notice cannot be referred to them, unless they are supposed to be merely provincial coins, which is very doubtful. Sassanian coins have, indeed, the fire-altar, but it is always accompanied with two maji, or defenders,

consequently there is a distinction between them and the coins we find in Afghânistân.

In considering to what line of princes these coins might be assigned, I ventured in my memoir to intimate the possibility of their appertaining to the Kaiân dynasty, so renowned in oriental records; and this intimation led me to conclusions and inferences very much at variance with received notions and opinions. James Prinsep privately informed me, that he scarcely agreed with me, but afterwards in his Journal, on more occasions than one, evinced that my conjectures had engaged his attention.

In the location of the Kaiân kings in Ariana, or Khorasân, instead of in Fars, or Persia, I had only adopted the statements of their historians and poets; but in assigning their epoch to an intelligible and comparatively modern period I had impaired the mystery thrown over Zerdasht, and disturbed the reveries of the learned in Europe, who fondly believed the reformer of Azerbîjân to be the Zoroaster of Plato and the classical authors.

It would be inconsistent with the object of these volumes, or with the limits prescribed to them, to discuss these points with the detail due to them, and I may probably take another opportunity of bringing them to the notice of the scientific world, feeling assured that labour would not be misdirected in establishing facts so important to history at large, especially to that of the dark middle ages. I have suspected that the Kaiâns may have been

the White Huns of India, the royal Huns of western historians, but I find as many reasons against as for the suspicion, both as regards the great family of nations to which they belonged, and the date of their appearance in Central Asia. There is a remarkable circumstance noted in the history of the Kaiân prince Gustasp, who has been oddly enough supposed to be Darius Hystaspes, which I cannot pass over. The Chinese in his reign captured Balkh (his capital), and *burned the books* of Zerdasht. We learn from other sources that Chinese armies appeared, *for the first time*, in Central Asia, where they penetrated to the Caspian Sea, in the reign of Tsin-she-hwang-te, who flourished in the second century before Christ, and acquired celebrity as a *burner of books*. If this Chinese emperor were the foe of Gustasp, we gain the date of the Kaiân dynasty and of Zerdasht, but one fatal to the Hun hypothesis.

Besides the idols and caves extending for miles in the valley of Bámiân, there are other objects deserving notice; the towers on the summits of many eminences, the so-called castle of Zohâk, and the remains of the city and citadel of Ghúlghúleh. The towers are probably pyrethræ, or fire-altars, for their solidity of structure prevents them being supposed to be mere watch-towers, while at Séghân one occurs immediately over a collection of caves, seeming to confirm the relation between them, and to indicate its nature. Numerous monuments of

this description are found in the regions around Bámíân.

The castle of Zohâk is at the extremity of a defile, through which the rivulet of Kâlú flows into the river of Bámíân. The remains facing the east encompass the angular point of the hill interposed between the two streams, and consist of walls and parapets, built from the base to the summit, with an elevation, loosely estimated, of seventy or eighty feet. They conform to the irregular contour of the rock, and the difficulties to be overcome have been made subservient to the superior embellishment of the structure, for the walls have been carried up in some places by a succession of terraces, or steps; in some by a slope of inclination; in others by perpendicular elevation, but in such variety of combination, and so judiciously as to create astonishment and give a most pleasing effect. Excellent burnt bricks have been employed, and in the arrangement of these, along the upper lines of parapets, and those of walls and their sections, care has been taken to describe ornamental devices of diamond squares, and other figures. Owing to the quality of the materials, and the solidity of their preparation, the greater portion of these interesting remains have as fresh an appearance as if they were the work of yesterday, while their great antiquity is obvious, and cannot be doubted. Connected with them, on the summit of the hill, are the dilapidated walls of a spacious

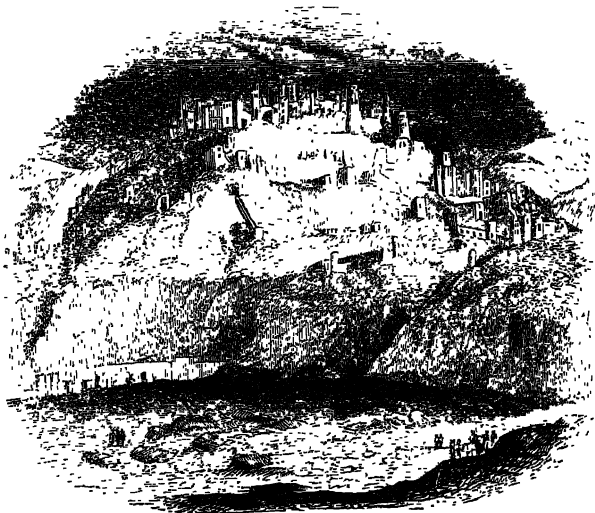
square enclosure. I had not the opportunity to examine this spot, and the merely having seen it, would scarcely, I fear, authorize me to pronounce positively as to its character. That the remains are those of a fortress, as asserted by Abul Fazil, and by tradition, I may be allowed to doubt, because it is not very apparent why a fortress should have been erected in so unprofitable a locality. Years have elapsed since I beheld the remains of the castle of Zohâk, but subsequent observation, and research in other parts, lead me to the inference that they are, like so many other analogous edifices abounding in similarly secluded sites throughout the Afghân countries, places of sepulchral and religious privacy, the superiority of their construction showing that they received the ashes of the high-born and the illustrious of the land. Whether the name of Zohâk be as justly as it is intimately associated with the spot we cannot determine, but the mere circumstance of its being so deserves to be noted.

The evidences of Ghúlghúleh are many and considerable, proving that it must have been an extensive city. The most remarkable are the remains of the citadel, on an isolated eminence in the centre of the valley, its base washed by the river of Bá-miân. They are picturesque in appearance, although bare and desolate, as well from the form and disposition of the walls and towers, as from the aspect of the eminence on which they stand, whose earthy

sides are furrowed by the channels silently worn in them by rains. Many of the apartments have their walls pretty entire, with their niches well preserved; they are, of course, filled, more or less, with rubbish and débris.

Some few are distinguished by slight architectural decorations, as to their plaster mouldings, but all of them must have been confined and inconvenient dwellings, being necessarily, as to extent, affected by the scanty area comprised within the limits of the fortress. Excavations have been sometimes made by the inhabitants of the vicinity, and arrow-heads, with masses of mutilated and effaced manuscripts, are said to have been found. The latter are plausibly supposed to have been archives, and are written, it is asserted, in Persian characters. Chance also frequently elicits coins, but so far as I could learn, they are invariably Cufic, which, if true, would fix a period for the origin of the place. On the eastern front the walls of the outer line of defence are in tolerable repair, and are carried much nearer the base of the eminence than on the other sides. They are tastefully constructed, and have loop-holes, as if for matchlocks, though they may have been intended for the discharge of arrows; still we are not certain whether the ruins extant are those of the stronghold destroyed by Jenghiz Khân, or of some more recent edifice, which, adverting to native traditions, may have succeeded it. The walls of the citadel,

and of all the enclosed buildings, have been formed of unburnt bricks. The adjacent castle, called Killa Dokhtar, the castle of Alladád Khân, is built of superior kiln-burnt bricks.



REMAINS OF THE CITADEL OF GHULGHULEH.

Besides these primary objects, there are very many dilapidated mosques and tombs, as might be expected, on the site of a decayed Máhomedan city, and the broken undulating ground south of the river of Bámiân, to the foot of the hills confining the valley, is strewn with mounds, and the remains of walls and buildings; and these, say the present inhabitants, occupy the “assal,” or veritable site of the city of Ghúlghúleh.

The traveller surveying from the height of Ghúlghúleh, the vast and mysterious idols, and the mul-

titude of caves around him, will scarcely fail to be absorbed in deep reflection and wonder, while their contemplation will call forth various and interesting associations in his mind. The desolate spot itself has a peculiar solemnity, not merely from its lonely and startling evidences of past grandeur, but because nature appears to have invested it with a character of mystery and awe. The very winds, as they whistle through its devoted pinnacles and towers, impart tones so shrill and lugubrious as to impress with emotions of surprise the most indifferent being. So surprising is their effect that often while strolling near it the mournful melody irresistibly rivetting my attention, would compel me involuntarily to direct my sight to the eminence and its ruined fanes, and frequently would I sit for a long time together expecting the occasional repetition of the singular cadence. The natives may be excused, who consider these mournful and unearthly sounds as the music of departed souls and of invisible agents; and we may suspect that their prevalence has gained for the locality the appellation of Ghúl-ghúleh, slightly expressive of the peculiarity.

Bámíân has been conjectured the site of Alexandria ad Caucasum; to which it may be objected that it lies north of the Hindú Kosh, and not south, as Alexandria would appear to have been.

CHAPTER XVI.

March from Bámíán.—Súrkhdar.—Azdhá.—Ak-Robát.—Kotal Ak-Robát.—Noh Régh.—Máhomed Alí Beg's sons.—Their dismissal.—Arrival of Máhomed Alí Beg.—Killa Sir Sang.—Fall of snow.—Supplies.—Máhomed Alí Beg.—The khân's conference.—Pertinacity of Hazára chiefs.—Despatch of Sádadín.—Exchange of presents.—Mission from Táatar chiefs.—Their language.—Anger of khân.—Ráhmatulah Beg's agent.—The khân's professions.—Ráhmatúlah Beg—His festive habits.—Kíllich Alí Beg's generosity.—Marriage of the khân—His ill-humour.—Reason for it.—Arrival of the khân's brothers.—Guns.—Suspensions of Hazáras.—Flight of Mír Báz Alí.—Detachment against Káhmerd.—March to base of Kotal Nâl-patch.—Killa Kâfr.—Salute of artillery.—Killa Khwoja.—Noon repast.—Guests.—The khân's discourse on Feringhís.—History of Amír Khân.—Máhomed Azem Khân's prayer.—Revenue of Kâbal, &c.—Mír Yezdânbaksh's opinion of cholera.—Case of an old physician.—Reconnoissance.—Táatar movements.—Return to camp.—Levée.—Mír Yezdânbaksh seized.—Plunder of Hazára camp.—Hazára flight and pursuit.—Lamentable condition of the prisoners.—The khân's precautions.—Seizure at Ak-Robát.—The khân's remark.—Justifies himself to the Ghúlám Khâna.—Imputes treachery to Mír Yezdânbaksh.—Retrograde march to Killa Sir Sang.—Hazára prisoners.—Reverse of fortune.—Indignation in the camp.—Máhomed Jáffar Khân's remark.—The khân's solicitude.—Resolution of Mír Yezdânbaksh.—Enormity of seizure.—Sorrow of Sádadín.—Mír Yezdânbaksh's intentions.—Refined cruelty.—The khân's objects.—Danger of short supplies.—News from Káhmerd.—Introduction of Ajer chief.—The khân's visit to Mír Yezdânbaksh, and his proposals.—Hazáras intercepted by Máhomed Alí Beg.—The mír placed in irons.—Meteors.—March towards Bámíán.—Search for plunder.—Hazára captives.—Ak-Robát.—Súrkhdar.—Arrival at Bámíán.

WHEN the khân was prepared to march from Bámíân we proceeded up the valley, under the low hills to the north, mostly perforated with caves, many of which were inhabited. Cultivation was general, and in the bed of the valley were numerous castles. After a course of about four miles the valley narrowed, and passing a defile, we entered into the small valley of Súrkhdar, where we encamped. The soil, and many of the hills, were red, whence the name of the spot, the red valley. On the hills were some ancient ruins, and a branch of the river of Bámíân flowed through our encampment. A little south of us, but not visible, from the intervening hills, was the Azdhá, or dragon of Bámíân, a natural curiosity, analogous in character to that of Bísút, but of much larger size. To it the same superstitious reverence is attached, and, like it, it is believed to have been a monster destroyed by Házrat Alí.

From Súrkhdar we ascended the hills to the north, and for a long distance passed over an irregular ascending surface, the road always good. Numbers of deer were seen in this march. At length, a gradual descent brought us into a small vale, where were some chaman, and a rivulet, but no inhabitants; whence another hill, of the same easy character as the preceding, was crossed, and we entered the valley of Ak-Robát. Here was some cultivation, a fine rivulet, and chaman, with a solitary castle. Ascending the valley, we reached

the pass, or Kotal Ak-Robát, having passed to the east of the valley some considerable ancient remains on the hills. The pass was tolerably easy, but on the summit we encountered a sharp wind for which it is remarkable, and the pass is emphatically designated a *bâd-khâna*, or place of wind. The descent was also gradual and unimpeded, and brought us into a fair valley; the rivulet flowing to the north, as that of Ak-Robát does to the south. At length we reached an expanded tract, called Noh Régh, or the nine sands, where we halted. Supplies were derived from castles to our right and left, at no great distance, but not discernible—those to the right at a spot called Gharow.

When about to march from Noh Régh, the second son of Máhoméd Alí Beg arrived in camp, and paid his respects to the *khân*, who immediately dismissed him, and he returned in all speed to his father. From Noh Régh the valley contracted, and became little better than a continued defile; at one spot we had to our left a small grove of trees, denoting a *zíarat*, the branches decorated with a variety of rags, and horns of deer, goats, and other animals, a mode by which rural shrines in this part of the country are distinguished. A little beyond it the valley expanded, and we had a ruinous modern castle on the eminences to the right, and there was also an inhabited village of caves. Here we were met by the eldest son of Máhoméd Alí Beg. Him also the *khân* dismissed; and he re-

turned galloping to his father. From hence the valley was a complete defile, and so continued until it opens into the valley of Séghân. There Máhommed Alí Beg presented himself, proffered all devotion and submission, and was, in return, embraced by the khân. Commanding the gorge of this defile is a castle called Killa Sir Sang, seated on an eminence; whence its name, the castle on the rock. Immediately beyond it, we crossed the rivulet of Séghân, and encamped on the rising grounds north of the valley. This castle, the stronghold of Máhommed Alí Beg, had been evacuated by his orders, and he tendered it to the khân as a pledge of his sincerity, who ordered Afghân troops to garrison it. The castle itself was a rude, shapeless building, with no pretensions to strength but what it derived from its site, although, in the estimation of the Séghânchís, it is the key to Túrkestân. On our gaining this ground we had a fall of snow. About a mile west of us was the castle in which Máhommed Alí Beg himself resided. In that direction were several other castles, and the valley was pretty open.

At Séghân large supplies were received from Máhommed Alí Beg, but the khân was also necessitated to draw considerable supplies from Bámiân, as the consumption of the united Afghân and Hazára force could not be met by the produce of Séghân. Máhommed Alí Beg, however he endeavoured to conceal them, entertained apprehensions for his personal safety, as was evident from his car-

riage and demeanour. On the evening of our arrival the gun we had with us was discharged; he was in camp, and became much terrified, and was re-assured only when informed that it was an Afghân custom to fire a salute on encampment in a new country. This chief, who had rendered himself in these countries of so much notoriety, and who had become the terror of the Hazárajât, was of middle stature, stout built, and from forty-five to fifty years of age. His countenance was forbidding, and his general bad aspect was increased by an awkwardness of his eyes; in fact, he was near-sighted. He dressed meanly, but his horse was magnificently accoutred, and his saddle-cloth was of gold. For his services to Máhoméd Morád Beg in procuring slaves, he had been styled Mín Beghí, or the commander of a thousand men; the flattery of Múlla Shahábadín now elevated him into the Chírâghadín, or the light or lamp of religion. We here learned that the superior chief of Dêh Zanghí had nearly reached Bámíân with five hundred horse, when hearing of the negotiations pending between the khân and Máhoméd Alí Beg, he had returned in disgust.

The khân at this place assembled in his tent Máhoméd Ali Beg, Mír Yezdânbaksh, Mír Báz Alí, and the various Hazára chiefs, and exhorted them all to a reconciliation. Much debate ensued, and numerous accusations and retorts passed on either side, but ultimately a Korân was produced, and on it both parties swore forgetfulness of the past and

good-will for the future. During this scene the khân was much ruffled by the pertinacity of some of the Hazára chiefs. Máhomed Alí Beg afterwards restored to liberty some ten or twelve Hazára slaves, as he said, on the khân's account.

The khân's náib, Sádadín, who from the first had been the medium of his intercourse with Mír Yezdânbaksh, and a party to the many oaths that had been passed between him and the khân, was now despatched with the mír to meet Shâh Pessand, a Táatar chief on the Dasht Saféd. With a small party of horse they proceeded, and were met on the Dasht by Shâh Pessand, also slightly attended. The Táatar chief accepted as a present from the náib his chapan of blue broad-cloth, and gave him in return his own, lined with fur: to the Hazára mír he presented three horses as peshkash, and he promised the next day to send his brother, accompanied by agents, on behalf of his allies, with horses as peshkash to the khân.

The following day the brother of Shâh Pessand, with agents of the Sirdár Saiyad Máhomed, Ferhâd, and other Táatar chiefs, arrived in camp, bringing four or five horses as peshkash. The agent of Ráhmátúlah Beg, the Tâjík chief of Káhmerd, also joined, with three peshkash horses; but it was known that Ráhmátúlah had sent his eldest son to Kúndúz for instructions how to act in the present conjuncture. The brother of Shâh Pessand was the principal orator in the interview with the Khân.

He said, that if it were required of them to acknowledge Afghân supremacy, they could not do so, as they acknowledged that of Mír Máhoméd Morád Beg; who, content with their simple acknowledgment, and their readiness to furnish komak, or an auxiliary force, when called upon, did not exact tribute from them. That they would prefer dependency on the Afghâns to that on the Uzbeks; that the season for action this year was past, but that if the khân appeared in the field in spring, with a fair force, they would join him, and march with him even to Kúndúz. Under any circumstances, he positively affirmed, that they would not suffer the khân to enter their lands; that they had numerous gardens; and that if the khân ventured to enter the Dasht Saféd, he must prepare for an engagement. This language was but ill relished by the khân, who made use of all his eloquence, alternately menacing and soothing; he even occasionally indulged in terms of abuse,—which he uttered, however, in Pashto, to his auditors unintelligible. They firmly adhered to their sentiments; and the khân ultimately bestowed khelats on them, and dismissed them, vehemently swearing that he would put an end to the shuffling tricks of the Tátars. The agent of Ráhmatúlah Beg spoke much in the same strain as the Tátar agents, and observed, that his master had referred to Máhoméd Morád Beg, and if he were willing

to relinquish his claims, the Káhmerd chief was ready to acknowledge those of the Afgháns.

The khân, while he vowed not to be satisfied with unmeaning pretexts, was very careful not to speak in ungracious terms of Ráhmatúlah Beg, for whom he professed to entertain a most particular esteem, and regretted that he did not come to his camp and seek his friendship. The fact was, Ráhmatúlah Beg had considerable wealth, which it was the khân's object to obtain, and this could only be done by securing his person ; on this account, even when in Bísút, inveighing against Máhomed Alí Beg, he had always spoken flatteringly of Ráhmatúlah Beg, under the idea that the conversation would be reported to him, and secure his confidence. This Ráhmatúlah Beg is generally known by the name of Ráhmatúlah Díwána, or the madman. For a number of years he has governed the small but luxuriant valley of Káhmerd, and from his youth has passed his life in the enjoyments of wine and music. A man of strong natural sense, he has always contrived to command respect among his neighbours, while his inoffensive manners have disposed the most rigid of Máhomedan bigots to regard with forgiving eye his festivities and illicit indulgences. Many years since he had provoked the resentment of the illustrious Killich Alí Beg of Balkh, who entered Káhmerd with an army. Ráhmatúlah Beg on this occasion collected all his property, as

shâls, chapans, silks, kímkábs, broad-cloth, horse furniture, weapons, &c., and exposing them to the view of the Uzbek chief, invited him to take what he pleased. Killich Alí Beg took one shâl and one piece of kímkâb, a demonstration of friendship rather than of superiority, asserting for himself that he would ever hold his person, wealth, and authority inviolate, and as long as he lived cause others to respect them. He told him also to enjoy the pleasures of wine and music as he had been wont to do. The same indulgence he experiences from Máhoméd Morád Beg, who even, considering him a privileged being, himself supplies him with strong drinks, when he may be his guest at Kúndúz.

One of the strange events which occurred during our stay at Séghân, was the marriage of the khân with the daughter of Máhoméd Alí Beg, which was solemnized the day after our arrival. The khân, attended only by a few of his pëshkidmats and his musicians, repaired to the Séghân chief's castle, and Múlla Shahábadín performed the nikáh, or marriage ceremony. On the morning of the next day the khân returned to camp, and received a variety of congratulatory salutations, but it was plain he was in very ill humour; he had been taken in: his new bride, whom he had expected to find remarkably beautiful, from the report of Mulla Shahábadín and others, and from the universally acknowledged personal charms of her mother, proved to be an ill-favoured, snub-nosed Hazára

wench. Moreover, it was known to others, though probably not to the khân, that she was not the daughter of Máhoméd Alí Beg, inasmuch as her mother had been married to a Hazára, whom Máhoméd Alí Beg slew, for the sake of obtaining his wife, whose fame for beauty was far spread. He received her pregnant into his family, and the fruit of her labour was the daughter now bestowed upon Hâjî Khân.

At Séghân also arrived from Ghazní two of the khân's brothers, Dáoud Máhoméd Khân and Khân Máhoméd Khân. They brought about one hundred horse, and reported in high terms of satisfaction the attentions paid to them in Bísút, particularly their reception at the castle of Mír Yezdânbaksh at Kârzár.

Intelligence was now received of the arrival of the large gun at Bámiân. I should before have noted, that on our march from Ghowch Khol to Kâlú by the Kotal Síah Régh, the two guns, with the elephant, were despatched by the route of Ferai Kholm and Kârzár. The smaller gun reached us at Bámiân, but the larger had broken down on the road, and from the delays and difficulties in repairing the carriage, had only now reached Bámiân.

It was but natural that the khân's alliance with Máhoméd Alí Beg should excite suspicions among the Hazáras, and the first who manifested them was Mír Bâz Alí, next to Mír Yezdânbaksh the most considerable of them. He, alleging sickness,

solicited his dismissal, which the khân granted, but angrily, telling him, not to present himself before him again with his salâm, or bow of obedience, and directing him to leave his son with a body of troops in camp. On the ensuing night Mír Báz Ali, his son, and about five hundred horse, silently decamped, and the morning but discovered to the khân that the birds had flown, without showing the course of their flight. There were still about two thousand Hazára horse with us, under Mír Yezdânbaksh and the two young chiefs of Dêh Zanghí.

The khân having decided to advance upon the Dasht Saféd, Réhimdad Khân, with one hundred horse, chiefly Jísâlchís, was despatched, in conjunction with Máhoméd Alí Beg, to reduce the castles in Káhmerd. The khân probably expected to gain his objects by finesse and intimidation, as he positively enjoined Réhimdád Khân to avoid battle and the loss of men.

The khân having assembled his Khâká troops in two parallel lines, the march commenced with the beating of nagáras. The Ghúlám Khâna troops were in advance, and I this day accompanied them. We passed easterly down the valley, which a little below Killa Sir Sang narrows for some distance, and again expands, when we found several castles and kishlâks, the largest of the former being Killa Khwoja. We had reached the foot of the Kotal Nâl-patch, or the horse-shoe breaking pass, leading

to the Dasht Saféd, and were preparing to ascend, when people, sent by the khân, called us back, and we found the halting-place was Killa Khwoja.

The khân, before dismounting proceeded with a large party down the valley, which below the parallel of the kotal contracts into a defile, for the purpose of viewing the remains of an ancient fortress called Killa Kâfr, the infidel's fort. They were very imposing, and from the bulk of the stones employed in their construction excited much wonder. At the extremity of this darra is a castle, whether ancient or modern I know not, called Darband, a contraction of Dara-band, the band, or key of the valley; and east of it is another, called Baiánír. In this short march our route traced the northern side of the vale of Séghân, and we passed a village of caves, with an ancient tower on the eminence, in which they were excavated. This evening we fired from our gun several rounds, as well to celebrate our arrival on new territory, as to let the Tátars know we had come. Killa Khwoja, with another castle, was garrisoned with the khân's troops, and the castle of a chief, Faquíř Beg, who had been long obnoxious to Máhomed Alí Beg, and who was related to the Dasht Saféd chiefs, was ordered to be demolished. The wood found there was used as fuel by the army. Faquíř Beg was despatched, with his family, to Bámíân, the khân promising to provide for him there.

The day after our arrival at Killa Khwoja snow fell; and the khân invited me to take noon's repast with him in his kergha, or felt-covered tent. Here were present the khân, his náib Sádádín, Múlla Jân Máhomed, Mír Yezdânbaksh, Mír Zaffer of Kâlú, and myself. On my account the khân principally discoursed of Feringhís, and he astonished his Hazára guests by his accounts of their insáf, or equity. He related the history of Amír Khân (the freebooter of Tonk), and so curiously, that I shall repeat the substance of it. "Amír Khân had one hundred and twenty thousand men, and was flying before twelve thousand Feringhís, when the latter sent to him, offering as much artillery as he needed and a crore of rupees, if he would but stand and give battle. Amír Khân received artillery and a crore of rupees, gave battle, and was defeated, with the loss of twenty-seven thousand men. The Feringhís lost six thousand men. Amír Khân, reflecting on the diminished force of the Feringhís, again ventured to engage, and suffered defeat, with the loss of twelve thousand men; his opponents lost three thousand men. Amír Khân having still nearly eighty thousand men, judged it concerned his honour not to suffer so small a force as three thousand to escape, and surrounded it; but he found that in the night the Feringhís had eluded his vigilance, and learning that they had summoned another kâmpú of twelve thousand men to their assistance, he shift-

ed his quarters to another part of the country. Ultimately, when the Feringhís concluded a treaty with him, knowing him to be an able, useful man, they gave him an allowance of fifteen lákhs of rupees for his háram, placing only one injunction upon him, that he was never to turn his eyes towards the Afghâns." The khân observed, that the Sirdár Máhoméd Azem Khân, then living, upon hearing the terms of the treaty, placed his turban on the ground before him, and prayed to heaven that he might one day become the ghúlám (slave) of the Feringhís. The khân, in the course of this day's conversation remarked, that the gross revenue of Kábal, Ghazní, Jelálabad, Bámíân, and Bísút, for the year past, 1831, 1832, was fifteen lákhs. Taghow, Dhost, and Khúram, being rebellious, not included. Mír Yezdânbaksh spoke very little, continually passing his beads between his fingers, uttering indistinct ejaculations, with his eyes averted upwards. As usual with him, he sat bare-headed. The mobá, or cholera morbus, which desolated Kábal in 1827, being alluded to, the mír took occasion to state his disbelief in the remedies of physicians, and, observing that no one case of mobá occurred in Bísút, asked, What has disease to do with men who live upon barley-bread and butter-milk? The khân cited the case of a portly old physician, who was with the camp that year in Zúrmat, and who one day in his tent affected to ridicule the mobá, saying, if every one like me

anointed his body with oil, he would have no reason to fear the mobá. With the words in his mouth, said the khân, he left my tent, and a very short time after I heard that the fat old gentleman with his oiled body was dead !

On the following day, in the afternoon, the nagára beat to arms ; the khân having determined upon making a reconnoissance on the Dasht Saféd. Mír Yezdânbaksh accompanied him, with about fifty horse only. The troops ascended the Kotal Nál-patch, rather long, but not difficult, and at the summit were in view three of the Táatar castles, with their gardens. The khân halted the Ghúlám Khâna troops midway up the kotal, saying he did not wish to fatigue them. The Táatars soon descried the troops, and their horsemen issued from the castles and took position on the plain, but again re-entered them. Persons therefrom were observed to send them back. The khân used his spyglass, and speculated on their numbers. During the few minutes he remained on the plain he once inquired, "Where is Mír Yezdânbaksh ?" and looking around, and observing him to be attended by Dáoud Máhoméd Khân and his party, remarked "All is well ; he is amusing himself with Dáoud Máhoméd." The khân and troops rejoined the camp, it being yet daylight. On arrival he despatched Saiyad Máhoméd Khân with personal communications for Máhoméd Alí Beg at Káhmerd.

. In the morning the khân summoned to his Ker-

gah his náib Sádadin and Mír Yezdânbaksh. They having arrived, he then sent for Mír Abbás, brother to Mír Yezdânbaksh, and others of his relatives, and officers, with the two chiefs of Dêh Zanghí, who came supposing Mír Yezdânbaksh required their attendance, as they were told. The khân, when his brother Dáoud Máhommed Khân entered the Kergah, followed by a large party of armed Afghâns, angrily asked Mír Yezdânbaksh why he had thrown defeat among his troops, and occasioned a triumph to the Tá-tars? The mír, aware of his critical situation, said, "Khân, place me in front and see what I will do with the Tá-tars." The khân spoke abusively in Pash-to, arose, and ordered the seizure of the mír and his attendants. This was effected without resistance, as those admitted within the Kergah were few, the others of the Hazáras summoned standing without, and their detention was an easy matter. The nagára sounded immediately to arms, and Ghúlám Hákamzâda was despatched to plunder the mír's tent. The khân having effected this coup, stood without his tent in a state of manifest surprise and anxiety. The presence of two thousand Hazára horse might also give him uneasiness, but fortune, as if favouring his designs, had divided this force into three bodies, one with the mír and the Afghân camp, and the two others in villages of Samuches, north of the valley, which they had occupied on the fall of snow. The khân had no cause for apprehension from the Hazáras; the poor fellows were para-

lyzed by the seizure of their chiefs, and had no other thought but to provide each for his individual safety. The portion with the camp, mounting as soon as possible, some passed down the valley of Séghân, while others ascended the hills south of the valley, and made for Gandak. Those in the Samuches scrambled up the hills behind their position, which were absolutely impracticable to the Afghân horses, and some made for the Dasht Saféd, while others traversed the Dasht Ghazzak between Séghân and Káhmerd, and made for Yek Auleng. As soon as the seizure of Mír Yezdânbaksh was known the Khâka troops hastened to despoil the Hazáras, and obtained a great number of horses, arms, and accoutrements. The pursuit of the fugitives was kept up principally by the attendants upon the horses, and such was the panic among the former that one of the latter would be seen returning with two or even three horses, and as many swords and matchlocks. It was afflicting to behold the unfortunate Hazáras made captives, and in the midst of snow and inclement weather reduced to a state of nudity by their merciless tyrants; even the brothers and officers of Mír Yezdânbaksh were not spared, and the mír himself was the only person the khân judged fit, by peremptory order, to command to be respected as to clothing, and from his girdle the knife was taken by those who seized him. A son of Mír Máhoméd Shâh and nephew to Mír Yezdânbaksh, one of my hospitable enter-

tainers at Kerghú, as noted in my third march, was among the sufferers, and was dragged past me by three or four Afghâns, who called him their prisoner, shivering, barefooted, and without any other covering than an old pair of perjâmas (trowsers), which his despoilers, in their humanity, had bestowed upon him. I said, "Mír, what has happened to you?" He replied, "Bad roz amed," or an unlucky day has come. He was taken before the khân, who, aware that his father, Mír Máhoméd Shâh, was inimical to his brother, Mír Yezdânbaksh, ordered clothing to be given to him, and his horses and arms, of some value, to be returned. These orders were, in part, complied with, and the next day I found him only wanting a pair of shoes, with which I was able to supply him. The only precautionary measures taken by the khân on seizing the Hazára chiefs, were the despatch of his two brothers, Dáoud Máhoméd Khân and Khân Máhoméd Khân, to the base of the Kotal Nâl-patch, rather to anticipate a movement on the part of the Tátars than to prevent the flight of the Hazáras in that direction, and the sending a few horsemen to the Killa Sir Sang, to instruct the garrison of what had happened. It now became known that Saiyad Máhoméd* Khân, Paghmâní, who had been commissioned the preceding night to Máhoméd Alí Beg with a verbal communication, was sent to announce the intended seizure of the Hazára chiefs on the next morning. The khân

had also sent intimation of his designs to his agents at Bámiân, and one of them, Walí, a chillam-berdár, was employed to secure the persons of Alladád Khân Moghal, and others who were known to be of the party of Mír Yezdânbaksh. This he effected by summoning them to the castle of Ak Robát, on the pretext that the khân had sent for them, and on their arrival he made them prisoners.

Immediately after the seizure of Mír Yezdânbaksh I joined the khân, standing without his kergah, now become a prison. Náib Sádádín, his agent in all transactions with the mír, was astounded, and said, in Pashto, "Khân, se kawí?" or, khân, what have you done? The khân replied, in Persian, "Say nothing; what is done, is done." After standing some time, and observing the departure of the Hazáras, he repaired to the tent of Máhomed Bâgher Khân, Morád Khâni, of the Ghúlám Khâna troops. These men being Shías, and intimately connected with Mír Yezdânbaksh by political and religious ties, could not but be much incensed at the flagrant act just committed. To them the khân sought to justify himself, by asserting, that the seizure of Mír Yezdânbaksh was a measure pressed upon him by the Sirdár Dost Máhomed Khân when in Tâgow; that he had repeatedly written to him since he left Kábal to seize the mír; that hitherto he had refrained from doing so, nor would he now have obeyed these instructions had not Mír Yezdânbaksh treacherously con-

certed a plan with the Tatars, by which they were to engage the khân's troops in front, while he was to pillage the camp, and destroy those who remained in it. In confirmation of this charge he read a letter, that he asserted had been taken from a messenger sent by the mîr to the Tatars. I was not present at the reading of this letter, which was, moreover, known to be a forgery, and written by Ghúlám Hákamzâda at the khân's suggestion; but the Ghúlám Khâna officers afterwards assured me that it was far from cleverly done, for there was nothing in it to warrant suspicion, even in the khân's mind.

After remaining with the Ghúlám Khâna until after mid-day, orders to march were issued, and the troops, in order of battle, retrograded to their former position near Killa Sir Sang. The khân with his line marched first, after him the Ghúlám Khâna horse, and behind them the captives, while Dáoud Máhoméd Khân and Khân Máhoméd Khân brought up the rear. The prisoners were about twenty in number, and this day mounted on horses, their arms secured behind them by ropes at their elbow joints, while other ropes were fixed round their necks, with the ends hanging down to be taken hold of by the persons having immediate charge of each of them. The unfortunate men were preceded by Múlla Shahábadín and the khân's nephew. I saw Mîr Yezdânbaksh when he left the kergah to mount his horse; he raised his

dejected head, cast a momentary look around, and again dropped it. I believe there were few in camp but commiserated his case; to behold him who in the morning was the superior lord of Bísút, who commanded a numerous force, and held arbitrary power over many thousand dependent human beings, in the space of an instant reduced to the powerless situation of a captive in bonds, would occasion feelings of consternation, as an exemplification of the ordinary vicissitudes of life; but when the mír's frank and generous character, the many services he had rendered the khân, and, above all, the perfidious circumstances of his seizure were considered, I believe there was not a bosom in the Afghân camp that glowed not with indignation, and such as dared to express their feelings consigned to execration the contrivers and perpetrators of so infamous a deed. I came up on this march with the Ghúlám Khâna troops; and Máhoméd Jaffar Khân, Morád Khâní, significantly asked, "Dídí?" or, have you seen? on replying affirmatively, he rejoined "By such perjuries and atrocities the Afghâns have lost their political power and influence."

During the past night I learned that the Khâka troops, by the khân's orders, had been under arms, and that he himself had sat up in his tent without taking sleep, his musicians, until near morning, playing and singing before him. When he dismissed these, he inquired if there were any move-

ments among the Hazáras, and observed to one of his pëshkidmats, that if Mír Yezdânbaksh fly, "bakht," or fortune, is on his side ; if he remain until morn, it is on mine.

It was subsequently ascertained that the Hazára chief, yielding to the unanimous and urgent entreaties of his followers to decamp, had ordered his horses to be saddled ; that he had left his tent, and actually placed one of his feet in the stirrup, preparing to mount, when he withdrew it, observing, that he was a Kohistâní, or man of the hills, that he had attached himself to the khân by oaths, by which he was resolved to stand even were the consequences fatal to him. Having thus spoken, he returned to his tent, and the Hazáras, unsaddling their horses, returned to their quarters.

I must confess, I was confounded at the khân's procedure. I had never before witnessed the commission of so flagrant an enormity ; and, aware of his secret designs, could not conceive why he preferred the alliance of Máhomed Alí Beg to that of so powerful a chief as Mír Yezdânbaksh. I could not for a moment credit the treacherous intentions imputed to the latter, who, had he been faithless or insincere, could easily have destroyed the khân and his army when on the frontiers of Búrjehgai. The surprise and sorrow of the khân's náib, Sádadín, was a convincing testimony also of the injustice of the charge fixed upon the mír. The letter produced by the khân was known to

be forged; and on the mír's person at the time of seizure was found a letter addressed to his dependants at Kârzâr, directing them to make all due preparations for the entertainment of the khân on his return; and his nazir, Mír Alí Khân, had been deputed to Kâbal to purchase ten kharwârs of rice for the festive occasion contemplated. It appeared to me also a heinous refinement of cruelty in keeping up good appearances with the mír until he had led him into the country of his avowed and unprincipled enemy, and by his seizure there affording the Tâjik chief a gratuitous triumph, more galling to the generous mind of his victim than the loss of power and fortune. An accession of territory at the expense of the Tâtar chiefs of the Dasht Saféd, was evidently an object with the khân, and he may have expected that by the Hazâra chief's influence with them he might have been enabled to secure their persons, after which the confiscation of their estates was an easy matter. But, being baffled by the firmness of the Tâtar chiefs, and finding that Râhma-tûlah Beg of Kâhmerd would not voluntarily surrender his country, and was too wary to place himself in his power, he, regardless of every tie of friendship and moral obligation, seized the mír, expecting to procure a large sum for his ransom, which might enable him to subsist his troops during the winter at Bámíân. Could I venture to fathom the original intentions of the khân, he

had contemplated to pass the winter at Káhmerd, where he would probably have subsisted his troops; and whence, in concert with the Uzbek chief of Khúlm, decidedly hostile to Máhoméd Morád Beg of Kúndúz, he might have been enabled to have acted in a very different mode from that to which necessity afterwards compelled him. As it was, the obstinacy of Ráhmatúlah Beg had foiled him,—he could not subsist at Séghân; Máhoméd Alí Beg had no property worth the seizure, and he had no resource but to retrograde to Bámíân; and the question was, how to subsist himself there. The revenue from the soil of Bámíân, with its districts, amounts to fifteen thousand kharwárs of grain, whether wheat, barley, or múshúng (pea). This had been exhausted by previous receipts and requisitions while in Bísút, and even at this place. The premature and unusually severe winter had also materially affected the year's produce, and heaps of untrodden wheat were yet lying rotting under snow. That the khân possessed eminent ability in meeting the exigencies of his situation may be conceived, although it was lamentable to reflect upon the unhallowed means employed.

At Killa Sir Sang on the next day we were joined by Máhoméd Alí Beg and Karra Kúlí Khân, on the part of Réhimdád Khân. They reported the capture of four castles of Ráhmatúlah Beg, who still held two, the more important, and refused to wait upon the khân. A negotiation had been

carried on with him, and it had been agreed, under the plausible pretext of preventing the effusion of Mússulmání blood, to refer matters to Mír Máhoméd Morád Beg. Ráhmátúlah's castles had not been taken without bloodshed; two or three men on the part of Réhimdád Khân had been slain, and several had been wounded. To attend upon these the khân despatched his surgeon to Káhmerd, giving him ten rupees. On this occasion Nasrúlah Khân, the chief of Ajer, was introduced to the khân, and proffered his submission. He was courteously received, and a khelat was bestowed on him. He was a young man, of ordinary appearance and capacity, and inherited from his fathers the hill fort of Ajer, some miles to the west of Káhmerd, with two dependent castles.

The khân paid a visit to Mír Yezdânbaksh at this place, offering him terms, by acceding to which he should be released. These were, the payment of twenty thousand rupees, in money or value, the surrender of the castle of Kârzár, and two or three others on the line of road from Bámiân to Kâbal, his engagement not to levy duty from kâfilas, and the delivery of adequate hostages for the performance of his obligations.

Máhoméd Alí Beg unequivocally pressed upon the khân the necessity for the mír's execution, alleging, that if released neither one nor the other would be able to move in these countries. Máhoméd Alí Beg had become proportionately con-

fidant on the seizure of his adversary, and he had probably turned to good account the dispersion of the Hazára force, and recompensed himself for the ten or twelve Hazára slaves he had formerly set at liberty. The route of many of the fugitives must have been over the Dasht Ghazzak, between Káhmerd and Séghân, where he, informed of the intended act, would have been ready to intercept them. Subsequently Mír Yezdânbaksh affirmed that three hundred and ten were missing; but I know not whether this number referred to the whole force or to that under his own orders. Many of these may have perished from cold, but the greater number were probably kidnapped.

Mír Yezdânbaksh was still lodged in the khân's kergah, and the Hindústâní soldiers formed his guard. It was decided to retire to Bámíân. The khân had but three pairs of leg-irons with him, but his Tâjik ally cheerfully furnished him with six other pairs from his own stores, and now Mír Yezdânbaksh and the principal captives had their feet bound in fetters. Melted lead was poured into the locks, which secured them, to effectually prevent their being opened.

Another fall of snow occurred at Séghân; and one morning, a little before the break of day, the heavens displayed a beautiful appearance, from the descent of numberless of those meteors called falling stars; some of the globes were of large size and of amazing brilliancy. They pervaded the whole

extent of the visible firmament, and continued to be discernible long after the light of day dawned. The phenomena, I afterwards found, were in like manner observed at Kâbal, and I have since learned, on the banks of the Jalém in the Panjâb. Their appearance gave rise to much speculation in camp; every one considered them portentous of some great event, which each felt at liberty to prognosticate after his own manner.

We now started on our return to Bámíân. The khân preceded the troops, with a few followers, Múlla Shahíbadán and the Khânzâdas, Múlla Jân Máhomed, and myself. We followed the valley until we arrived at the spot called Noh Régh, where we had before encamped. We now found it covered with snow, but it was determined to halt for the convenience of procuring supplies from the contiguous castles. At the point where the narrow valley expands into the open space of Noh Régh the khân and Múlla Jân Máhomed seated themselves on a rock overhanging the line of road; and his purpose in marching before the troops was soon made evident. The métars, troopers, and indeed all who arrived, were stopped and examined as to their possession of Hazára property. The horses, weapons, &c. were taken account of by Múlla Jân Máhomed and Múlla Shahíbadán, with the names of the persons possessing them. The khân did not take the articles from the men, but observed, he should consult with his chiefs as to the disposal

of the spoil; he was, perhaps, also willing, by an enumeration of the trophies, to estimate the extent of his dishonest and bloodless victory. I had taken position on the eminences east of the valley, which were free from snow, and as the troops successively arrived observed with regret the unfortunate Mír Yezdânbaksh, with Mír Abbás his brother, the two Déh Zanghí chiefs, and other captives, approach, in charge of Dost Máhoméd Khân, the khân's brother, manacled, and seated on pairs of chests, carried by yabús (ponies). It became manifest that the mír's doom was decided upon, for after exposing him to so much indignity release was out of the question. As the tents had not arrived, and snow covered the ground, Dost Máhoméd Khân brought his prisoners near the spot where I was sitting, where they continued until the ground designed for the tents was cleared, when, a fire being kindled, the mír in fetters walked thither. He sat over the fire, warming his hands, apparently unconcerned, amid snow and severe cold, bare-headed.

We continued our march up the now more equal and open valley, and crossed the pass of Ak Robát, which, although covered with snow, did not impede us, and, fortunately, the wind was little more than perceptible. We traversed the valley of Ak Robát, and passing the slight kotal to the east, entered the inferior valley before noted, as containing chaman, which I now descended, having before seen the

road to the right over the elevated country. We soon gained a narrow valley, which, after some distance, joins that stretching from Ak Robát, whose rivulet we had now with us. Our road was tolerably good, and as we descended the valley a considerable rivulet fell into it from the west, and again lower down received also from the west a still more considerable stream; these united waters form one of the branches of the Bámíân river, and flow through Súrkhdar. Just before reaching this place we passed a small grove of trees, a zíárat. From Súrkhdar we pushed forwards to Bámíân, where we arrived before nightfall. The khân on arrival took up quarters at a castle, where on marching for Séghân he had left his wives brought from Kâbal; and myself, with Sirkerder Kamber, the physician Iddaitúlah, and his son, pitched a tent in a hollow under its southern walls. The khân informed the inhabitants of Bámíân, assembled to greet his return, that if perfectly agreeable to themselves, he would be their guest for ten days, it being necessary to settle his affairs with Mír Yezdânbaksh and others.

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CHAPTER XVII.

Imposition of fines.—Saiyadabád.—Alladád Khân.—Evacuation of Saiyadabád.—Its solidity and dimensions.—Tradition.—Antiquity.—Repaired by Mírza Máhoméd Alí.—Siege by Killich Alí Beg.—Death of Mírza Máhoméd Alí.—Independence of Alladád Khân.—The khân's piety.—Provender.—Quarters.—Letters of Mír Yezdânbaksh.—Release of Máhoméd Gúl.—His vows.—Plunder of party from Kâbal.—Distress in camp.—Uneasiness of Ghúlâm Khâna troops.—Despair of inhabitants at Bámiân.—Orders for the execution of Mír Yezdânbaksh.—The mír informed of them.—His prayers.—His execution.—His firmness admired.—Message from Máhoméd Morád Beg.—Departure of Ghúlâm Khâna troops.—Their difficulties at Kârzâr.—Terms of passage.—Loss of lives and accidents.—Arrivals from Kâhmerd.—Máhoméd Alí Beg's suggestion.—Advice of Lohání merchants.—The khân extorts money from them.—The khân's brothers obtain permission to depart.—Mine also received.—Departure from Bámiân.—Uncertainty as to route.—Reach Ahíngar.—Kotal Shúter Girdan.—Morí.—Difficult road.—Kâlú.—Mihmân Khâna.—My repulse.—Passage of rivulet.—Good quarters.—Khân's letter.—Bridle purloined.—Topchí.—Shâhghâssí Oméd.—Quarters.—Pleasant evening.—Bridle restored.—Companions.—March to Bitchílík.—Kotal of Irâk.—Violent winds.—Castles of Irâk.—Consternation of people.—Our reception.—Conduct of my companions.—The khân's agent and his instructions.—Robbery of a Hindú.—Intentions of my companions.—Their thefts.—Dexterity.—Detection.—Búbúlák.—Desertion of guide.—Bitchílík.—Castle of Saiyad Shâh Abbâs.—Shékh Alís refuse a passage.—Proceed to Shihr.—Reception.—Farther thefts prevented.—Council.—Independence of Hazâras.—Return to Búbúlák.—Regain Bámiân.

THE khân having been accepted as a guest by the good people of Bámiân, his first step was to settle the amount of jirim, or fine, on such individuals as were obnoxious to him, that is, on such as had property that he might appropriate. The greater part of these had been made prisoners at Ak Robát, as before noted, through the dexterity of Walí, the chillam-berdár. The amount obtained by jirim was not less than thirty thousand rupees, although received in effects, as carpets, felts, woollens, copper utensils, lead, and cattle of various kinds. Their connexion with Mír Yezdânbaksh was the crime imputed to them; and the khân assumed great credit to himself with most of them, for having re-directed them into the path of Islâm, from which they had deviated by associating themselves with Shías and infidels. Another of the khân's immediate objects was to obtain possession of the castle of Saiyadabád, belonging to Alladád Khân, Moghal, who had laid up in it a vast quantity of supplies. The Moghal was a prisoner, and consented to pay his fine, but was unwilling to surrender his castle; on which the khân sent for his elephant, and ordered him to be trampled under his feet. Alladád now craved for mercy, which, through the mediation of the Ghúlám Khâna chiefs, was conceded. The following morning the inhabitants of the castle evacuated their dwelling, being permitted to carry away their grain and effects, excepting forage and fuel. The khân, with five or

six attendants, and myself, rode to survey the new acquisition. We crossed the river of Bámíân, and skirting the southern face of the detached eminence, on which stands the ruined citadel of Ghúlghúleh, ascended a level space, on which is the castle of Saiyadabád. It was a dilapidated, but truly imposing ancient castle, constructed of burnt bricks. We entered it by a modern gateway on the south; the original entrance was an arched one to the west, of very large dimensions, which had been long since closed up. The walls were of immense solidity, while the burnt bricks employed in their structure were of surprising size. The apartments were ranged in lines with the walls, leaving a small area in the centre. Those of the ground-floor were twenty-five to thirty feet in height, and they had above them others equally lofty and capacious. The whole of them had been originally covered with domes,—a construction adopted in the old city of Ghúlghúleh,—but these have nearly all yielded to the attacks of time, and at present the roofs are flat, and supported on rafters. West of the castle is a large walled enclosure, called the Serai, having on the west a line of domed buildings, but modern; near them are the remains of the old masjít belonging to the castle, exhibiting the same style of solid architecture. In the enclosure is a well, also a recent addition. The castle of Saiyadabád is called, in the traditions of the country, Killa Dokhtar, the daughter's castle, having been, as it is said, at

the period of the reduction of Ghúlghúleh, the residence of a princess, the daughter of its sovereign, who married the besieging chief, and betrayed her father by disclosing the hidden channels through which water was conveyed to the citadel. The castle, without ascribing much credit to tradition, was undoubtedly one of the most prominent structures of the old city of Ghúlghúleh, but manifesting a Máhomedan origin, and probably built under the sway of the Caliphs. Ghúlghúleh, we know from authentic history was destroyed by Jenghiz Khân in 1220, A. D. and afforded some time a refuge to Jelíladân, the expelled Shâh of Khwârizm. About two hundred yards from it, on the north-east, are other buildings referrible to the same era. It would appear to have remained in an uninhabitable state until about thirty years since, when a governor of Bámíân, Mírza Máhomed Alí, affecting a kind of semi-independence, covered in the exposed dwellings, built the serai, and sank the well. In it he endured a twelve month's siege by Killich Alí Beg of Balkh, who ultimately decamped without effecting the reduction of the fortress. Since that time, or soon after, Mírza Máhomed Alí retired to Zohâk, which he intended to repair, and to place in a state of defence, and there being proclaimed a traitor he was slain by the inhabitants of Bámíân. Since the fall of the mírza the castle of Saiyadabâd had been held by Alladád Khân, Moghal, and he, confiding in the

strength of his walls, which cannot be destroyed by any means at command of the governors of Bámiân, lived perfectly independent of them, refused to pay the usual third of the produce of his land, and even occasionally attacked his neighbours. He and his castle had now fallen beneath the ascendancy of Hâjí Khân's stars, and after a survey of the building, its new possessor decided on occupying it himself, and sent orders for the expedition thither of his wives and followers. In the castle, where he had hitherto resided were left the Hazára prisoners, under the charge of his brother, Dost Máhoméd Khân, and the Hindústâní soldiers. The khân repaired to a modern masjít at the entrance of the castle, and, with a Korân in his hands, implored the favour of heaven on his new conquest. The ejection of about eighty families in the midst of winter, and depriving them of fuel, and provender for their cattle, turning a deaf ear to the prayers of the aged women of the castle, who appeared before him, each with a Korân in her hands, exhorting him to look in the face of God, and be merciful,—were perhaps Mússulmâní actions ; but it was necessary in the midst of the perpetration of crime to preserve religious appearances, and to show his followers that whatever might be done from necessity, he was still a true and devout Mússulmân. Within the castle were large quantities of clover-hay, wheat-chaff, chelmer, and wood. Without the former the khân might have been em-

barrassed as to the subsistence of his horses. I selected an apartment on the ground-floor, which was large and convenient; a stable was adjoining, and there were two or three recesses in it, full of chaff, wood, and chelmer, and I admitted no companions but the old physician Iddaitúlâh, and his son. The whole of the khân's horses were brought to Saiyadabâd: the most valuable were housed within the castle, and the remainder were picketed in the adjacent serai. The khân's brothers, Dáoud Máhoméd Khân and Khân Máhoméd Khân, had taken up quarters in the caves of Bámiân; the Khâka troops had sheltered themselves in the several castles, and the Ghúlâm Khâna troops only remained encamped in the snow.

We shall now advert to the affairs of the Hazárajât. The seizure of Mír Yezdânbaksh had produced an universal sensation of indignation among the Hazáras; and Mír Báẓ Alí had repaired to Kârzár to concert measures with his friends there for resistance to Hâjî Khân. The letters of Mír Yezdânbaksh to his adherents were unattended to, and the replies were full of terms of defiance to the khân. Whether the mír was sincere in wishing his letters to be complied with I know not; he said he was; and at his instance, seconded by the entreaties of Náib Sádádín, who, to do him justice, was ever anxious to be serviceable to his unfortunate friend, Máhoméd Gúl, one of his confidential servants and a prisoner, was released and despatched to Kârzár,

that he might, by personal explanation, induce the people there to surrender the castle and the hostages required, and procure the release of Mír Yezdânbaksh. The khân was not pleased to allow Máhoméd Gúl to depart, and Mír Máhoméd Shâh, brother to Mír Yezdânbaksh, now, with the khân, protested against it. He however went, making a thousand vows of fidelity to the khân, and imprecating the vengeance of heaven on his head if he proved false. On arrival at Kârzâr he but confirmed the assembled Hazâras in their determination to hold it. The winter seeming to allow no military operations to be carried on against Kârzâr, Mír Bâz Alí returned to his home, writing a letter, of ambiguous tendency, to the khân. The principal men at Kârzâr were, Názir Mír Alí and one Kâsim ; the former had been sent to Kâbal to purchase rice, and articles for the entertainment of the khân on his expected return ; and the latter had been left at Kârzâr by the mír, to attend to the affairs of Bísút during his absence. They were now joined by Máhoméd Gúl. A party of four individuals from Kâbal, three Kohistânís and one native of Kâbal, driving asses laden with fruit, and articles to sell in camp, unconscious of what had happened at Séghân, fell into the power of the Hazâras near Kârzâr. The three Kohistânís, making resistance, were killed, and the Kâbalí was brought to the castle, where his life was spared, and he was set at liberty, but in a state of nudity.

As the communication between Kâbal and Bámiân was now cut off, there were many reduced to much inconvenience and distress, and a good deal of discontent existed among such as did not like the khân entertain the idea of wintering at Bámiân. The Ghúlám Khâna troops were very uneasy, and for some time past had been continually soliciting rúksat, or leave to depart ; but the khân had hitherto contrived to delay giving it. To their ordinary capacities the extraordinary measures of the khân were perfectly incomprehensible. Surmises as to his ultimate intentions were also heard. The khân's brothers did not approve of his stay at Bámiân. The natives of Bámiân were nearly reduced to despair by the abstraction of their means of subsistence for the supply of the troops ; so awful a visitation had never before fallen on them. The mysterious and absolute khân was not to be resisted ; but they had a slender consolation in the reflection that no one had ever, with impunity, wantonly tyrannized over Bámiân, under the protection of its twelve thousand walís (saints).

Matters remained in this perplexed state until the eighth Rajáb, when the khân repaired to the castle where Mír Yezdânbaksh was confined, and after a secret conference with his brothers, Dáoud Máhoméd Khân and Khân Máhoméd Khân, ordered the execution of the mír, as he said, from necessity. He inquired of Múlla Shahábadín if the destruction of Mír Yezdânbaksh was justifiable

by the laws of the Korân; who replied, that it was absolutely indispensable; adding, that it was better that death should be inflicted by the hands of his own kinsmen.

A péshkidmat Máhoméd Khân repaired to the mír, and told him to rise, as he was wanted without. The mír asked, if it was intended to kill him? Máhoméd Khân replied, that such were the orders. On which he immediately arose, and followed the messenger. He was led to the border of a canal of irrigation under the castle wall, where he sat down until the preparations were completed. He begged as a favour that his hands might be untied, that he might repeat two rikáts of prayer. It was refused. He therefore, as a devotional act, was compelled to be satisfied with passing the beads of his tusbíh, or rosary, between his fingers, and making low ejaculations. The preparations being slow,—a controversy having arisen among those concerned whether a thin or thick rope was preferable, strangling having been the mode of death ordered,—the mír expressed his hope that he should not be made to suffer any lingering torment, and wished that with swords they would strike directly at his neck. A thick rope had been decided upon. The same péshkidmat asked the mír if he had anything to say. He looked around for a moment, and observed, “No; what have I to say? They must all follow me, “ráh am ín ast,” or, the road is this. The rope being fixed, the mír was led

into the hollow south of the castle, and six kinsmen were stationed, three at each end of the rope; among these was his brother, Mír Abbás, and two sons of the Vakíl Saifúlah. The former, being a prisoner, was compelled to assist, and the two latter were afforded an opportunity to avenge the death of their father slain by the mír. His corpse was thrown across a yabú, and instantly despatched to Kârzár. Thus fell Mír Yezdânbaksh, a victim to Afghân perfidy and dissimulation. His firmness in meeting death was admired even by his executioners; and it was observed that in lieu of evincing any signs of anxiety or dejection his countenance was more ruddy than usual. It was also discovered that he had been slain on an excellent day and time, as the month Rajáb was the best of all months for a Mússulmân to die in, and the Roz Júma the best of all days.

The slaughter of their chief did not cause his adherents at Kârzár immediately to surrender the castles, as perhaps the khân had hoped; but soon afterwards letters arrived with ambiguous offers, which Mír Zâffer of Kalú pronounced false. Kar-ra Kúlí Khân, who had been despatched to Kúndúz, now returned, bringing with him an agent of Máhoméd Morád Beg, with a message to the following purport. "If the khân be my elder in age, he is my father, if my equal, my brother, and if my younger, my son." The khân now resolved to despatch a formal embassy to Kúndúz, and Ghulám

Hákamzâda was selected, and to him were given as offerings to the Uzbek chief most of the presents brought from Sind by Mulla Jân Máhomed.

The Ghúlám Khâna troops became clamorous for their rúksat, or dismissal; they had no idea of finding themselves isolated among Uzbeks; if they remained, a possible circumstance; and at length, somewhat angrily, the khân consented to their departure. They were contented to brave the rigours of a wintry passage through Bísút, and reckoned, by their influence with the Hazáras, on procuring a passage by the castle of Kârzár. A kâfila which had arrived from Bokhára placed themselves under their protection. The Rikas, at variance with the rest of the Ghúlám Khâna troops, and being also Súnís, with Saiyad Máhomed Khân, Paghmání, remained. The khân on dismissal of these troops gave them a barât, or order for three days' supplies, on Kâlú. Many were desirous to accompany the Ghúlám Khâna troops, but the khân cajoled them with the promise of going himself to Kâbal in a few days, when the castle of Kârzár should surrender. The Ghúlám Khâna troops on reaching Kârzár were detained three days under its walls, and had to endure all the horrors of an unusually intense cold, rendered still more terrific and fatal by a powerful shâmal wind, amid snow breast-high, and without fuel. The Hazáras assembled, and although a few shots were fired, no one suffered from them. Máhomed Bâgher Khân, Máhomed

Jáffar Khân, Mír Alí Khân, and two or three other chiefs, were only admitted within the castle, and at first were made prisoners for some hours, but finally an arrangement was concluded, by which ten tomâns were given for a free passage, and hostages were delivered as pledges that no violence should be offered to the Hazára peasantry between Kârzâr and Sir Chishma. Moreover, all the horses, arms, accoutrements, and clothing, spoil of the Hazâras, which were easily recognised, were taken from all who had them in possession. The terms of this treaty complied with, the Ghúlâm Khâna troops proceeded through Bísút, having no other antagonist than the cold, itself a formidable one. Forty-five individuals of the party perished; and of those who reached Kâbal great numbers had to deplore the loss of toes and fingers, many of their hands and feet entirely. The destruction of cattle was also immense, and the camels particularly suffered.

Réhimdád Khân, with Máhoméd Alí Beg, and the young chief of Ajer, about this time arrived from Káhmerd, a reference respecting that district having been made to Máhoméd Morád Beg. Máhoméd Alí Beg strove to dissuade the khân from remaining the winter at Bámíân, a purpose which he now avowed. With respect to Kârzâr he observed, that the khân did only half measures. On the seizure of Mír Yezdânbaksh he ought to have slain him, and sent a force in chapow upon the castle. As it was, he suggested that the úlús force

of Bámíân should be called out, scaling ladders prepared, and volunteered, in conjunction with Réhimdád Khân, to reduce the fortress by assault. These measures were not adopted.

Another kâfila arrived from Bokhára; with it were two or three Lohání merchants. These had sufficient penetration to conjecture the khân's designs, and recommended him, in course of conversation, not to return to Kâbal, where he would be degraded, but to repair to Kúndúz, where his honours would be increased. Two or three days after the khân confined those merchants, demanding from them the loan of one thousand tillahs (gold coin) of Bokhára. They refused, and fasted a day or two, vowing they would starve themselves to death; the craving of hunger becoming intolerable, they tendered five hundred tillahs, which the khân accepted, and released them. The tillah of Bokhara is in value about seven rupees of Kâbal, so that the khân profited by the merchants three thousand five hundred rupees.

Dáoud Máhomed Khân, the khân's brother, had for some time been at Irâk, where he had occupied the castle, and confiscated the property of Saiyad Shâh Máhomed, one of the individuals on whom a fine of three thousand rupees had been imposed. He now came to Bámíân, and with his brother, Khân Máhomed Khân, signified to the khân that they should proceed to Kâbal. He used every argument to dissuade them, but ineffectually, and they

told him that they were servants of Dost Máhoméd Khân, and not of himself. Rúksat was therefore given to them and to the Rikas, and Saiyad Máhoméd Khân, Paghmání, with many others, to accompany them. I had long been very much distressed, and refrained from accompanying the Ghúlám Khána troops, only because they proceeded a little against the khân's pleasure, but now that his brothers had obtained rúksat, I asked mine, which was of course granted. The khân promised to place me under protection of his brothers, but did not, and as they had left Bámiân I followed them, accompanied by one Barkat, a young man of the Bálla Hissár Kábal, who had two horses to convey thither, and who engaged for a trifling sum to attend me and my horse on the road, and to place my luggage on one of his horses, so that I and my animal might be unencumbered. My object was now to reach Kábal, but how or by what road no one knew; the two brothers of the khân, and Saiyad Máhoméd Khân, Paghmání, had vowed not to return to Bámiân—but it still remained to decide in what mode to reach Kábal. As Afghâns, they could not expect so easily as the Ghúlám Khána troops, to pass the castle of Kârzár; however, there seemed a general resolution, if compelled thereto, to force a passage by the castle, and to fight their way through Bísút. On the other hand, Saiyad Máhoméd Khân, Paghmání, who is believed to be what is called a Súchah Saiyad,

or, one whose pedigree is undoubted, and who has influence with some of the Shékh Alí chiefs, hoped by the assistance of Saiyad Shâh Abbás, residing at Bitchílík, near Shibr, the Pír of the Shékh Alís, to procure by negotiation or purchase a passage through their territories. At the time of my leaving Bámiân it was understood that Khân Máhoméd Khân was at Ahínglar, at the mouth of the valley of Topchí, Dáoud Máhoméd Khân at Irâk, and Saiyad Máhoméd Khân at Bitchílík.

We proceeded down the valley of Bámiân to the commencement of the valley of Topchí, where are two castles called Ahínglar, as before noted, which we found occupied by the troops of Khân Máhoméd Khân, and others. As we started late from Saiyadabád, so it was dark before we arrived here, and, as quarters were out of the question, I was obliged to pass the night in my postín on the ground, and although the cold was severe suffered no inconvenience.

About an hour after daylight many of the troops were in motion, but the horses of Khân Máhoméd Khân were not yet saddled. I however joined the promiscuous group proceeding, Barkat being to follow. We passed up the valley of Topchí, and ascended the Kotal Haft Pailân, but in place of making the summit inclined to the left, or east, and gained the crest of the Kotal Shútar Girdân, the descent of which is less considerable. Naturally steep and precipitous, it was now very troublesome

from the frozen snow, although the passage had been improved by the exertions of the Hazáras of Kálú. It became absolutely necessary to dismount, and with all our precautions numbers of horses lost their footing. The descent brought us into the defile of Morí, stretching from north to south, where was a castle, deserted by its inhabitants, and the entrance blocked up with stones. Here was a plantation of small trees, and a water-mill. On the rocks on the eastern side were considerable ancient remains, constructed of burnt bricks, and remarkable for neatness and solidity. Our course up the valley was long and difficult, and we had several times to cross and recross the half frozen rivulet. The road generally led over precipices, and many of the animals slipped down them, but, thanks to heaven, my little nag was sure and firm-footed, and passed all the dangerous spots with impunity.

It was still day when we reached Kálú, and passing under the castles occupied by Mír Zaffer and his relations, on eminences now on our right, came opposite to a kishlák on the other side of the rivulet, which had a rural bridge thrown over it. The kishlák was occupied by Shakúr Khân, Terín, with his horse Jisálchís. I waited until near dark for the arrival of Barkat, who not appearing, I was obliged to seek for quarters for the night. Shakúr Khân hearing of me, gave me into the hands of a brother of Mír Zaffer, enjoin-

ing him, if he valued the khân's good-will, to take charge of me. The mír conducted me to his castle, and directed one of his people to conduct me to the Mihmân Khâna (house of guests), adjacent to it. This I found full of men and horses, the party of Saifadín, the khân's Shâhghâssí, and brother to his náib, Sádadín. They were not willing to receive an intruder, and expressed themselves in terms of little decency or civility. I believe, however, they did not recognise me, and I did not take the trouble to make myself known. I now returned to the castle gate, and had reconciled myself to pass the night under its wall, when two horsemen arrived, inquiring where Shakúr Khân had taken up quarters. Seeing me, they told me to come with them, and we descended towards the kishlâk. On reaching the intervening stream our horses, on account of the darkness, were fearful of committing themselves to it, and I believe we must have spent above an hour in unavailing beating, kicking, and goading, before we finally succeeded in making them cross it. Shakúr Khân regaled me with a good supper, and provided barley and chaff for my horse. Throughout the night a splendid fire was kept up, maintained, however, at the expense of the implements of husbandry belonging to the Hazáras. We were yet sitting when Mír Zaffer's brother arrived, and showed a letter from the khân, commanding the return of all the troops to Bámíân.

Having no alternative but to return, Shakúr Khân's party saddled their horses, and one of the men did the same for me, when it was found that my bridle and one of the saddle-girths had been purloined. Shakúr Khân exhorted his men to produce the articles, and a saiyad of the party stood on the roof of a house and denounced the vengeance of the Prophet on whoever had taken the property of a stranger guest, but to no purpose—and I was compelled to proceed without having in my hand a guide or check to my horse. The good little animal did not allow me to suffer from the deficiency. We returned by the road we had come, and in progress I fell in with Barkat. On arrival at Topchí we proceeded to the first of the castles, where, every house being occupied, we were compelled to select a spot for the night under the walls. Here I found Shâhghâssí Oméd of the khân's establishment, who interested himself to procure me a lodging. Adjacent to the castle was a house in which Dín Máhoméd, a Júánshir merchant, with his son, had taken quarters. The Shâhghâssí, first civilly requested, and, on their demurring, insisted on their receiving me as a companion. They consented, and I in return declined to avail myself of what seemed to be considered a favour. Their servants came and entreated me to join their master, on which I went, and had a comfortable position assigned me. Dín Máhoméd was a tea-drinker, and was suffering great privation, having exhausted

his stock of the delectable herb. I had it in my power to give him a small supply, which put him in very good humour, and we passed a pleasant evening, enlivened by the presence of our landlady, a pretty lively young Tâjik wife.

Shâhghâssí Oméd perceiving my want of a bridle, produced a Hazára one not worth a dínár, which he said a friend of his was willing to sell for a rupee. I knew that the worthless bridle was his own, but considering he deserved a rupee for his attentions the preceding evening I purchased it. Just as I was going to mount, a man of Shakúr Khân's party came up and returned my own bridle, which it was feared to retain, supposing that I was returning to Bámiân, and might acquaint the khân with my loss. There was a small party of four, foot Jisâlcchís, now mounted indeed on horses, Hazára spoil, a portion of those under command of Júma Khân, Yúsef Zai, and who when at Kábal do duty at the Derwâzza Shâh Shéhíd of the Bálla Hissár. These men claimed me as an acquaintance, and attached themselves to me, as did three other men of Koh Dáman, Jisâlcchís also, but on foot. Saiyad Máhommed Khân, Paglumâní, I have before noted, had proceeded to Bitchílík, and reports reached us that his negotiations with the Shékh Alí Hazáras had succeeded. We therefore determined to proceed and join him. We passed down the valley of Topchí, and on reaching that of Bámiân turned to our right, or east, and after no very great

distance passing a castle to the left, arrived under the ancient remains called the castle of Zohâk, and crossing the rivulet of Kâlú, which at this point falls into the river of Bámiân, ascended the hills opposite to Zohâk, the passage over which is called the Kotal of Irâk. The road was good, and the ascent gradual, and the summit of the pass was a large table space, remarkable at all times for wind. We had hitherto traversed ground slightly covered with snow. The surface of the table space was, however, clear, the violence of the wind having dispersed whatever snow had fallen on it. On this day walking and leading my horse, the better to resist the cold, I was scarcely able to stand against the wind, which blew from the south. The north-westerners are said to be terrible in power at this spot. The table space surmounted, the descent of the kotal commenced, which only at first a little steep, led us into a stony valley for a few hundred yards, when the open vale of Irâk was entered. We halted at the first castle that occurred : there were others in front, and to our right, or south, one of the latter belonging to Shâh Máhomed Saiyâd, who had been condemned in fine. About six castles were only in sight, but we were told that there were others in contiguous valleys, considered as belonging to Irâk, which formed an aggregate of twenty inhabited castles. The plain was nearly free from snow, and the cultivated lands were considerable ; a small

rivulet irrigated the valley, flowing from the south to the north, and on it were many water-mills. Opposite to us, in the rocks north of the valley, were many caves, occupied by the kâfila from Bokhára, as the castles were by the soldiery. The inhabitants of Irâk beheld with consternation the ingress of so great a multitude, and were at a loss how to furnish supplies, which, of course, were imperiously demanded. In the castle in which we had sheltered ourselves, our party of nine persons, and six horses, were lodged in an apartment on the ground-floor; in other apartments was a Hákamzâda of Pesháwer, with a party of twenty, all mounted. The rîsh saféd, or father of the family occupying the castle, through necessity consented to provide chaff for the horses of his guests, but he was thrown into great anxiety by the arrival of a large herd of camels, the drivers of which bivouacked behind the castle walls, and laid hands on the old man's dried clover, as well as chaff. My companions installed me their khân, the better to practise their impositions on the Hazáras, a part they judged me competent to personate, being arrayed in garments of British chintz, and somewhat more respectably mounted than themselves; indeed, as the rîsh saféd observed, the khân's horse was the only one that had not been plundered from the Hazáras. I was compelled to witness, without the power of prevention, much insolence, presumption, and oppression; all

I could do was to conduct myself orderly, and to accept nothing without giving an equivalent. I was, fortunately, provided with a small supply of gúr, or coarse sugar in balls, the only saccharine substance to be procured at Bámián, with a few other articles prized by Hazáras; and by making small presents, which were gratifying to the receivers, I soon became a favourite.

The next day, no precise intelligence having been received by Saiyad Máhomed Khân, Paghmâní, and my companions holding good quarters, they determined to halt, as did the Hákamzâda. In the course of the day the khân's agent at Irâk, Pâhíndâh Khân, arrived, and told the rísh saféd that he was at liberty to eject his intruding guests, who were a set of vagabonds, roving about the country, contrary to the khân's orders, and that the khân had positively forbidden that any one should sell, or give to them a handful of chaff or barley. The rísh saféd observed that on my account, who was a Mússulmán among the whole, he was contented to give lodging for the night, and chaff for the horses, but prayed that he might be relieved from the presence of the camels, that were devouring, as he expressed it, his entrails. In the apartment allotted to us was a kandúr, or mud vessel of capacity, the mouth of which, as well as the sides, was plastered over; by sounding with their fingers my companions found it to be full, and they determined to open it during the night, and evacuate

a portion of the contents. A large bag of grain was also destined to similar treatment. During the day a Hindú from the kâfila had come to the castle with a trinket, which he wished to sell or exchange for necessaries. One of the Jisâlc'hís happened to be at the gateway, and took the trinket from the Hindú, under pretence of effecting its disposal; he came with it and secreted himself in a sheep-crib at the extremity of the apartment, and eluded all search that the Hindú and Hazáras of the castle made for him, while his comrades were highly indignant that one of their party should be suspected of dishonesty. Two of the three foot Jisâlc'hís of Koh Dáman were nímázzís, or prayer-sayers, and one of them, after repeating Nímáz Shâm, or evening prayer, called for a mékh tavíla, or iron horse pin, avowing, without shame, that he was a balit, or adept at such nefarious work. He sounded the kandúr in various parts with the instrument, selecting the head as the spot to open; the operation to be postponed until midnight. Ultimately, when it was supposed that the Hazáras were at repose, the unhallowed despoilers arose, lighted the lamp, and first repaired to the bag, which they opened by cutting the threads with which it was sewed, and abstracted a quantity of grain. Being provided with large sewing-needles and thread, they resewed the bag. Between our apartment and that in which the Hazáras of the castle slept there was no inter-

vening separation, both being as it were one apartment, one portion lying round to the right, the other to the left of the common entrance from without; hence it became a necessary but delicate matter so to manage the lamp that its light should not be seen by the Hazáras, and this was dexterously managed by the assistance of a chapán, or cloak. The kandúr was then assailed, and a quantity of, I believe, grain extracted. The aperture made was next cemented over with moist clay, previously prepared, and the stolen property securely deposited in the saddle-bags of the parties. They extinguished the lamp and again went to rest.

My companions by times saddled their horses and prepared to start, wishing to precede the discovery of the night's theft. One of the Hazára youths, however, examined the bag of grain, and exclaimed that it had been opened; the good rísh saféd enjoined silence on him, observing, what had been done could not be helped, and addressing the Jisálchís, conjured them to behave with propriety in Shibr, where they would not find the people to be sags, or dogs; that it behoved them not to throw obloquy on the Pádshâh, whose servants they were; and he commended them to the Divine protection. He warmly pressed my hands when I mounted, and invoked on my head a variety of blessings, as did the other inhabitants of the castle. We crossed the rivulet in front of the castle,

and turning to the north passed through a defile into a small vale, where were two or three castles, the water accompanying us; this conducted us into another, more spacious, and inclined to the north-east, where were four or five castles and two or three kishlâks, with several caves, and the remains of ancient buildings on the rocks. There are also two or three zîárats, and numerous small groves of trees. The valley was perfectly free from snow, as were in great measure the adjacent hills. It was evidently a favoured spot, and the soil was so excellent that I found tobacco was among its products. It was called Búbúlák. Its rivulet joined that of Irâk in the valley we had quitted, and both augment the river of Bámíân. Ascending the valley of Búbúlák, we passed a spring, which on issuing from the rocks was sensibly warm. Above this point the valley contracts, and we began to have snow beneath our feet, the quantity increasing as we ascended. We arrived where a defile radiated to the east, which a guide we had with us told us led to Shibr; but our party, which was this day in company with the Hákamzâda, resolving to proceed to Bitchílík, we kept straight up the valley we were in. Our guide here wished to leave us, but the Hákamzâda would not suffer him, when, a very little farther on, he took the start of us, we being embarrassed by snow and ice, and either hiding himself or passing over the rocks, was lost to us. As we proceeded up the valley it became a mere defile, and

we were grievously incommoded by the accumulated snow and ice. A rivulet in it, now nearly icebound, proved a serious obstacle to our progress. Eventually clearing it, we found ourselves at the southern extremity of the vale of Bitchílík, which was open, but covered with snow. The vale extended from north to south, and passing some eight or ten castles and kishlâks, we arrived at the castle of Saiyad Shâh Abbâs, at its northern extremity, and at the base of the kotal leading into the Shékh Alí districts. On one of the towers of the castle was a pole, surmounted by a hand of metal, the emblem of the saiyad's power and character. We found that Saiyad Máhoméd Khân, Paghmâní, was within the castle; to which none of us were admitted, and Dín Máhoméd, the Júânshír merchant, was at the Míh-mân Khâna, under the walls. We learned that the Shékh Alí Hazáras had refused to grant a passage through their territory, and menaced no longer to reverence Saiyad Shâh Abbâs as their pír, who seemed desirous to introduce the Afghâns among them. They said, if a passage were granted, that the Afghâns would the following year enter the country with guns, and compel them to pay tribute. The saiyad's brother had been first despatched, and on his return the saiyad himself had repaired to the Hazáras, but it was hardly to be expected that he would be more successful in his mission. Our arrival was said to be unfortunate, and calculated to frustrate the negotiation, and we were recommend-

ed to proceed to Shibr, which lay only a little to the south, a slight kotal intervening. We therefore crossed the kotal, which was not long, and rather a passage over an undulating high land than a pass, and came into the southern extremity of the vale of Shibr; ascended the vale, passing several castles and kishláks to the right and left; and at the head of it the Ilákamzâda and his party were provided with quarters, and we were taken up a valley extending to the south, where were several castles, among which our party was distributed, the men on foot at one castle, and the horsemen in two castles. The people were willing to consider us as guests, and to provide us with food and our horses with provender, and they made a magnificent fire, continually heaping on it fresh fuel. We were regaled with a supper of fine wheaten cakes and krút. My companions having turned their eyes around the apartment, to discover if there was anything to purloin, and there being in it two or three kandúrs, to prevent a repetition of the scene of the preceding night I took an opportunity of going outside, and calling the rísh saféd, cautioned him to make two of his young men sleep in our apartment; which step being adopted, baffled the furtively inclined. We sat up late this evening, some young Hazáras from the other castles having come on my account. Little presents won all hearts, and the donation of two or three sheets of paper to the son of the rísh

saféd, who was a múlla, or able to read and write, wonderfully delighted him, as it did the old gentleman his father.

Our landlords in the morning, although they intimated the expediency of our departure, had the hospitality first to provide us with breakfast, and to feed our cattle. One of the Jisâlehís had proceeded to the castle below, where the Hákamzâda had passed the night, to inquire of him how to act, as we were now situated. He replied, that if we thought we should not be ejected, it would be as well to remain, otherwise there was no alternative but to shift quarters. On return of the messenger a council of war was held by my companions, and it was decided that a removal was expedient and necessary; both as an ejection was to be apprehended, and there was a probability that the Hazáras of Shékh Alí would be seen crowning the summit of the kotal, it being understood that fifteen hundred of them had assembled on the other side on hearing of the advance of the Afghâns to Shibr.

The Hazáras of Shibr were more independent and fearless than those of the other districts we had visited. They said, in course of conversation, that they were raiyats of the Afghâns rather from a desire to live peaceably than from necessity. The Afghâns, they observed, might talk of their pādshâh, but they had none; Dost Máhoméd Khân of Kábal was not a pādshâh, but a lútmár, or robber. We

mounted and descended the vale of Shibr which terminated in a narrow defile ; which again opened into another valley stretching from north to south, and to the left, or south, were some five or six castles. Soon after we entered the valley which led us to Búbúlâk, where we took up quarters at a kishlâk, which proved to be but one house, very spacious and convenient. Our presence was not altogether acceptable to the owners, two brothers, and one of them went to prefer a complaint to the khân's agent, residing at Búbúlâk. This man came, and after soothing the Hazáras, told my companions to get as much out of them as they could for the night, but to depart in the morning. They needed not this encouragement to assume importance ; and ourselves and horses were provided with food gratuitously.

In the morning, having first breakfasted, mounted, and passing successively the valley of Irâk and its kotal, we descended into the valley of Bámíân. A little beyond Zohâk was a castle, where my companions would fain have passed the night, but there were no others than females and children in it, the males having been sent with Réhimdád Khán and Máhoméd Alí Beg to Kârzár. The women weeping, and showing much anxiety, I continued my course, and was followed by the others of the party ; and urging my horse, reached Bámíân while it was yet day. I found that the khân had removed

from the castle of Saiyadabád to that before the colossal statues, in which he formerly resided, and where Mír Yezdânbaksh had been slain. Before reaching it, I was met by my companion Sirkerder Kamber, who led me to his quarters.

CHAPTER XVIII.

Proposal of the Hazáras. — Surrender of Kârzár. — Proceedings of the khân's brothers.—Introduction of Saiyad Shâh Abbás.—Fine imposed. — Destruction of his castle. — Fresh departure from Bámíân. — Accident on the road. — Indifference of horsemen.—The khân's conference with Jehândád Khân.—Arrival at Kâlú. — Khân Máhommed Khân.—His quarters.—Distressed Hazáras.—Hâjikak.—Castle of Kârzár.—Unpleasant situation.—Castles.—Admittance refused. — Vain assault.—Final arrangement. — Good quarters. — River Helmand.—Yúrt.—Honai.—Castles of Ismael Khân. — Violence and altercation. — Robbery.—Admission to castle. — Apology and repast. — Terrific wind — Its effects.—Enter village.—Reception.—Halt.—Progress to Kábal.—Arrival.

WE now learned that the Hazáras of Kârzár had despatched letters to the khân, offering to surrender the castles, if assured of indemnity for the past by the guarantees of Réhimdád Khân and Máhommed Alí Beg. It was singular to observe these men reduced to the necessity of seeking protection from their avowed enemies, and how fortune seemed to favour the khân's designs, by his adversaries voluntarily coming forward and relieving him from a state of embarrassment. Réhimdád Khân and Máhommed Alí Beg had been immediately despatched to Kârzár, and ere they reached it it was found

that Názir Mír Alí and Kâsim Khân were on the road to Bámiân to pay their respects to the khân. They arrived, and were courteously received, the khân telling Názir Mír Alí that he had a better opinion of him for having held out the castle, than he would have had had he surrendered it on hearing of his mír's death. Tidings of the occupation of the castles of Kârzár now reached, and the road to Kâbal became open.

The khân's two brothers, Dáoud Máhoméd Khân and Khân Máhoméd Khân, had before, with Saiyad Máhoméd Khân, Paghmání, taken oaths that they would not return to Bámiân, and had each thrown three stones on the ground, vowing they would have no farther connexion with the khân, agreeably to an Afghân custom, called "Sang talák," or divorce by stones. Dáoud Máhoméd Khân, in observance of his oath, was at Irâk, and Khân Máhoméd Khân, with like scruples, occupied some caves below Bámiân. Saiyad Máhoméd Khân failing in his negotiations with the Shékh Alí Hazáras for a passage, returned without hesitation to Bámiân; as an Afghân, considering oaths trivial matters, or, as a saiyad, looking upon himself privileged to disregard them. He brought also with him the sons and brothers of Saiyad Shâh Abbás of Bitchílík, and introduced them to the khân's acquaintance, which subsequently became so intimate that the khân imposed a fine of five thousand rupees on the sai-yad, who procuring a letter from the sirdár of

Kâbal in his favour, the khan first pillaged and then demolished his castle, writing to the sirdâr that his letter unfortunately had come too late. The saiyad, exaggerating, possibly, estimated his loss of property at twenty thousand rupees. The khân visited his brother, Khân Máhomed Khân, in the caves, and much urged him to remain at Bámiân. The latter was inflexible, and many high words passed, and it was finally agreed that each should no longer consider the other as a brother, and written documents to that effect were interchanged. But it was all a farce: Khân Máhomed Khân's departure was concerted; and if the khân's designs were liable to suspicion by the sirdâr of Kâbal, it was necessary that the loyalty of Khân Máhomed should not be suspected. Dáoud Máhomed Khân had consented to remain. I now made arrangements to accompany Khân Máhomed Khân.

It being understood that Khân Máhomed Khân would pass the night at Topchí, I was in no great hurry to start from Bámiân, and remained there until midday. The khân himself took horse, and had proceeded to Ahínghar for the purpose, as was supposed, of conferring with his brothers. Dáoud Máhomed Khân, I knew, had been summoned from Irák. I now followed him alone, a young man of Kâbal, who had engaged to attend my horse on the road, being to join at Topchí. Passed down the valley of Bámiân; and at some distance beyond the castle of Amír Máhomed Tâjik,

where the road borders on a precipice, was assailed by the cries of two youths, cutting ghaz-bushes in the valley of the river beneath. They were too distant to be intelligibly heard, but I found that they directed my attention to something below the precipice. Discovering, after some trouble, a path down into the bed of the valley, I found lying in agony, and with countenances pale as death, Saiyad Abdúlah and his son, noticed as being inmates of the Sandúk Khâna tent in the Bísút expedition. They had obtained permission from the khân to return to Kâbal, and he had given to them one of the running camels brought from Sind, which carried both, and, mounted on this animal, they had left Bámíân to join Khân Máhoméd Khân. The camel at this dangerous spot had slipped, or trod falsely, and precipitated himself and riders from a height of seventy or eighty feet. The animal was killed on the spot; the men were still living: nor did I know the extent of the injury they had received. Two horsemen joined us, and I wished the saiyyad and his son to be conveyed to the Tâjik's castle behind, but this was refused, the horsemen asking, when had Tâjiks become Mússulmâns? As I could not carry them myself, all to be done was, to collect their effects and place them under their heads. On reaching Ahínggar, I found the khân sitting on an eminence south of the castles, in conversation with Dáoud Máhoméd Khân, his náib Sádádín,

Múlla Jân Máhoméd the envoy from Sind, and Jehândád Khân, a Khâka; the two latter proceeding to Kâbal. I joined the group; and although the discourse was in Pashto, was able to comprehend the general drift. The khân, adverting to the probability of Dost Máhoméd Khân's displeasure, or suspicions, desired Jehândád to represent to him the important services rendered, with which, if satisfied, well; if not, turning to the castles in view, he said, Here I have castles, villages, and gardens, and can content myself. Dáoud Máhoméd Khân smiled, and observed, he feared the sirdár would say that Hâjí had taken to his "âkbal tagghí," or, his own peculiar mode of humbugging. The khân, on rising, gave me in charge to Múlla Jân Máhoméd and Jehândád Khân, urging their attention to me on the road, and instructing them to tell Khân Máhoméd Khân not to suffer me to incur any expense to Kâbal.

In company with my new companions, we passed Topchí, when I found our destination was Kâlú. We crossed the Kotal Shutar Girdân, and descended into the valley of Morí, when yet a glimmering of light remained. As we ascended it darkness set in, and although the road was intricate and dangerous, and some of the animals sometimes slipped, we reached Kâlú in safety. We repaired to the castle of Mír Zaffer's brother, who took us to the míhmân khâna, where again was Shâhghâssí Saifadín and his party. They were

unwilling, as before, to receive me, but admitted my companions, who made me over to a Hazára, telling him to conduct me to Khân Máhoméd Khân. I was taken to a castle a little north, and introduced to Khân Máhoméd Khân, sitting by a cheerful fire in a spacious room, with some one lying by his side hidden under bed-clothes. He was excessively angry with Múlla Jân Máhoméd for having turned me adrift at so unreasonable an hour, and said, that but for his female companion—the hidden thing under the bed-clothes proved to be a Hazára kaníz, or slave-girl—I should have shared his apartment. As it was I was furnished with supper, and then provided with lodging in another apartment, where were four or five horses. Although so late, chaff and barley were produced for my horse, by a brother or son of Mír Zaffer. I may observe, that as we traced the valley of Morí we met a number of men, women, and children, Hazáras of Kálú, who had been compelled to abandon their dwellings to the Afghân soldiery, and with weepings and lamentations, were proceeding, I presume, to the caves at Morí.

Early in the morning our horses were saddled, and understanding the night was to be passed at Girdan Díwâl, I proceeded, falling in with such horsemen as first advanced, without communicating with Khân Máhoméd Khân. As we traced the vale of Kálú the snow began to lie heavy on the

soil, increasing in quantity as we neared the Kotal or pass of Hâjîkak. The ascent of the kotal was comparatively easy, and the road, if free from snow, is probably good: the descent is much more steep, and was now very troublesome. At the base of the kotal on this side was a castle to the left, called Hâjîkak. We now entered the valley of Kârzâr, and our road was strewn with the skeletons of the animals that had perished during the march of the Ghûlâm Khâna troops. After some distance we reached the two castles of Kârzâr, one seated left of the rivulet, and the other, that built by Mîr Yezdânbaksh, right of it, and on the line of the road. The latter was garrisoned by Afghâns, and the former by Mâhomed Alî Beg and his Sêghânehîs. From Kârzâr the valley widens a little, and afterwards expands at a place called Sêh Killa (the three castles), where were, indeed, the number indicated of inhabited castles, and two or three ruinous ones. Hence the valley again contracts until we reach Sîah Sang (the black rock), where Mîr Yezdânbaksh slew the Vakîl Saifûlah, the murderer of his father, who himself was also slain here. At this spot it is connected with another, turning to the right, which we followed. We marched until dark, and I had the mortification to learn that Khân Mâhomed Khân had remained at Kârzâr. I was, therefore, in a manner alone, and left to my own exertions and the favour of heaven. The horsemen in front of me had proceeded until no vestige of a

path was discernible, and as it was night they were in much perplexity. We had, without knowing it, arrived at the spot where the valley of Síáh Sang opens into that of the Helmand river. After much search a path was reported, leading up the eminences on our right: this was pursued, and brought us on a table space, which we traversed, in hopes of finding some inhabited spot. We came upon two castles, the inmates of which manned the walls, and loudly protested against our halting. The whole body of horse collected around the second castle, and as snow was falling, and our situation was becoming very desperate, some of the most belligerent of the party called upon their companions, styling them the victors of Séghân and Káhmerd, and exclaimed, it would be disgraceful if they could not compel the Hazáras to admit them. The gates of the castle were assailed by axes and stones, but in vain, when the owner offered, if his guests quietly took up quarters under the walls, to provide them with fuel and chaff; but he peremptorily affirmed that none should be admitted within the castle. These terms were accepted. It was soon discovered that the two castles belonged to two brothers, Máhoméd Shaffí Khân and Máhoméd Hassan Khân, Talishes, and not Hazáras. The latter was present, the former at Kâbal. My condition was not much improved, having no one that I could claim as a companion, and no one willing to admit me as such. In this dilemma I addressed myself to Máhoméd Hassan Khân, who was now

busy among the men in promoting their arrangements. He instantly took my hand, and put it into that of one his servants, telling him to take me and my horse to the farther castle. Here I was comfortably lodged, had a good supper, and the sons of my landlords passed a good part of the night with me in chit-chat. I found the name of the place was Tabúr, and that it was part of the district of Girdan Díwâl.

In the morning we retraced the road to the junction of the valley of Síáh Sang with that of the Helmand river, which we crossed, the stream flowing under ice. On the eminences to our left were two or three castles and kishláks, and in front of them were sitting numbers of Hazáras, with their firelocks, not, as I imagine, for the purpose of annoying us, but of securing themselves from interruption. From the Helmand we ascended the valley, leading southerly for some distance, and then another, stretching easterly, which finished in an ascent rather than a kotal, which brought us on the plain of Yúrt, of some extent. Here were three castles visible, much to the left of the road; the nearest one, of superior construction, was that of Mír Afzil. From Yúrt another ascent, or slight kotal, brought us into the plain of Kirghú, at the base of the Kotal Honai. The passage of this kotal was difficult, and there were few traces of a road. However, we succeeded in crossing it, and descended into the valley of Honai, it being still daylight. Many took

up quarters at Killa Vazír, the castle of Zúlfakár Khân; others, with myself, proceeded. On reaching the castle of Mastapha Khân entrance was refused, and we went on until we reached the castles at the opening of Sir Chishma, belonging to Ismael Khân Merví. It was now night, and admittance alike refused. The heroes of Káhmerd and Séghân again had recourse to ineffectual menace and violence; the walls of the castles were manned, and some shots, probably blank ones, fired from them. The party at length contented themselves with a large stable and masjít without the walls. I here saw no remedy but passing the night on the ground, and the best place I could find was under the gateway of the castle. My postín was wet on the outside, as a good deal of snow had fallen during the day, but I had a large excellent nammad, or felt, fastened behind my saddle, which I now trusted would avail me, but on rising from the ground, where I had been sitting, with my horse's bridle in my hands, I found it had been cut away. While uttering fruitless denunciations against the robber, a voice from within the castle whispered to me, that if I sat a little while till the Afghâns were settled I should be admitted. These were glad tidings, and the promise was fulfilled; the gates were opened, and myself and horse dragged in. I was led to a warm apartment, where was a sandallí, and thrusting my legs under it, was as comfortable as I could be.

In the morning an excellent breakfast of stewed fowl was provided, it having been discovered that I was a Feringhí, and not a Telinghí, as had been at first supposed; and some of the ladies of Ismael Khân, who proved to be in the castle, sent an apology for having lodged me the night with grooms. This was unnecessary; I was too grateful for the shelter afforded to quarrel with the company I found myself in, and desiring my thanks to be conveyed, mounted and left the castle. There arose a terrific south wind, which carried the drifting snow before it. I had never in my life witnessed anything so violent, and until now had never formed a just conception of the effects of a wind-tempest during winter in these regions. I bore up, however, against it, successively passing through the districts of Sir Chishma, Tírkhâna, and Jelléz, when my powers yielded, and I found myself becoming insensible. Fortunately, at this critical moment a village was a little right of the road, to which I turned my horse, who also had become faint. Crossed the stream of the valley by a bridge, and entered the village on its bank. Threw myself from the horse, and entered, without ceremony, the first house with open door. The master, who saw how things stood, recommended me to the masjít, engaging to take care of my horse. I replied, my good man, I am a Feringhí, and what have I to do with the masjít. On which he instantly led me into an upper apartment, occupied by a brother.

There was a sandallí ; my boots were pulled off, and my feet examined, which had suffered no injury. My new host, seeing a good Hazára barrak bound round my waist, offered to receive it in lieu of other remuneration, and to kill a sheep in the evening. I gave it to them on condition, that if the wind continued on the morrow they should not turn me out of doors. My right eye had been affected by the snow, and became very painful towards night ; after trying a variety of experiments, the pain yielded to the application of pressure.

On the morrow, the wind continuing with unabated violence, I halted at Zémanní, agreeably to engagement. My landlords here were men engaged in petty traffic with the districts of Séghân, Káhmér, the Dasht Saféd, &c. They affirmed, that they were at a castle on the Dasht Saféd when Hájí Khân made his reconnoissance, and that had he advanced the Tátars would have fled.

From Zémanní, the wind having ceased, I started for Kâbal, and arrived before sunset. My Armenian friends were rejoiced to see me again, and forgetting the perils of the road and the rigours of Bámíân, I passed in their society a pleasant evening, which, by their calculation, was that of Christmas-day.

END OF THE SECOND VOLUME.

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NARRATIVE
OF VARIOUS JOURNEYS
IN
BALOCHISTAN, AFGHANISTAN,
THE PANJAB, & KALÂT,

During a Residence in those Countries.

TO WHICH IS ADDED,

AN ACCOUNT OF THE INSURRECTION AT KALÂT, AND A MEMOIR ON
EASTERN BALOCHISTAN.

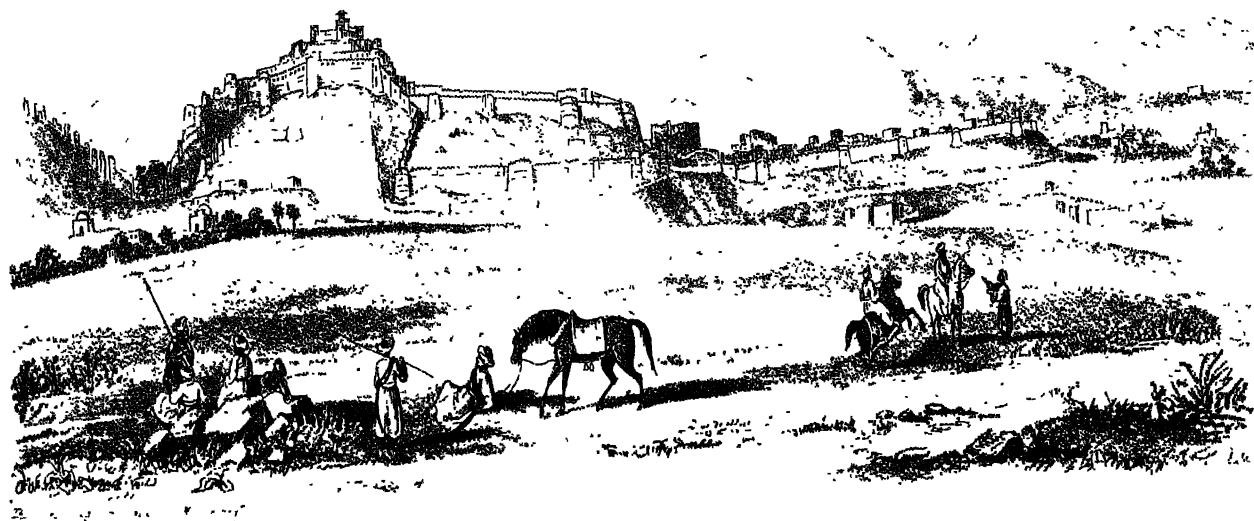
BY CHARLES MASSON, Esq.

ILLUSTRATED WITH A LARGE MAP AND NUMEROUS ENGRAVINGS.

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VIEW of the BALLA HISSAR BALIA or UPPER CITADEL of KABUL from the SOUTH

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JOURNEYS

IN

BALOCHISTAN, AFGHANISTAN, AND THE PANJAB.

CHAPTER I.

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A FEW days after my return to Kâbal I was surprised by a visit from a person announcing himself as Saiyad Keramat Alí, agent of the Supreme Government of India. He informed me of his travels, as companion of Lieutenant Arthur Conolly,

and of his adventures at Kâbal. It appeared, that he had wished to preserve his incognito; but a letter, destined for Herát, having been intercepted, his existence, and the nature of his employment, became revealed, and he was consigned to the bandí-khâna, or prison, of Dost Máhoméd Khân. The Nawâb Jabâr Khân embraced with alacrity the opportunity afforded of showing his good-will to Europeans, and to those connected with them, and urged to his brother, that he had a singular method of evincing his desire to cultivate a friendship with the Sâhibân of Hind, by placing the first of their agents sent to Kâbal in durance. The chief smiled, and admitted there was reason in the nawâb's rebuke, while he called for the saiyad, that he might hear what he had to say for himself. His tale was, that his sole business was to procure intelligence of Abbâs Mírza and his movements. Dost Máhoméd Khân observed, "Very good, they interest me also; take care not to write anything about me." The nawâb joyfully carried off the saiyad, and installed him in apartments of his own house, where, under that good man's protection, he securely and unreservedly prosecuted his vocations.

As the appointment of this saiyad proved the first step in the intercourse between the Government of India and the Bárák Zai chiefs, it may be profitable to note the causes leading to it, and to explain its nature. Lieutenant Arthur Conolly's

travels are before the public. I have never read them, but am aware that he experienced difficulties at Herát, which were relieved by a saiyyad of Peshing, Maihín Shâh, who accompanied him to Calcutta, and was munificently rewarded. As the saiyyad was considered, in Afghânistân, to have as much profited by the necessities of Lieutenant Conolly as to have assisted him, the extraordinary liberality shown to him was matter of surprise; nor did I fully understand it, until I was told by that officer himself, in 1840, that the saiyyad had the merit of having served a connexion of the then Mr. Secretary Macnaghten. It is fair to add, that the saiyyad has not proved himself unworthy or ungrateful for the bounties he received; however, he might have been less favourably noticed had he been useful to any other individual.

As the Government had interested itself as regarded Saiyyad Maihín, it was also bound to extend its patronage to Saiyyad Keramat Alí, the companion of Lieutenant Conolly; and it was proposed to him that he should repair to Kândahár, and furnish, from time to time, reports on the proceedings of Abbás Mírza. I believe the Government at that time attached little consequence to the movements of the crown prince of Persia, and adopted merely the suggestion of the saiyyad himself, who objected, however, to Kândahár, and preferred Kábal, which was assented to, with an in-

junction that he was not even to report what passed there. After the *saiyad* was established firmly in Kâbal, and had more or less intercourse with parties there, he introduced certain matter in his reports, for which he was rebuked by Captain Wade, the political agent at Lúdíána, to whom they were addressed; but, subsequently, that functionary informed him that such subjects would be agreeable, as well as any remarks he might make on them; and, thus encouraged, no doubt the *saiyad* did as he was wished to do. I can state, on his own authority, that he recommended the formation of a Presidency, the capital of which he suggested should be Haidarabád in Sind.

The *saiyad* was more liberal in religious opinions than was, perhaps, necessary or decent; and, as the month of Rámazân came on, I had much of his company, owing to his aversion to fasting, which, to save appearances, it was not right to display in the *nawâb's* house.

Throughout January and February the rigour of the season was excessive. Without thermometer, I could not verify the depression of temperature, but its effects demonstrated it must have been very low. Copper vessels burst during the nights, and wine, a rare occurrence, was frozen.

In the last days of February a thaw took place, and on the 1st of March a swallow was observed, and hailed as an omen of the approach of spring. About the middle of February wild ducks and

sparrows were exposed for sale in the bazars, and shortly afterwards pâlak, or spinach, was procurable, with the tender shoots of the fish plant, here employed as vegetables, and gathered from the sun-exposed skirts of the hills.

With the month of March an evident change in the weather was perceptible. Water no longer froze, while showers of mingled snow and rain fell. Towards Noh Roz a general thaw commenced, and although pure snow descended so late as 21st March, it did not remain on the soil. It is esteemed fortunate by agriculturists when winter is accompanied by large quantities of snow, which is supposed both to promote the fecundity of the earth and to protect the grain sown in autumn, from which the spring crops are matured. Two kinds of snow are, however, distinguished, the warm and cold; the first is beneficial, the last prejudicial. Warm snow, in fact, implies pure snow, and cold snow, frozen, or iced snow. To the inhabitants of the city an excess in the flaky supply is not only inconvenient but induces more serious evil. Now that a thaw took place, in consequence of the mud walls of the buildings having become completely saturated with moisture, their foundations yielded to the pressure of the weight above them, and very many houses fell in. Each accident was announced by a tremendous crash. In my neighbourhood two or three dwellings were involved in ruin. It was consolatory amid these casualties to know

that little or no personal injury was sustained by the inhabitants; a conservative power seemed to watch over human life. Children, as usual in cases of calamity, paraded the roofs of the tenements, invoking the intercession with heaven of their Prophet and saints.

On the 28th March the fields in the country were so free from snow that the annual rural festival, called Nazzar, or offering to Bábá Adam, was celebrated. On this occasion the zamíndárs, or cultivators, yoke their oxen to their ploughs, and exercise the cattle, initiatory to the labours of the year. The day is closed in festivity.

Dry frosts distinguished the beginning of April, and water once or twice was slightly iced over. I was now able to extend my walks without the gates, and watch the starting into life of the various spring flowers which embellish the meadows and the skirts of the hills. Of numerous species the earlier were bulbs. The first which appears is called Gúl Noh Roz, the flower of the new year. It bears a minute yellow blossom, but is so abundant as to clothe with a golden garb the lower eminences, on which it delights. Water-fowl were now plentiful in the marshes about the city, which were frequented by the shikáris, or fowlers. The sirdár's falconers would wade in the water, and occasionally let fly their hawks. I observed another mode employed to counteract the shyness of the birds. Two men with jísâls, long heavy

muskets, would creep behind a bullock, directed towards the fowls, and when sufficiently near, fire leisurely over the animal's back at them. In this month many of the birds that retired at the approach of winter, again made their appearance; swallows, pigeons, wagtails, and the múrg súlímân; the lark also renewed his carols. Flies, gnats, and at length the butterfly, flitted in the vernal sunshine. Gnats are not generally troublesome at Kâbal, but about this time vast numbers are generated on the margins of the marshes and swamps. In the evening, when myriads are on the wing, it is prudent to avoid them. About the middle of April chúkrí, or the green leaf-stalks of the rhubarb-plant, were brought from the hills of Paghmân. In a week they were followed by rawâsh, or the tended and blanched stalks. The inhabitants rejoiced at the presence of one of their luxuries. The coriander-plant, cultivated in the gardens of the city, was now seen in the markets, being made to serve as a vegetable. On the 10th of the month, April, the river flowing through the city was so swollen by melted snows, that apprehensions were raised that it would inundate its banks. Much alarm prevailed, and the residents in the quarters most exposed to danger removed their effects, many to the Bálla Hissár. The houses of my Armenian friends were crammed with the chattels of their acquaintance. Public criers proclaimed throughout the bazars the sirdár's orders,

that every person should bring four stones to contribute to the construction and renewal of the bands, or barriers. It was waggishly remarked, that had Dost Máhomed Khân ordered séh sang, or three instead of four stones, compliance would have been general. It is customary with Afghâns expelling their wives, to cast in succession three stones on the ground, at the same time exclaiming “Yek tillâk,—do tillâk,—seh tillâk;” or, once divorce, twice divorce, thrice divorce. The same observance is usual on the dissolution of friendship, or connexion with any one. On the 17th April a slight earthquake engaged momentary attention; on the 19th April a very smart one succeeded. I had become somewhat accustomed to these phenomena, yet not altogether reconciled to them. It is esteemed correct and deferential to the will of heaven to sit tranquil during their occurrence. As the rafters of my chamber quivered and rattled over my head, I could not but fancy that it was safer to be outside. Commonly the shock is so transient that it has passed as soon as felt. Willows had now become leafed, and many of the trees began to display incipient foliage. The chief attraction of this month, however, was the shakúfa, or blossoming of the fruit-trees. The orchards were thronged by parties to witness, and luxuriate in the delightful visions they exhibited. The environs of the city have, indeed, at this time a beautiful appearance, but imagination can scarcely picture

the enchanting prospects afforded by the picturesque valleys of Paghmân and Koh Dâman. In the flower-gardens, and at zîárats, the narkis, or narcissus, and the zambak, or sweet-flag, expanded into bloom; and on the hills the lâla, or wild tulip, charmed with its infinite variety. At some few of the zîárats the splendid arghawân-tree, arrayed in clusters of red flowers, produced in the scenery of the hills almost a magic effect. This tree, sparingly found at Kâbal, as at Panjah Shâh Mîrdân, Jehân Bâz, Kheddar, and Báber Bâdshâh, abounds at the locality of Séh Yârân, or the Three Friends, and between it and Tope Dara, in the neighbourhood of Chárikâr in the Kohistân. The spot is, moreover, commemorated by Baber, who ordered the construction of a summer-house, and planted some chanâr, or plane-trees at it, possibly those which are now to be seen there. Commanding an extensive view, it was adapted to the indulgence of his festive recreations, and enabled him in season to enjoy the fairy-like prospect of the flowering arghawâns. These cover the rising grounds to the skirts of the hills, and owing to the space over which they are spread, in blossom produce a truly gorgeous scene, which may be explained perhaps by the native assertion, that the plain is on fire. I am not certain what tree the arghawân may be, nor of its native soil, for it is a stranger at Séh Yârân, and thence was introduced into the zîárats of Kâbal. The stems and branches

are covered with clusters of flowers, of a bright pink hue, followed by seed-pods. The leaves somewhat resemble those of the lilac-tree. Baber, or his translator, mentions, I believe, two arghawâns, the red and the yellow. The latter is a very different plant, and called arghawân unjustly. It is common on all the plains of the country, also on those of Balochistân, and Persia. In the latter region it is named mahâk. It is a shrubby plant, bearing clusters of yellow pea-like flowers, with compound alternate leaves. It is one of the very numerous natural objects whose beauty is not prized because it is not rare. The arghawân is a small tree.

At the close of April the celebration of the Id Khúrbân, or great Máhomedan festival in commemoration of the triumph of the faith of Abraham, gave an opportunity for the display of much pomp and festivity. The day was ushered in with salutes of artillery, and the sirdár, in state, repaired to the Id Gâh without the city, and repeated public prayers. He took advantage of the occasion to confer a handsome khelat, or dress of honour, upon the notorious Abdúl Samad.

This man, it may be noted, arrived from Pesháwer during March. A profligate adventurer, originally of Tabréz, he had flagrantly signalised himself in every country he had visited, as well as in his native land, which he was compelled to fly. He had been at Bagdád, in India, Sind, and the Panjâb. At Pesháwer he had ingratiated himself in

the favour of Súltân Máhomed Khân, and had been appointed to raise a battalion of infantry. His unprincipled actions and his audacity had made him many enemies, and fearing the result of some discussions which had originated, he decamped, and contrived to reach Kâbal. Dost Máhomed Khân was not satisfied that his fear of Súltân Máhomed Khân was real, and suspected that he came with some sinister purpose, in concert with that chief. After receiving him in the most courteous manner, he ordered him and his property to be seized. The sirdár had, indeed, been told that Abdúl Samad possessed some fifty thousand ducats. The confiscation brought to light about six hundred rupees, and the sirdár felt ashamed at his unprofitable breach of hospitality. Abdúl Samad had not been idle. Although confined, he had, through the medium of a female singer, and superannuated Kinchiní, interested in his favour one of the sirdár's wives, the mother of Máhomed Akbár Khân. He caused to be represented to her, how useful he might prove in case of accident to the sirdár, in securing the succession to her son, who could not hope to sit in his father's place without opposition from his uncles, and even from his brothers. The fond mother induced her son to support Abdúl Samad, who was not only released, but an ill-formed battalion, under one Shâh Máhomed Khân, was transferred to him, with instructions to organize and perfect it. The adventurer soon became

as absolute at Kâbal as he had been at Peshâwer, and his ascendancy seemed to prove Dost Máhoméd Khân in no wise superior to his brother as to sense or principle. If it were wished to believe that the Kâbal chief was a good man, his connection with Abdúl Samad belies the supposition, and establishes the reverse. Cognizant of his many enormities, he could only have retained him as a fit and ready instrument of villany. There must have been no little congeniality of disposition in the bosom of the sirdâr, to have caused him, on the account of so profligate a character, to endanger his own reputation, and set public opinion at defiance. It would have been entirely needless to have noticed such a man in these pages had he not subsequently given a mischievous bias to the politics of Kâbal.

I shall have occasion hereafter again to mention him, and to allude to the circumstances which led to his ejection from Kâbal. From thence he went to Bokhâra, and, strange to say, became as powerful for evil there as he had been at Kâbal or Peshâwer,—undoubtedly from ministering to the indulgence of the impure habits which disgrace the present ruler. From the accounts which have transpired concerning the detention and treatment of our countryman, Colonel Stoddart, I fear he has suffered much from the villany of Abdúl Samad, notwithstanding there are statements, if not letters, from the unfortunate officer himself, to the

purport that Abdúl Samad had befriended him. To be befriended by such a man is in itself calamitous.

The month of May commenced with unsettled and variable weather. Showers of rain, and more than once of hail, occurred, accompanied by thunder. Though constant repetition in the plain of Pesháwer, and sometimes extending over Jelálabád, thunderstorms are rare at Kâbal. The opening of spring and the close of autumn may be marked by them. May was also characterized by violent winds from the north and north-west, dreaded by the proprietors of orchards. Rose-trees during this month unfold their blossoms, and many other flowers increase the interest of walks amid the gardens. Báber Bádshah becomes now delightful; but it is not until June that the floral beauties of Kâbal are well developed, or that its groves are fully invested with foliage. In the middle of May lettuces make a grateful addition to the vegetable stores of the bazar, and unripe plums and apricots, here eaten by all classes, nor deemed unwholesome, pour into the markets. Cresses, radishes, and cucumbers are also abundant.

The leisure which my sojourn at Kâbal during this period afforded, gave me an opportunity of becoming better acquainted with the opinions held of Dost Máhoméd Khân, as well as of acquiring a knowledge of his career in life, which before I possessed but imperfectly. As he has since pro-

minently engaged much public attention, even out of his own country, a brief sketch of his history may not be considered by many out of place, especially as erroneous estimates of his character are perhaps generally entertained, and circumstances have given to him a celebrity to which neither his virtues nor ability entitled him; however, as an Afghân ruler he may have been respectable, and even better than most of his contemporaries.

When I first saw him at Ghazní, in 1827, he was tall and spare, his countenance evidently indicating that he had his cares. He was distinguished by his plain white linen attire, in remarkable contrast to the dashing gold-embroidered cloaks and vestments of his surrounding chiefs. Amongst the lower classes of his subjects he was decidedly popular; and at that time I had no opportunity of ascertaining the sentiments of people in higher life. On our road from Kândahár, as we met people and inquired the news of Kâbal, we had but one reply, that it was "abád wa ferímân," flourishing and plentiful. There was but one opinion expressed, that the prosperity was due to the "in-sáf," or justice of Dost Máhoméd Khân. After reaching Kâbal, strolling one day towards the meadows of Chahár Déh, I heard one man complain to another, that some person had thrown his child from the roof, and thereby broken its arm. He was asked, if Dost Máhoméd Khân was dead? No remark was more frequently repeated, in retort to

complaints of injustice, than that Dost Máhoméd Khán was alive. These instances prove the estimation in which he was held by certain classes of his people. I soon discovered that he was in no such repute with his relatives and dependent chiefs, who entertained a very different opinion of him and of his virtues. They considered his pretended moderation and love of justice as mere cloaks to his ambitious policy, and as semblances necessary to keep his followers together, and to prevent them from intriguing and combining with his brothers at Kândahár and Pesháwer.

CHAPTER II.

Sirafráz Khân.—Dost Máhoméd Khân's mother.—Her charms and attractions.—Dost Máhoméd Khân's neglected education.—Fatí Khân's revenge of his father's death.—His successes and elevation.—Youth of Dost Máhoméd Khân.—Máhoméd Azem Khân.—The Vazír's jealousy and remark.—Dost Máhoméd Khân's perfidy.—Seeks refuge in the royal camp.—Máhoméd Azem Khân pacified.—Dost Máhoméd Khân's acquaintance with Jai Singh.—Laxity of Fatí Khân.—Jai Singh's flight to Pesháwer.—Fatí Khân's policy.—Tâjiks of the Kohistân.—Their condition.—Dost Máhoméd Khân appointed to the Kohistân.—His proceedings.—Khwoja Khânjî inveigled and slain.—Slaughter of Koh Dáman chiefs.—Treatment of robber chiefs.—Improved state of Koh Dáman.—Fatí Khân's advance upon Taghow.—Fatí Khân's caution.—Recovery of Káshmir.—The Vazír's interview with Ranjit Singh.—Atak sold to Ranjit Singh.—Battle of Haidaro.—Dost Máhoméd Khân's gallantry.—Fatí Khân's military talent.—His suspicious conduct.—Activity of his enemies.—Expedition projected.—Fatí Khân's return to Kâbal.—His triumph over his enemies.—March to Herát.—Hâjî Khân's early career.—Friendship with Dost Mahomed Khân.—Relieves his necessities.—Seizure of Firoz Dín.—Dost Mahomed Khân's criminal conduct.—Flight to Káshmir.—Shâhzâda Kámrân.—His character.—His jealousy of Fatí Khân.—Fatí Khân's supposed views.—Popular conjectures.—Shâhzâda Kámrân prompted to action.—His sister's reproach.—The Vazír's action with Kajar.—His wound and retreat.—Fatí Alí Shâh's apprehension and remark.—State of Afghânistân.—Fatí Khân's seizure the signal for the dissolution of the monarchy.—Fúr Dil Khân made prisoner by

Shâhzâda Kámran.—Made mîr of the Bârak Zai tribe.—Escapes to Andâlî.—Hâjî Khân declines the Shâhzâda's offers. — Joins Fûr Dil Khân.—Sons of Sirafrâz Khan.—List and disposition of them.

DOST MAHOMED KHAN is one of the younger sons of Sirafrâz Khân, the Bârak Zai sirdâr, slain by order of Shâh Zemân at Kândahâr, in 1799. Like all good Dûránî chiefs, Sirafrâz Khân had many wives, of all classes and descriptions, and by them a numerous progeny. The mother of Dost Máhoméd Khân was of a Júânshír family, and it may be presumed handsome and engaging, as she was latterly the most favoured lady of the háram, and the only one who, in her tour of conjugal duty, when her lord was on marches, had the power to retain him in her company until the morning, on which account the troops blessed her, and would have been pleased if it had always been her tour, for they enjoyed their rest, which was sadly disturbed in the case of his other wives, for, seemingly to get away from them, the old sirdâr would march at midnight.

At the time Sirafrâz Khân was slain he had twenty-two sons living. Dost Máhoméd Khân, and his only full, and younger brother, Amír Máhoméd Khan, were then mere children. To the loss of his father at so early an age may be partly owing that the future chief of Kâbal was allowed to grow up untutored and illiterate. Fatí Khan, the elder son of Sirafrâz Khân, who, if some

accounts be correct, was more guilty than his sire, fled to Andálí, the family castle on the Helmand, and the next year, in concert with Shâhzâda Máhmúd, took Kândahâr, and the year following the dispersal of the royal army at Nání made him master of Kâbal, and subsequently of the person of Shâh Zemân, whose loss of sight atoned for a similar injury previously inflicted by him upon Shâhzâda Húmaiún.

The fortunate Máhmúd became invested with regal power, and the adventurous Fatí Khân with the dignity of Vazír. This order of things was not, however, so firmly established but that it was overthrown by a new revolution, which placed on the throne Sújáh al Múlk, a full brother of Shâh Zemân. The blinded prince was released from captivity, and Shâh Máhmúd took his place. In course of time the latter found means to escape; and Fatí Khân, ever ready for bold emprise, by another desperate effort, effected the expulsion of Shâh Sújáh al Múlk. I have no more than alluded to these events, because up to this time Dost Máhoméd Khân was not yet heard of, indeed was too young to take share in them, or otherwise to attract attention. On the second assumption of power by Shâh Máhmúd he was advancing in youth, and was always about the person of his brother the Vazír, rather as a dependant than a relative, performing even menial offices, such as serving him with wine, and preparing his chillam.

The course of events led the court to Pesháwer; when Dost Máhomed Khân first brought himself into notice by an atrocious deed, which well marked his reckless and daring disposition. Amongst the many brothers of the vazír, Máhomed Azem Khân, of nearly the same age, was distinguished by his dignified deportment and propriety of conduct. He was also very attentive in the administration of his affairs. The vazír, so indifferent to his personal matters that frequently no dinner was prepared for him, and his horses were standing without barley, was piqued at the better management of his brother, and felt annoyed when he heard him lauded. He imputed the prosperous condition of his establishments to the ability of the sáhibkár, or steward, Mírza Alí Khân, who, he used to observe, had made a “shaks,” or man, of his brother. One day, exhilarated by wine, he exclaimed, “Would to God that some one would kill Mírza Alí, and deliver me from dread of Máhomed Azem Khân.” Dost Máhomed Khân, present, asked if he should kill the mírza; the vazír replied “Yes, if you can.” Next morning, Dost Máhomed Khân placed himself on the road of the mírza, in the bazar of Pesháwer, and as he proceeded to pay his respects to his employer, accosted him with “How are you, Mírza?” placed one hand upon his waist-shawl, and with the other thrust a dagger into his bosom. He immediately galloped off, not to the quarters of the vazír, but to the tent of

Ibráhím Khân, Jemshídí, a sirdár of note, and in favour with Shâh Máhmúd. Here he was within the circle of the royal tents, and it would have been indecorous to have removed him : perhaps his reason for seeking refuge there. Máhomed Azem Khân was naturally incensed upon hearing of the catastrophe, and vowing that nothing but Dost Máhomed Khân's blood could atone for that of his ill-fated mírza, in violent anger sought the vazír. That profligate man expressed his contrition that an accidental remark made by him, in his cups, should have caused the perpetration of so foul a crime, but pointed out, that the mírza could not be recalled to life; that Dost Máhomed was still a brother; that if it were determined to punish him he could not be taken from his asylum; that the impure habits of Shâh Máhmúd and his son Kám-rân were known to all, and if Dost Máhomed, a beardless youth, was left in their power, fresh causes of ridicule and reproach, were likely to arise to the family,—what had been done, could not be undone : it was prudent, therefore, to forget the past, and avert the evil consequences of the future. By such representations and arguments, Máhomed Azem Khân suffered himself to be persuaded, the mírza was forgotten, and Dost Máhomed Khân was brought from the protection of Ibráhím Khân, Jemshídí. The youth had developed talent of high order, and his retinue was increased by the Vazír from three or four horsemen to twenty.

About this time the acquaintance of Dost Máhoméd Khân with the Síkhs commenced, and in a manner which deserves notice, as throwing light on the course of his early life. It can be easily imagined, that the example of the dissolute Fatí Khân must have had a pernicious effect on the morals and habits of those immediately about him, and Dost Máhoméd Khân may claim commiseration when it is considered that he was elevated to manhood amid the disgraceful orgies of his brother. Great suspicion attaches to the character of Fatí Khân personally, and it is believed that in his youth he had made himself subservient to the vilest passions of many. It was also remarked, that until he felt himself securely fixed in power, he did not object to an acquaintance between the depraved Shâh Máhmúd and his younger brothers, and to such an acquaintance a degree of opprobrium was attached by the world, even if unjustly. Jai Singh, brother of Naiál Singh, Attári Wala, was deputed by Ranjit Singh on a mission to Pesháwer, and there became acquainted, the Síkhs say, enamoured of Dost Máhoméd Khân. An endless succession of feasts and entertainments, of riotous debauches and nautches, in the Bâgh Núra Khâka, testified to the friendship between the old Sîkh chieftain and the youthful Dúrání. Jai Singh on his return to Lahore was suspected of having formed too close an intimacy with the vazír, and being otherwise distrusted by Ranjit Singh, he thought it prudent to fly,

and with forty horsemen (Síkhs) he arrived, for the second time, at Pesháwer. He and his followers now swelled the retinue of Dost Máhoméd Khán.

The vazír, on his first accession to office and power, had to contend with the great hereditary sirdárs of the Dúrání clans, who naturally opposed his advancement. Many of these were men of energy and ability, but these qualities were combined with that remarkable simplicity which pervades the Dúrání character. The vazír, by violence or by fraud, was enabled to remove many of them. His ejection was caused by a confederacy of the Súní leaders of Kábal; and on his re-accession to power he judged it expedient for its maintenance, to destroy them. Up to the close of the reign of Sháh Zemân, it does not appear that the Tájiks of the Kohistán excited much notice, probably remitting an easy tribute, and engaged in their internal disputes. From every account, it would appear that from their feuds and violence of character their country was in an awful state of distraction. But they had become inured to warfare, had become supplied with fire-arms, and had learned the use of them, and under the direction of able chieftains, formed in the turbulent times in which they lived, had become undoubtedly formidable. In spiritual affairs, rigid Súnís, they paid implicit obedience to their holy men, the descendants of revered families, who had for centuries been established in the country. The

celebrated Mír Wais availed himself of their powerful aid, and their tumultuous but gallant bands rolled from their hills and valleys as a deluge upon the city. Fatí Khân was compelled to yield, for the time, to the storm. Again in power, it behoved him, he thought, to guard against its recurrence. It was in conformity to his general plans of assuring the stability of his ascendancy, that he placed the governments of the country in the hands and trust of his brothers. The peculiar talent and promise evinced by Dost Máhoméd Khân eminently fitted him for the arduous task of arranging the factions of the Kohistân; and he was appointed hákam, or governor. He was accompanied by his old friend Jai Singh when he marched to assume his charge. It would be too tedious to recount the various events which happened in the Kohistân of Kâbal, consequent on Dost Máhoméd Khân's appointment. It will be sufficient to allude to a few of them, and to note the general results.

Dost Máhoméd Khân exercised all his ability; gaining his ends by stratagem or by force, but never employing the latter when the former was sufficient. Some of the obnoxious chiefs he inveigled by Korâns and false oaths; others, by intermarriages,—a means not unfrequently resorted to by Dúránís, to get their enemies into their power, when other wiles have failed. In this mode he obtained a wife from Perwân, and dislocated the union of its chiefs, slaying some, and despoiling

the others. The sturdy leaders of the Kohistân, were successively circumvented and disposed of. One of the most potent and cautious, Khwoja Khânjî, of Kârrézaî, was nearly the only one who remained, and he had rejected every overture, and refused to attend upon any consideration the camp of the sirdâr. It was felt by Dost Máhoméd Khân that nothing was done while Khwoja Khânjî remained in being, and he redoubled his exertions to ensnare him. He sent Korân after Korân; engaged to marry his daughter; but could not entice the old chieftain from his castle. The Khwoja, like every man in the Kohistân, had enemies. The chief most inimical to him, was in attendance upon Dost Máhoméd Khân. This Sirdâr, as a last means of winning the confidence of the Khwoja, put his enemy to death, claiming the merit of having proved the sincerity of his desire to become friendly with him at the risk of incurring disgrace in the eyes of the world. The murder took place at Baiyân, and Dost Máhoméd Khân invited the Khwoja to meet him, and cement their friendly understanding, at the castle of his former foe. The Khwoja was now overcome, and to fulfil his destiny, repaired to Baiyân. He came, however, with a most numerous retinue. Dost Máhoméd Khân received him with all politeness and humility; a thousand protestations of friendship and service flowed from his lips; he addressed the old man as his father, and, it may be, lulled his suspicions.

At night Dost Máhoméd Khân took the hand of the Khwoja, and led him within the castle, that he might witness the preparation of an inventory of the effects of the slain, observing, that it was necessary, as the Khwoja knew what a particular man the vazír was. As soon as the castle was entered the gates were closed, and as the Khwoja passed into an apartment, said to be the tosha khâna, Dost Máhoméd Khân gave the signal, in Túrki, to his Kazilbâsh attendants, who cut their victim down. His head, severed from his body, was thrown from the battlements amongst his followers. In the first transports of their indignation they commenced an attack upon the castle, but disunited and disconcerted, they retired before morning. Dost Máhoméd Khân was left at leisure to rejoice in his victory, and the triumph of his dexterity. "

The government of the sirdár comprised the Koh Dáman as well as the Kohistân; and there was ample room for the exercise there also of his tact and severity. The slaughter of eight chiefs on the same day at Chárikár, might serve to allay the apprehensions of the vazír for the future, while it promised to guarantee the tranquillity of the country. Saiyad Ashrat Khân, of Hupíân, was deemed too powerful to be allowed to live; and many others, although not equally dreaded, met a similar fate. While these murders, which may be called political ones, were in train of commission, the vigilance of the sirdár was more honourably

directed to the suppression of the robber chiefs, who, with organized bands, devastated the country or infested the communications. These particularly prevailed in the parts of the Koh Dáman, near Kâbal. The robber chiefs and their gangs were natives of the villages, and resided openly in them, and exercised, with the knowledge of all, their furtive profession. Society was on the point of becoming disorganized completely had not a remedy been applied. To these desperadoes Dost Máhoméd Khân adopted a more judicious and manly line of conduct. He tendered them forgiveness for the past, if they resumed honest and lawful occupations; if they persisted in their habits of rapine, to be blown from the cannon's mouth was the penalty of their crime and contumacy. Many accepted the indemnity offered, and even engaged in the sirdár's service; others were speedily taken and put to death. In process of time the Koh Dáman was brought to a state of order and security; surprising, because it had never been known before to exist there. These important transactions were not effected altogether without a display of force; partial revolts had often made it necessary to summons troops from Kâbal, but no very serious conflict ensued upon any occasion. The full-brother of Dost Máhoméd Khân, Amír Máhoméd Khân, who had been appointed hákam at the city, generally marched to the assistance of his brother. In one instance Shâh Máhmúd, in person, with the vazír

Fatí Khân, entered the Kohistán; having made a demonstration in that quarter, the army moved towards Nijrow and Taghow. At the entrance of the two valleys a few men in a tower, called Búrj Sákhí, ventured to oppose its progress. A panic seized the troops, who fled, abandoning their equipage. Want of provender and provisions was alleged to justify the retreat, but possibly some unexplained cause led to it.

It was a maxim with the vazír not to allow his brothers to remain too long in governments, both that they might not become too rich, and that they should not forget their dependence on him. He therefore sometimes recalled Dost Máhomed Khân to his presence. Amír Máhomed Khân officiated during his absence, whether occasioned by the precaution of the vazír, or that the services of Dost Máhomed Khân were required elsewhere.

The vazír was accustomed to exclaim "Oh! that God would deliver into my hands Káshmír and Herát; the former that I might possess its revenues, the latter, that my enemies might have no place of refuge." A financial operation, the coinage of base rupees, enabled him to march upon Káshmír, which he recovered from Attá Máhomed Khân, Bá mí Zaí, and his brother-in-law. In this expedition Dost Máhomed Khân was present. The vazír, before he entered the happy valley, had an interview with Ranjit Singh on the bank of the Jélam, the Síkh chief crossing

the river. Here Dost Máhoméd Khân had an opportunity of evincing his instinctive propensity of desiring to punish any one whose folly induced him to place himself in the power of his rival or enemy, by a significant wink to the vazír that the Síkh was at his mercy. After the surrender of Káshmir, which the vazír confided to his brother, Máhoméd Azem Khân, Jehándád Khân, the brother of the displaced Attá Máhoméd Khân, surrendered for a pecuniary consideration the fortress of Atak, of importance from its site to Ranjit Singh. The vazír was induced to attempt its recovery, and engaged a Síkh army, covering it at Haidaro. In this action Dost Máhoméd Khân, at the head of a large body of horse, led the van, broke the Síkh line, and carried their guns. His troops thought the victory decided, and dispersed to plunder; the Síkhs rallied, and the vazír, who should have been ready to have supported the battle, had fled, having been told that Dost Máhoméd Khân was slain. This chief had no alternative but to follow; gaining an increase of reputation, however, by bringing off the vazír's abandoned guns. Fatí Khân, while his personal bravery can hardly be impeached, was very unsuccessful as a general; indeed, he lost nearly every action in which he fought, and triumphed generally over his foes by dispersing them without combat. The means by which he contrived to succeed being inoperative against an external foe, the chance

is, that his reputation would have been impaired had he been much employed on foreign expeditions.

There are still very opposite sentiments expressed in Afghânistan as to the loyalty of Fatí Khân. If carrying on war, and fighting battles contrary to the express orders of his sovereign he acts of rebellion, he was in rebellion when he attacked the Síkhs at Haidaro. But here so much licence is assumed, and so great a latitude is allowed, that it might be unfair to argue from his neglect of his prince's instructions. His judgment may have dictated that the course he adopted was the prudent one in the then state of affairs, and he depended on success to justify himself, or even to claim merit from his easy sovereign. During the operations, however, his enemies at court had not been idle. They had reiterated their suspicions to the Shâh that, master of Kâshmír, Fatí Khân intended to throw off his allegiance and to unmask his designs. An impression, moreover, pervaded the minds of the public that the vazír was yâghí, or in rebellion. Whether he was or not must remain matter of doubt; if he was defeated, it became convenient to disavow it; and from the field of Haidaro he made his way, almost as a courier, to Kâbal. An expedition against Persia for the defence of Herát had been determined upon in his absence, and Shâh Máhmúd was encamped without the city at Alíabád. One morn-

ing, unattended, clad in a postín, and covered with mud, rode galloping into camp Fatí Khân. In his uncouth attire he presented himself before the Shâh, saluting him with a sonorous Salâm álikam. The good-natured prince received him kindly, and the vazír asked what plans were in agitation. On being informed, he said, "Who so fit to contend with Kajar (Persia) as Fatí?" Thus reinstated in his monarch's good opinion, he blackened the faces of his enemies, as the Afghâns express it, that is, he covered them with confusion.

The vazír marched with a formidable army to Herát, and Dost Máhoméd Khân accompanied it. At Kândahár they were joined by the prince Kámran, the governor. To him had repaired the displaced governor of Káshmír; and, known to be jealous of the vazír, his court had become an asylum for all hostile to him. On this march Dost Máhoméd Khân became acquainted with Hájí Khân, Khâka. A soldier of fortune, he had originally served under Shéhin Khân, in the employ of Mastapha Khân, a brother of Máhmúd Khân, the chief of Kalât. Shéhin Khân was a Bábí, and jemadár of some fifty men. Hájí Khân soon became his confidant, and happening to be at Déra Ghází Khân, an incident brought him to the notice of Jabár Khân, half-brother of the vazír, and then governor of the place. Subsequently the vazír arrived at Déra Ghází Khân, and on Hájí Khân being introduced to him, was

so pleased with his manners and history that he pressed him into his service. Hâjî Khân would only consent on condition of his old friend, the Bábí jemadár, receiving the government of Síví. Hâjî Khân soon grew into great favour. He had discernment to discover that Dost Máhoméd Khân was a rising character, and very much attached himself in consequence to him. The sirdár was, as Hâjî Khân once remarked to me, always the most needy of the sons of Sirafráz Khân, and to relieve his necessities was a likely means of securing his good-will. Hâjî Khân made himself useful in this way, and at various times alleviated his embarrassments; not with his own funds, for he had none, but by procuring sums of money from others. Herát was held by the prince Hâjî Firoz Dín, a brother of Shâh Máhmúd. The policy of Fatí Khân required his seizure, and he persuaded Shâh Máhmúd to consent to it. This was effected by stratagem, but the equivocal act had its ruinous consequences. In the confusion Dost Máhoméd Khân, attended by his followers and those of the Sikh Jai Singh, forced the palace of the captive prince, penetrated into the háram, and despoiled its inmates. Amongst other unpardonable deeds, he tore away the jewelled band which secured the perjâmas of the wife of the prince Malek Kâsim, son of the prince Hâjî Firoz Dín. The outraged lady was a sister of the prince Kámrán, and sent her brother her profaned dress.

The prince brother swore revenge. In this miserable affair some of Jai Singh's followers were wounded, and Dost Máhoméd Khân, aware he had everything to fear from the vazír's resentment, fled from Herát, in company with a few servants and the Sikh. He eventually reached Káshmir, where his brother, Máhoméd Azém Khân, placed him under easy restraint, agreeably to orders received from Fatí Khan. The Shâhzâda Kámran, the only son of Shâh Máhmúd, had early given tokens of a spirit which could ill brook to be controlled. Sternly exercising authority, he was conspicuous for unrelenting severity, which he pushed even to brutality. Highly immoral and licentious in his manners and habits, and devoted to all kinds of intemperance, he never in the midst of social or sensual gratifications remitted his inexorable harshness. Yet, withal, he preserved a degree of popularity and respect, derived, perhaps, from his energy and determined character.

Fatí Khân could not but know that to preserve his position it was necessary to provide against Prince Kámran, who was of no temper to submit to his ascendancy. The vazír had as little disposition to allow Shâhzâda Kámran, or any other person, to thwart him in his views, or to stand between him and the preservation of his authority. The suspicions of Fatí Khân's aims, extending to sovereignty, had not diminished, and while the governments of the country were held by his

brothers, it was manifest that but one step more was needful to attain the dangerous pre-eminence. Herát had fallen into his power, the removal of the indolent Shâh Máhmúd and his son would have left him absolute. He had expended, in largesses, during the march to Herát an immense sum, and it was a common opinion that a crisis in affairs was at hand. If he could afford to permit Shâh Máhmúd to have retained the titular distinction and emblems of royalty, it was foreseen that he must destroy Prince Kámrân or be destroyed by him. The one must rid himself of the other,—none could divine whether to-day or to-morrow,—or in this mode or in that,—but all felt that the existence of the two was inconsistent with the policy and feelings each was known to possess. The remnants of the Dúrání nobility had congregated around Prince Kámrân, and constantly excited him to rescue himself and father from the thralldom imposed upon them by Fatí Khân, and to avenge the honour of the Dúrání name by the sacrifice of so debauched and profligate an upstart. The shameless and perfidious acts of Dost Máhomed Khân roused in the prince's bosom the direst feelings of revenge and indignation; nor were they softened when, in his consolatory visits to his sister, she refused to unveil to him until he had by signal vengeance resented the injury offered to her.

The vazír returned to Herát after his unprofitable

campaign against the Persians, to recruit his army for a fresh expedition. He had fought one of his usual unsuccessful battles, and a slight wound, in the face, as some say from a spent shot from the enemy, or, according to others, from the musket of one of his Kazilbâsh adherents, gave him a pretext to abandon the field. Still he had made a noise in Khorasân, and his avowed intention of renewing the war had determined Fatí Alí Shâh to take the field in person. It is said, that it was urged to the shâh that Fatí Khân was but a contemptible enemy; that any one of his sirdârs was sufficient to chastise him. The shâh remarked, that it was true, but that he was "faiz baksh," (prodigal in gifts). The old monarch justly appreciated the character of his enemy, and knew where his tact lay.

The affairs of Afghânistân had become very complicated, and the utmost energy would have been required to sustain it under the pressure of attacks from the east and west. Whether the vazír would have been competent to the task we can hardly now decide. Engaged in hostilities with the Persians on the one side, and the Sîkhs on the other, his seizure, and deprivation of sight by Prince Kám-rân, closed his political career, and was the prelude to the enactment, in rapid succession, of as many strange events, and of as many enormous crimes and perfidies as can be found in the annals of any country. The shout of Vazír Fatí Khân, as the knife of the executioner was thrust into his visual

organs, was that of the expiring Afghân monarchy. The absolute power he coveted, he may be almost said to have neglected to seize when within his grasp, but he bequeathed to his brethren the ample means of securing their independence, and at the same time of avenging him. Few of the vazír's brothers were at Herát when his seizure was effected, and one of them only, Fúr Díl Khân, fell into the power of Prince Kámran, the others escaping. Confined for some time, on taking an oath of allegiance he was released and appointed mír of the Bárak Zai Afghâns, a nominal, if not a ridiculous distinction. Hâjí Khân, Khâka, who had signalized himself in the battle with the Persians, and had been carried from the field grievously wounded, was still lying in the care of the surgeons in the city. Prince Kámran ordered him to be brought in a litter to his presence, and much wished so gallant a man to engage in his service. Hâjí Khân pleaded his obligations to the vazír, and Prince Kámran, who could respect valour and gratitude, was not angered. Subsequently Fúr Díl Khân escaped to Gríshk, where he set on foot, in conjunction with his brothers, levies to oppose Prince Kámran. Hâjí Khân, recovered from his wounds, joined them.

In the occurrences which followed from this period we may consider the vazír as politically dead. His brothers now assumed a prominent part. It has been already noted that Sirafráz Khân, at the time of his execution, had twenty-two sons

living. It may not be improper to introduce a list of them. Serving for record and reference, it will also tend to explain some of the causes of the extraordinary contentions which afterwards existed amongst themselves. It will be found how curiously they were separated into groups, affected by their maternal descent. A history of the Bárak Zai family would illustrate the advantages and disadvantages of polygamy.

Sons of Sirafraz Khán at the time of the vazír's seizure, with their disposition.

†	{	Fatí Khán	the vazír.
		Máhomed Azem Khán ...	governor of Káshmir.
		Taimúr Kúlí Khán ...	slain in action with the Sikhs.
‡	{	Attá Máhomed Khán ...	slain in action at Pesháwer.
		Yár Máhomed Khán ...	in government at Pesháwer.
		Súltân Máhomed Khán*	at Pesháwer.
		Saiyad Máhomed Khán*	at Pesháwer.
§	{	Pír Máhomed Khán*	at Pesháwer.
		Shír Dil Khán	at Herát (escaped).
		Fúr Dil Khán	at Herát (made prisoner).
		Kohan Dil Khán*	at Herát (escaped).
		Meher Dil Khán*	at Herát (escaped).
		Rahám Dil Khán*	at Herát (escaped).
	{	Samad Khán	governor of Kâbal.
		Assad Khán	governor of Déra Ghází Khán.
		Jabár Khán*	in Káshmir.

† Mother, of the Máhomed Zai, principal branch of the Bárak Zai clan; descent pure.

‡ Mother, Thokí Ghiljí; descent good.

§ Mother, Dúraní; descent pure.

|| Mothers, distinct, but Dúraní, and good.

* Members of the list living in 1839.

†	{	Amír Máhoméd Khân	...	at Kâbal.
		Dost Máhoméd Khân*	...	in Káshmir.
‡	{	Túrabáz Khân*	...	in Káshmir.
		Islám Khân	in the Terín country.
		Júma Khân*	at Shikárpúr.
	{	Abdúl Rahmán Khân	...	unknown.

† Mother, Júânshír; descent considered by Afghâns as impaired.

‡ Mothers, distinct, of inferior tribes, and the sons little regarded in consequence.

* Members of the list living in 1839.

CHAPTER III.

Kámran's march to Kábal.—Dost Máhoméd Khân's release.—Protests against Máhoméd Azem Khân's inactive views.—Volunteers to oppose Kámran.—Advances upon Kábal.—Attá Máhoméd Khân.—Made Múkhthahár Dowlah.—Sháh Walí Khân.—Shír Máhoméd Khân.—Replaced by Wafadár Khân.—Feigns paralysis.—Sudden cure.—Intrigues with the Súní factions.—Elevates Sháh Sújáh al Múlk.—Recovers Káshmir.—Supports Prince Kaisar.—Slain at Pesháwer.—Attá Máhoméd Khân invites Sháh Sújáh al Múlk.—Confines him.—Kámran's revenge.—Attá Máhoméd Khân's communication with Dost Máhoméd Khân.—His treachery.—Is blinded.—Sudden fall.—Siege of Bálla Hissár.—Escape of Prince Jehânghír.—Preparations at Herát.—Approach of Máhoméd Azem Khân.—Dost Máhoméd Khân's discontent.—Proclaims Súltân Alí king.—Herát army marches to Kándahár.—Thence to Chahár Assiáh.—Precipitate retreat.—Reasons for.—Kándahár lost to Sháh Máhmúd.—Máhoméd Azem Khân invites Sháh Sújáh al Múlk.—Contest with Sháh Sújáh al Múlk.—Ayúb Sháh made king.—Arrangements.—March upon Shíkarpúr.—Dost Máhoméd Khân again proclaims Súltân Alí.—Return of Máhoméd Azem Khân.—Discussion.—Dost Máhoméd Khân's proposal to Súltân Alí.—Máhoméd Azem Khân's proposal to Sháh Ayúb.—Súltân Alí strangled.—Sháh Sújáh al Múlk's army dispersed.—Ingenuity of the Sind Amírs.—Máhoméd Azem Khân's presence of mind.—Intrigues in his camp.—Evil intentions of Dost Máhoméd Khân and Shír Díl Khân.—Máhoméd Azem Khân's retreat.—Expedition against the Síkhs.—Ranjit Singh's measures.—His overtures to the chiefs of Pesháwer.—Flight of Jai Singh.—Dost Máhoméd Khân proffers his services to Ranjit Singh.—Máhoméd Azem Khân deceived by Yár Máhoméd Khân.—Dost Máhoméd Khân's design on his treasure.—Máhoméd Azem Khân's irresolution.—

Panic and dispersal of his army.—Ranjit Singh occupies Pesháwer.—Divides Pesháwer between Dost Máhoméd Khân and Yár Máhoméd Khân.—Death of Máhoméd Azem Khân.—His character.—Habíb Ulah Khân.—Máhoméd Azem Khân's dying recommendation and request.—Fúr Dil Khân reaches Kâbal.—His plans.—Ayúb Shâh's infatuation.—Fúr Dil Khân's interview with Ayúb Shâh.—Opposition of Shâhzâda Ismael.—Is slain.—Deposition of Ayúb Shâh.—Retires to Lahore.—Jabâr Khân.—His career.—Defeated in Káshmir.—Governor of the Ghiljís.—His civility to Europeans.—Slighted by Habíb Ulah Khân.—Dost Máhoméd Khân's attempts.—Habíb Ulah Khân's folly.—Defection of his chiefs.—Investment of Bálla Hissár.

. As soon as practicable, Shâh Máhmúd being left at Herát, Prince Kámran moved on Kándahár, held by his deputy, and thence upon Kâbal, which was evacuated by the Nawáb Samad Khân. Prince Jehânghír, the youthful son of Prince Kámran, with Attá Máhoméd Khân, son of the Múkhtahár Dowlah, as his principal adviser, was left in charge of the government. Prince Kámran for the moment retraced his steps.

As soon as the tidings of the vazír's misfortune reached Káshmir, Dost Máhoméd Khân was released from the restraint in which he had been placed, and a consultation was naturally held upon the state of affairs. Máhoméd Azem Khân, aware of the capture of Kâbal, was inclined to consider the provinces west of the Indus as lost and irrecoverable. He opined that it was prudent to remain quiet in Káshmir, from which he conceived neither the force of Kámran nor of the Síkhs could dislodge him. Dost Máhoméd Khân protested

against so timid and disgraceful a line of policy, urging the duty of revenging the outrage committed upon the vazír, and the shame of abandoning without a contest the land of their fathers. Káshmir, he said, was but a rájá's country, a Hindú country; if lost, at any time to be resumed by the strongest. In conclusion, he volunteered to conduct an expedition against Kámran, and to attempt the recovery of Kábal. Máhoméd Azem Khán gave Dost Máhoméd Khán specie to the amount of two lákhs of rupees, and bills for twice the amount, and allowed him to depart, with a few troops. It would appear, from the scanty resources placed at Dost Máhoméd Khán's command, that the Káshmir governor had little notion that he could be successful. He spared a trifle from his well-replenished coffers, and excused himself from the reproach which the world might affix to his reputation if he sat altogether supine. Dost Máhoméd Khán marched to Pesháwer, where he augmented his troops, and thence to Jelálabád; here his funds were exhausted, and it was debated whether it was practicable to proceed farther. The case was desperate, as was the expedition itself; but a forward movement was decided upon, and the chief with his army neared Kábal.

It has been seen that Attá Máhoméd Khán, Bámi Zai, had been placed by Prince Kámran to direct his son, Prince Jehângír; he was now to become the antagonist of Dost Máhoméd Khán. To be able, in any way, to comprehend the intrigues

about to be developed, it will be necessary to explain the relations in which he stood with the several parties engaged in them. Displaced from his government of Káshmir by Fatí Khân, whose sister was one of his wives, he had repaired to the court of Prince Kámrân, who, although he had ample reasons to be dissatisfied with him on other grounds, forgot them now that he might be held inimical to the vazír. With another, Attá Máhoméd Khân, Alekho Zai, he continually incited Prince Kámrân to remove the obnoxious Fatí Khân. Invested with the dignity of Múkhtahár Dowlah, the direction of affairs at Kábal was confided to him, Prince Kámrân estimating, and perhaps justly, that he could not reconcile his differences with the Bárák Zais, but forgetful that he might have ambitious views and projects of his own. To elucidate these, and the singular part he was about to act, a slight reference to the history of his family is necessary. His grandfather, Sháh Walí Khân, was the principal minister, or múkhtahár, to Ahmed Sháh, and agreeably to the constitution of the Afghân monarchy, or to the compact between the Dúrání clans under which it was formed, the office was hereditary. On the death of Ahmed Sháh the múkhtahár set up Prince Súlímân, the eldest son, was defeated by Prince Taimúr and slain. The first-born of the Múkhtahár, Shír Máhoméd Khân, was recalled from exile by Taimúr Sháh, and installed in his father's dignity. He became known and celebrated as the

Múkhtahár Dowlah. During the reign of Shâh Zemân he was replaced in office by Wafadâr Khân, famous in Afghânistân as the Sadú Zai Vazír. This appointment, an infringement upon the settled order of things, was unfortunate to the monarch who made it, and led to all the evils and misfortunes which afterwards happened to himself, and finally to the Sadú Zai supremacy.

Shír Máhoméd Khân, deprived of office, feigned paralysis, and throughout the reign of Shâh Zemân was carried in a litter, or hobbled on crutches. On the expulsion of the shâh, and the slaughter of his rival, the Sadú Zai Vazír, he became suddenly cured of his afflictions, threw away his crutches, and again figured in public life as the múkhtahár. He now particularly courted the Súní interests in Kâbal, paid great attention to Mír Wais, and profiting by the absence of the vazír at Kândahâr, in conjunction with his Súní friends, and Ahmed Khân, Núr Zai, excited a religious tumult, which elevated to the throne Prince Sújáh al Múlk, then a fugitive in the Khaibar hills. The new shâh was clearly indebted to the exertions of the Súní leaders of Kâbal for his dignity. The Múkhtahár afterwards recovered Káshmir from Abdúlâh Khân, Alekho Zai, and left his own son, Attá Máhoméd Khân, in government of the productive province. The shâh contrived to estrange the feelings of the friends to whom he owed so much, and they conceived that as they had raised him to power, so they were

entitled to displace him. Accordingly, when the king had marched towards Sind, the múkhtahár, with his former confederates, released Prince Kaisar from the state prison of the Bálla Hissár, and proclaimed him king. With their new sovereign they marched to Pesháwer, where Shâh Sújáh al Múlkh in all haste arrived, and an action was fought on the Dasht Pakkah, without the city. The shâh would have fled, but was prevented by the crowds behind him; and the rebel leaders pressing forward, unsupported, anxious to secure his person, were slain. The múkhtahár, his brother, Mír Ahmed Khân, with Khwoja Máhoméd Khan, Núr Zai, a staunch adherent of Prince Kaisar, simultaneously met a common fate. The prince himself, so lately victorious by the strange accidents of war, as a captive adorned the triumph, scarcely merited, of Shâh Sújáh al Múlkh. It is just to add, that clemency was shown. Attá Máhoméd Khân continued in the government of Káshmír; nor was Shâh Sújáh al Múlkh able to remove him. When the shâh became a fugitive Attá Máhoméd Khân invited him to Káshmír, if for no other purpose, to make a tool of him. The shâh, not perfectly compliant, was lodged in the castle of Koh Márân, from which he was released by the vazír, when he recovered the valley from Attá Máhoméd Khân. On account of the insults offered to the shâh, Prince Kámrán, although politically hostile to his relative, conceived it due to avenge the injury committed through him

on the dignity of the Sadú Zai family, by submitting the females of the Bámí Zais at Herát to the embraces of mule-drivers. From the above narration, it will be apparent that a sympathy existed between the family of Attá Máhoméd Khân and the Súní party at Kâbal; and there can be but little doubt that he now intended, by its assistance, to have made himself independent. A man of considerable ability, he had a fair field before him; but underrating his opponents, instead of circumventing them, he was circumvented by them. Dost Máhoméd Khân had reached Khúrd Kâbal, two ordinary marches from the city, and was hesitating whether to advance, when a communication was privately conveyed to him from Attá Máhoméd Khân. Dost Máhoméd Khân, deceived, or trusting to his dexterity to outwit his antagonist, moved forwards, but circuitously, and cautiously, feeling his way to the eminences of Bímárú, to the north. Attá Máhoméd Khân left the Bálla Hissár with all the pomp and circumstance of war, and marched, as he gave out, to annihilate the rebels. He advanced on Bímárú, Dost Máhoméd Khân's troops slowly receding as he approached them. On the heights he harangued his men, and denounced the wrath of heaven and the pains of hell on any one who should betray Shâh Máhmúd, Shâhzâda Kámrân, or Shâhzâda Jehânghír. With the same breath, in a style peculiarly Afghân, he turned round, and in whispers, inquired for a Korân. The

sacred book was produced, Attá Máhoméd Khân sealed it, and with renewed oaths despatched it to Dost Máhoméd Khân. A succession of marches and countermarches, of slight skirmishes, and other feints, for a few days, was necessary, that a becoming quantity of oaths should be exchanged on both sides; and that the confidential agents of the parties should arrange preliminaries. They ill-concealed the understanding, however enigmatical, between Attá Máhoméd Khân and the Barák Zai chiefs. One fact was glaring, that the interests of Kámrán were betrayed, and the safety of his son compromised. At length interviews were exchanged between the Múkhtahár and rebel chiefs, and at one of these, which took place at the Búrj Vazír, a pleasure-house built by Fatí Khân, the former was thrown on the ground, and blinded by Pír Máhoméd Khân, the younger of the vazír's brothers. Of the brothers with Dost Máhoméd Khân all had exchanged oaths with the Múkhtahár, except Pír Máhoméd Khân, who, from his youth, had not been required to do so. Many versions are given of this affair. The friends of the Barák Zai chiefs pretend that the Múkhtahár intended to have blown them up. Others wholly deny this statement, and regard the occurrence as naturally arising in a contest for power between desperate and reckless men. The deprivation of sight was in retaliation of the injury inflicted on the vazír, owing somewhat, it is said, to Attá Máhoméd Khân's instigation. His schemes

of ambition were in a moment given to the wind, and he withdrew to obscurity and retirement. He now resides at Aliabád near Kâbal, unnoticed and little pitied. It is remembered, that when governor of Káshmir, the plucking out of eyes was one of his ordinary punishments. His calamity afforded the son of Prince Kámrân and his adherents the opportunity of admiring that the traitor had been entrapped in his own snares.

Dost Máhoméd Khân relieved from a formidable foe, or an embarrassing friend, was now enabled to besiege the Bálla Hissár. Pernicious, or treacherous counsel prevailed upon Prince Jehânghír to evacuate the lower citadel, and to shut himself up in the upper one. The empty fortress was immediately occupied by the enemy. Batteries were erected on the plain to the east, and a mine was conducted from the houses at the foot of the upper citadel, under the bastion of the principal entrance to it. Intelligence thereof was conveyed to the garrison, who were on the alert. It was sprung, but did not fully prove successful. The situation of the prince became exceedingly critical. In the bloom of youth, and remarkably handsome, the vows of the fair sex of Kâbal were offered up for his safety. They may have interested heaven in his behalf. A night, when all was darkness, and rain fell in torrents, enabled him, with his followers, to leave the upper citadel by the Derwâza Kâshí, unperceived. Filing under its walls, he gained the

Kotal Kheddar; and crossing it, took the road to Ghazní. Dost Máhoméd Khân did not pursue.

By an astonishing run of good fortune, Dost Máhoméd Khân had become master of Kâbal, but it does not appear that he was able to profit by the advantage so far as to march upon Ghazní. He soon discovered that a more serious struggle was before him, as Shâh Máhmúd and the Prince Kám-rân had marched, or were about to march from Herát. The hope to contend with their large army might have been preposterous had not so much unlooked-for success already justified him to hope for anything, and accordingly he prepared to resist the storm impending.

When intelligence of the possession of Kâbal reached Káshmir, Máhoméd Azem Khân put his troops in motion, but probably made no farther remittances to Dost Máhoméd Khân. As elder brother, and representative of the family, he could not allow, as he conceited, the takht, or capital, to remain in the hands of Dost Máhoméd Khân, who might affect to consider him in Káshmir as a vassal governor. It is not unlikely that this sirdár would have been better pleased that the city had not been wrested from Kám-rân, as he perhaps never expected that his brother would have been able to win it. Dost Máhoméd Khân, on his part, was too shrewd not to be able to penetrate the secret feelings of his elder brother's bosom, and to be conscious how jealously he was

regarded by most of the members of his family. It also mortified him that his exertions and triumphs should only contribute to the aggrandisement of others. He felt that injustice was offered to him, while all his own ambitious ideas were thwarted. These he could not consent to forego; and to cherish them in spite of circumstances frequently led to perplexity and enthrallment. Elate, perhaps, at his successes, he soon began to evince a show of independence of action, and its first display was in the proclamation of Shâhzâda Sûltân Alî as king; he naturally fell into the dignity of vazîr. This was strange news for Mâhoméd Azem Khân and the rest of the family. This prince had officiated as governor of Kâbal under Shâh Máhmúd with considerable credit, and was one of the Sadû Zai princes, most respected for good sense and conduct. It is probable, that had he ascended the throne under favourable circumstances he would have made a reputable sovereign. As it was, his funds and contributions from one or the other sufficed to place about two thousand cavalry at the command of Dost Mâhoméd Khân to meet the overwhelming force from Herât.

The flight of Fûr Dil Khân to Andálí, and his preparations to avenge the outrage offered to his brother, Fatí Khân, have been elsewhere noted. By a strange fatality, the royal army avoided Andálí *en route* to Kândahár, thereby leaving the five brothers with their levies in the rear. These,

as soon as the army had proceeded towards Kâbal, appeared before Kândahâr, and summoned Gûl Máhoméd Khân, the governor, to surrender it. He consented to do so, in case his sovereign should be defeated at Kâbal, and entreated the confederated brothers to retire until the issue of the contest should be known. They complied. Shâh Máhmúd and his son advanced to Chahâr Assiâh, six or seven miles from Kâbal; when, abandoning their equipage, they suddenly decamped, and, by the road of the Hazârajât, precipitately gained Herât. The counsels of Sâlu Khân, otherwise known as Shâh Pessand Khân, are believed to have occasioned this flight. It may be so; but, when it is asserted there was no ostensible cause for it, facts prove that there was too much. Shâh Máhmúd and Kámrân had, of course, become acquainted with the dubious loyalty of the Kândahâr governor; and the retreat of the five brothers would be, in their estimation, a more portentous event, as it might be supposed they would menace Herât. That this fear prevailed is shown by the haste made to reach it; otherwise, the enterprise upon Kâbal would have been worked out, or, if a retreat had been judged necessary, it would naturally have been upon Kândahâr, where the traitor and the rebels might have been at once crushed.

While the royal army was at Chahâr Assiâh, Dost Máhoméd Khân, and his followers in the

neighbourhood, were standing with their horses' bridles in their hands, and the advance of the force would have been the signal for their dispersion and flight. Of this Shâh Máhmúd and his son were not, perhaps, aware, and therefore listened to the evil suggestions of Sâlu Khân, that the Dúránís of the army had concerted to betray them, and to follow the example of Gúl Máhoméd Khân at Kándahár. Dost Máhoméd Khân did not credit the retreat of his enemies until Názir Diláwer, a fugitive, and the only one from the abandoned camp, came and confirmed it. He then marched forward, and took possession of the empty tents. When the royal army reached Ghazní, Prince Kámrán, finding it entire, and that a defection of the Dúránís had not taken place, was willing to have returned upon Kâbal, but was overruled. The brothers at Andálí had not made a dash at Herát; but, receiving exaggerated reports of the discomfiture of the Herát army, they marched to intercept its remnants, and fell back when they found it unbroken. Gúl Máhoméd Khân surrendered Kándahár, and his subsequent fate has been already noticed. It is hard to say whether he was a traitor in intention or not. He may have reasoned that "the royal army is all-powerful, and must succeed at Kâbal, when the Andálí brothers will disband their troops, or be deserted by them." Again, when he witnessed the extent of the evil he had occasioned, how could

he face his sovereign, or trust himself in the power of the implacable Kámran ?

Dost Máhoméd Khân's good fortune may be said to have won Kâbal a second time. His brother, Máhoméd Azem Khân, had arrived at Pesháwer, having left his half-brother, Jabár Khân, in charge of Káshmir. He had no sooner left the valley than the Sikhs prepared to attempt its conquest. From Pesháwer Máhoméd Azem Khân sent an invitation to the ex-king, Shâh Sújâh al Múlkh, to join him. This measure loses its singularity when the existence of Súltân Alí as king at Kâbal is considered, as respect for the Sádú Zai princes had not been yet wholly destroyed. So important did Máhoméd Azem Khân judge it to have a prince of the royal blood in his camp that he did not venture to move on Kâbal without one. Shâh Sújâh al Múlkh arrived at Pesháwer, and the premature exhibition of his exalted notions of regal dignity led to a battle between him and his inviters. The Shâh, defeated, fled, and found his way to Shikárpúr. Máhoméd Azem Khân now adopted the Prince Ayúb as king, no better being to be found, and, thus provided, took the road to Kâbal. On the retreat of the Herát army Dost Máhoméd Khân had made himself master of Ghazní, in which he placed his brother, Amír Máhoméd Khân, very likely foreseeing that it would be the only hold he could contrive to retain. He was unable to

oppose Máhoméd Azem Khân, with his large army and treasures, with all the weight of the family united against him, for now the brother sirdárs of Kándahár would have marched to support the head of the family. A good deal of mediation and altercation, of course, ensued, but it terminated in the acknowledgment of Máhoméd Azem Khân as sirdár, and Ayúb Shâh* as nominal sovereign. Dost Máhoméd Khân was permitted to possess Ghazní, and the brothers, who had obtained Kándahár, were judged worthy to hold it. Jabár Khân, who had been defeated, wounded, and driven from Káshmir, was placed in charge of the Ghiljís dependant on Kâbal; Máhoméd Zemân Khân, son of the Nawâb Assad Khân, was appointed to Jelálabád; Yár Máhoméd Khân and his brothers to Pesháwer; and the Nawâb Samad Khân, resident at Kâbal, to Kohât and Hângú. By this distribution the country was fairly partitioned amongst the several members of the family, and perhaps most or all of them were satisfied, except Dost Máhoméd Khân. It was now the common interest to repel foreign invasion, and to preserve the family *statu quo*. The former was to be apprehended from Herát and from the Panjáb. For an infraction of the latter Dost Máhoméd Khân was principally to be dreaded. In consequence of the recognition of Shâh Ayúb, the monarch of Dost Máhoméd's creation, Shâh Súltân Alí quietly descended into private life. His

enjoyment of brief sovereignty had cost him the little wealth he had accumulated.

The first care of Máhoméd Azem Khân was directed towards Shíkarpúr, where Sháh Sújáh al Múlkh was organizing an army. It was determined to march and disperse it. The several members of the confederacy supplied quotas of troops, and many personally attended. The army marched from Kâbal, the new Sháh Ayúb accompanying it. It had passed Ghazní, when Dost Máhoméd Khân returned to Kâbal, drew Sháh Súltân Alí from retirement, and anew proclaimed him king. Máhoméd Azem Khân was compelled to retrace his steps. Sháh Súltân Alí, on the arrival of Sháh Ayúb in Kâbal, had abandoned the palace of the Bálla Hissár, in which Dost Máhoméd Khân had seated him, and retired to the Bâgh Vazír. He still resided there. It is difficult to account for Dost Máhoméd Khân's conduct, unless we suppose him desirous of creating as much annoyance and trouble as he could, or that there was a concerted plan to remove Sháh Súltân Alí, who, as before noted, was a person of some ability. After some of the ordinary querulous discussion amongst the brothers, and the intervention of friends, some arrangement was determined upon, and Dost Máhoméd Khân, protesting his fidelity, submitted to Sháh Súltân Alí that to secure himself as sovereign he must cut off Sháh Ayúb. Sháh Súltân Alí indignantly rejected the proposal, and reviled him

who dared to make it. Dost Máhoméd Khân had eased his conscience: he had shown the prince the only mode, under circumstances, by which he could preserve himself, and if he declined to adopt it the error was his own. On his own part, he felt absolved from interesting himself about the fate of a prince who was himself reckless of it. He wished the prince to remove into the Bálla Hissár, which he did, occupying his own house. Máhoméd Azem Khân next urged upon Shâh Ayúb the necessity of putting to death Shâh Súltân Alí, promising, if he complied, that he would in like manner dispose of Dost Máhoméd Khân. Shâh Ayúb had the baseness to consent. The two shâhs, for the few days they lived together in the Bálla Hissár, visited each other, and sat on the same masnad. At length prince Ismael, with a servant, strangled the unfortunate Shâh Súltân Alí, when reposing, after an entertainment given to him. Shâh Ayúb now asked Máhoméd Azem Khân to redeem his pledge as to Dost Máhoméd Khân. The chief observed, "How can I slay my brother?" It is as unpleasant to comment on such revolting transactions as to narrate them. Dost Máhoméd Khân had reconciled his conscience; and the sirdár may have presumed that he was guiltless of a crime committed by another. If one Sádú Zai put to death another they could not help it. The advantages of the perfidy they derived in the disappear-

ance of a source of embarrassment; and the army was again put in motion for Shikárpúr.

Taking the route of Ghazní and Sháll, where it was joined by the Kândahár contingent, it finally neared its destination. The army of Sháh Sújáh al Múlkh melted away before it, but the sirdár was detained some time in the arrangement of the Sind tribute.

The Amírs had collected a numerous rabble, and a variety of negotiations were carried on, the Dúránís anxious to get as much as they could, and the Amírs willing to pay as little as they could help. The latter also made an experiment to disperse their obnoxious guests, by making a feigned attack by night on their camp. Muskets were discharged from the thickets on all sides, to the consternation of the Dúránís, who were well disposed to have given way to panic, but the presence of mind of their leader saved them. He did not move from his tent, but called for his musicians, affecting not even to notice the matter, taking care, however, to issue, without *éclat*, the necessary instructions to preserve order. In the morning the Amírs of Sind sent respectfully to inquire concerning the sirdár's health, and to express their hopes that the tohí, or wedding, they had celebrated during the night had not disturbed his sleep. Máhomed Azem Khân had purposed to have well riddled the treasures of the ingenious

Amírs, but the intrigues in his camp made him unwillingly accept an obligation to pay twelve lákhs of rupees from them, three lákhs of which was made over to him, and the remainder was never paid. The sirdár was overburthened with treasure, the fruits of his government in Káshmir, but to preserve it he was constrained to carry it about with him. It was now in the camp, and Dost Máhoméd Khân, with Shír Dil Khân, had projected to seize it. The discovery of the foul plot precipitated the retreat of Máhoméd Azem Khân, and saved the Amírs of Sind from a heavy sacrifice of their hoarded wealth.

The sirdár next set on foot an expedition against the Síkhs, who, elate with the capture of Káshmir, and the possession of Atak, were supposed to contemplate ulterior aggressive measures. The spirit of the Dúrání chieftains had not yet been broken; the triumphs of the infidels were imputed to fraud and accident, and it was confidently believed that the sword would repel them, and drive them from their recent acquisitions. The defeat at Haidaro had thrown no disgrace on the valour of those engaged, and Máhoméd Azem Khân remembered that Ranjit Singh was not invincible, for he had inflicted a severe chastisement upon him on the Túsa Maidân in Káshmir, when first his ambitious projects led him personally to invade the mountain-girt valley. Great preparations were made for the war, and agents were despatched into

the hilly regions north of the course of the Kâbal river, to arouse the fanatic population, and to draw out their gallant bands to co-operate in the great fight of the faith. Ranjit Singh, with no less activity, prepared for the struggle. That shrewd chieftain knew too well the weak points of his Dûrání opponents to neglect assailing them at so critical a conjuncture. He was conscious that it was easier to disunite them by artifice than to conquer them in the field. His agents had already begun to tamper with the brother chiefs of Pesháwer. It was represented to them that they had an opportunity of experiencing the favour and liberality of the sirkâr, and of securing the possession of their territories in absolute independence. It was not asked in return that they should betray their elder brother, but that they should so contrive that he should quietly return to Kâbal. The Pesháwer chiefs were soothed with the notion of throwing off dependence on Máhoméd Azem Khân, forgetful that in so doing they became vassals of Ranjit Singh. In another point of view, the chances of the war were doubtful, and they felt it to be their interest to confirm themselves in power, let what would happen. They listened complacently, therefore, to Ranjit Singh's overtures, and clandestinely entered into communications with him. Máhoméd Azem Khân eventually marched from Kâbal, and, taking the route of Jelálabád and the pass of Karapa, arrived at Min-

chiní, where he deposited his treasures. He then crossed the river of Kâbal, and reached Pesháwer. Dost Máhoméd Khân attended the army, and the halt at this place led to the loss of his old Sikh friend, Jai Singh. The advanced detachments of the Dúrání and Sikh armies had approached near enough to each other for occasional skirmishes to happen. One day, some thirty Sikh heads were brought in, and affixed to the house of Jai Singh. He accepted the act as a warning to decamp, and fled to the Sikh army. He was afterwards slain in the Panjâb.

Dost Máhoméd Khân, aware that his brothers of Pesháwer had an understanding with the enemy, signified to the elder, Yár Máhoméd Khân, his desire of becoming an accomplice. Yár Máhoméd Khân did not fail to encourage him or to boast to the Sikhs the extent of his services in securing to their interest the most warlike of the sirdár's brothers. Ranjit Singh had now crossed the Atak, and Máhoméd Azem Khân was encamped at Noshára. Negotiations, so fatal to Dúránís, were carried on, and Yár Máhoméd Khân, on the part of the sirdár, was in the Sikh camp. What could be expected from such an envoy? Either wilfully, or at the dictation of the Sikhs, he wrote delusive letters to Máhoméd Azem Khân, and informed him that it was contemplated to seize his háram and treasure at Minchiní. The treasure was a constant source of solicitude to the ill-fated sirdár.

He was compelled to carry it with him, and then had difficulty to preserve it.

Dost Máhoméd Khân stands again accused of having directed his unhallowed attention to it. A sharp action had taken place on the opposite side of the river, between a portion of the Síkh troops and the levies of the Yusef Zai districts. Ranjit Singh was in person at the contest, and although it is pretended that he crossed the river on a hunting excursion, and accident brought about the conflict, yet the fact of his having passed seemed to countenance the report of designs upon Minchiní and the treasure. Máhoméd Azem Khân was in sore uneasiness of mind, he wept, tore his beard, and inveighed bitterly against the treason of his brethren. He foresaw the disgrace of retiring without a struggle from the field; nor could he endure the reflection that his wives and treasure should fall into the hands of Ranjit Singh. Undetermined whether to stand his ground or to retreat; now deciding upon the one, now upon the other alternative, his indecision was communicated to his army. The infection spread, and augmented to panic. The dark shades of night magnified the existing doubt and terror; the whole camp was in movement. All were packing up and deserting it as a haunted spot, without any one knowing why. The morning came, but the army no longer existed. The unfortunate Máhoméd Azem Khân collected its wrecks, and picking up his háram and

wealth at Minchiní, crossed the Momand hills, and regained the valley of Jelálabád. The object of Ranjit Singh being obtained, he had no farther need of Yár Máhoméd Khân, and dismissed him to join his fugitive brothers, and to plot fresh mischief. The Síkh chief entered Pesháwer, but so excited was the state of public feeling throughout the country that he did not think prudent to retain it. Yár Máhoméd Khân and Dost Máhoméd Khân were privately sent for, and they repaired to Pesháwer from the Dúrání camp at Dáka. Ranjit Singh rewarded their treason to their brother and their services to himself by dividing the territory of Pesháwer equally between them, very expertly placing Dost Máhoméd Khân in an antagonist position to the brothers of Yár Máhoméd Khân, and thereby providing for the support of strife and dissensions amongst them. Dost Máhoméd Khân for some time resided at Hashtnagar, not ashamed to be indebted for territory to Ranjit Singh. Máhoméd Azem Khân, exhausted by vexation, fell into a dysentery, which carried him to the grave. He may be truly said to have died broken-hearted. It may be useless to speculate on what did not occur. We shall not inquire, therefore, what might have been the state of affairs had he adhered to his original intention of contenting himself with Káshmir; or if, when Dost Máhoméd Khân had won Kábal, he had permitted him to have retained it. No doubt a knowledge of his younger brother's

character influenced him, and he foresaw the chance of having the resources of Kâbal directed against him. Máhomed Azem Khân had considerable ability; was showy, munificent, and dignified. He was esteemed worthy of his high station. In private life he was free, social and devoted to pleasure, but not at the expense of business. His qualities were compatible with friendship, and amongst his dependent chiefs he could boast of many friends. He was succeeded by his elder son, Habíb Ulah Khân, a rash headstrong youth, elevated in the full indulgence of his unruly passions, and in the midst of all kinds of excesses. His vices and failings were rather of habit than of the heart, and to atone for them he possessed indomitable personal bravery and lavish generosity. Unfortunately he had recklessness in place of judgment, and was utterly unfit to contend with his keen and rapacious uncles, in the struggle which it required no prophetic skill to divine they would excite. The dying father, conscious of his son's incapacity and want of discretion, recommended him to the care of his uncle, Jabár Khân; he placed their hands within each other, and conjured his brother to supply his place as father, while he implored his son to wipe off the disgrace he had suffered before the Síkhs.

The intelligence of the dangerous disorder of Máhomed Azem Khân had brought Fúr Dil Khân from Kândaḥár. The shâh, of the sirdár's creation, Ayúb, will not have been forgotten. He still re-

sided in the Bálla Hissár. On the demise of Máhoméd Azem Khân, the Shâhzâda Ismael, the instrument previously of removing Shâh Súltân Alí, intreated his father to arise and seize the treasures of the departed chief. There were not wanting many who would have aided in the enterprise. The indolent and corpulent Ayúb rebuked his son as a blockhead, who, to no purpose, assured him that it was the only mode of preserving himself against the evil intentions of Fúr Dil Khân. Shâhzâda Ismael, finding his father deaf to all his representations, left the city on pretence of a pleasure-party to Sanjítak, but in reality intending to retire to Pesháwer. The father, apprised thereof, sent after him, and induced his return. The plans of Fúr Dil Khân were no secret, and very many persons wished the shâh to take precautionary measures, offering to support him in case he did. The infatuated prince was accustomed to revile such advisers, and affected to disbelieve what they reported to him. At length the sirdár intimated to the shâh his intention of making a visit to him in the Bálla Hissár. The shâh consented, and merely ordered that the sirdár only should be admitted within the entrance-gate of the fortress. In the morning the sirdár appeared at the gate, and his followers, Kohistânís principally, rushed in and filled the bazár Araba. On reaching the entrance of the palace another effort was made to exclude the armed followers of the sirdár, but another rush introduced them, and they spread over

the courts. The sirdár, and his brother, Meher Dil Khân, with a few attendants, ascended the staircase and entered the darbár apartment, where the shâh and his son, Prince Ismael, were seated. Salutations were exchanged, and some loose conversation took place, until the sirdárs began to motion with their eyes to each other, and to their followers. It may be presumed, that Prince Ismael perceived the signs, for he seized his carbine, laying before him, and presented it at the sirdárs. The Kohistânís, who had surrounded the father and son, were able to turn the direction of the carbine, but a Kohistâní was killed, and others were wounded by its discharge. The unfortunate prince was immediately shot by the companions of the man slain, the shâh was made prisoner, and the palace became a scene of plunder. One Hâjí Alí, who is also reported to have shot the prince, despoiled the shâh of his raiments, and clad him in his own; then, by the sirdár's orders, placed him behind himself on a horse, and carried him off to the Búrj Vazír. A singular spectacle was offered to the people of the city as Hâjí Alí bore the degraded monarch along the streets, but they had become familiar with extraordinary events and regarded them with apathy. The sirdárs, when they had given the orders, consequent on the feat they had performed, returned to their dwellings in the city with the same composure after the deposition of a monarch as if they had been enjoying a morning's ride. The delusion

of royalty which invested Shâh Ayúb was too apparent to deceive any one, and it seemed as if the mock dignity had been conferred upon him purposely to bring it and the Sadú Zai family into contempt. Fúr Dil Khân terminated the farce, and did not feel himself bound to tolerate a shadow of his deceased brother's creation. Shâh Ayúb was treated with much indignity in the Búrj Vazír, and it was wished to have tortured him that he might surrender treasure. By intervention a compromise was agreed upon, and on the payment of a lakh of rupees the shâh was released, and had liberty to go where he might list. Máhoméd Zemân Khân on this occasion behaved generously, and put the unfortunate prince in a condition to travel to Lahore with comfort. Ranjit Singh allowed him one thousand rupees *per mensem*. His brother, Shâhzâda Ibráhím, who resided at Pesháwer, was enabled, on news reaching of the events at Kâbal, to retire across the Atâk, with his family and wealth entire. It may be noted also, that the Nawâb Jabár Khân privately conveyed to Shâh Ayúb intelligence of his danger.

Jabár Khân, commonly called the nawâb, from having held the government of Déra Ghází Khân, was one of the more elderly of the sons of Si-rafráz Khân, but having lost his mother at an early age, his education and fortune were for some time neglected. Máhoméd Azem Khân at length noticed him, and pressed his claims on the attention of the vazír, who appointed him successively to the

governments of Déra Ghází Khân and of Kâbal. In both offices he acquitted himself highly to the satisfaction of the governed, but not equally so to that of the vazír. Besides, in common with his brothers, entertaining exalted notions of his importance, and affecting independence of action, he forgot to remit the revenues of his provinces. On these accounts the vazír more than once treated him with severity, and he was obliged to seek asylum with Máhoméd Azem Khân, who invariably received him with kindness, and protected him. When deprived of the government of Kâbal, he fled to Káshmir, and induced Máhoméd Azem Khân to assume so suspicious an attitude that the vazír marched against him. A battle took place. The vazír, defeated in the field, rode singly into his brother's camp, and embraced him for having so worthily proved himself a soldier, but expostulated with him on allowing Jabár to sow dissensions between them. When Máhoméd Azem Khân left Káshmir Jabár Khân was made governor. Five months scarcely elapsed when a Síkh army entered the province. With more rashness than sense, without forming his troops, he advanced, with a few followers, in front of the hostile line. A volley brought nearly all to the ground, and amongst them Jabár Khân, who had received five or six musket-shots. It was with difficulty they contrived to carry him off. No battle, but flight and slaughter followed. Káshmir was lost to the Dúránís. In the distribution of territory,

which succeeded the establishment of Máhomed Azem Khân at Kâbal, Jabár Khân acquired the government of the Ghiljís, dependent thereon. This nobleman has always shown particular civility to European travellers who have visited Afghânistân, and always expresses his desire that some political understanding may originate between Kâbal and India. He may, probably, in this respect, have imbibed the sentiments of his brother, Máhomed Azem Khân.

The deceased sirdár in no way imitated the destructive policy of the vazír as to the Dúrání chiefs. He collected as many as he could about him, and by munificent donations contributed to improve their broken fortunes. His court was very respectable. His son soon reversed the order of things, and, immersed in dissipation, surrounded himself with the profligate and abandoned of all classes. He conducted the government at first by means of his father's officers, but they became speedily disgusted, and either retired or were displaced. The counsels of the Nawâb Jabár Khân were, of course, slighted.

Dost Máhomed Khân did not fail to observe that a field of action was open to him, and he saw a fair chance of wresting from the infatuated son that Kâbal which he pretended the father had unjustly taken from him. His territories at Pesháwer he consigned to the charge of deputies,

and hastened to Kâbal, where he connected himself with all the turbulent spirits of the country.

Hostilities soon broke out; and for some months there were incessant contests, in which Habíb Ulah Khân, from his superior force, came off victorious, and Dost Máhoméd Khân fled to the Kohistân, or to Ghazní, to recruit his means and prepare for a renewed struggle. At length Habíb Ulah exasperated the Nawâb Jabâr Khân, by depriving him of his government, which he gave to a dissolute attendant of his orgies, Nazír Alí Máhoméd; and farther alienated Amínúlah Khân, Logharí, one of his father's confidential servants, and a person of the highest influence, by seeking to destroy him. The results were, that the Nawâb Jabâr Khân inclined to the cause of Dost Máhoméd Khân, who again appeared in the field, and that, in an action fought on the Dasht Kergah, near the city, Amínúlah Khân, and his associates, went over to him in a body. Habíb Ulah Khân defeated, retired within the Bálla Hissár, which, Dost Máhoméd Khân, taking possession of the city, immediately invested.

CHAPTER IV.

The Kândahár sirdárs march to the aid of Habíb Ulah Khân.—Dost Máhommed Khân retires.—Seizure of Habíb Ulah Khân.—Dost Máhommed Khân asserts himself his avenger.—Sad state of Kábal.—Favourable dispositions to Dost Máhommed Khân.—The Kândahár sirdárs desirous to secure and blind him. — Saved by Hâjí Khân. — New arrangements. — Hâjí Khân's freak.—Engages in Dost Máhommed Khân's service. — Súltân Máhommed Khân's errors.—His lax government.—Besieged by Dost Máhommed Khân. — Retires to Pesháwer. — Ahmed Sháh. — His pretensions. — His success with the Yusáf Zais.—Offends the Pesháwer sirdárs. — Is betrayed by them. — New claims of Dost Máhommed Khân's brothers.—Reduction of Zúrmat.—Return to Kábal, and welcome.—Saiyad Ahmed Sháh's movements.—Dost Máhommed Khân's assistance to his Pesháwer brothers. — Extravagancies of Habíb Ulah Khân.—His followers seduced by Dost Máhommed Khân. — Discomfiture of the Nawáb Jabár Khân.—March of Dost Máhommed Khân to Taghow.—His apprehensions of Mazúlah.—Death of Mazúlah.—Designs on Jelálabád.—Defection in Dost Máhommed Khân's army. — Arrangements. — Oaths. — Resumption of the Ghiljí government. — Remarks on Dost Máhommed Khân's character. — His talents for business. — His administration.—Projects of Sháh Sújáh-al-Múlk.—Sentiments of the people. — Of Dost Máhommed Khân. — Proposal to assume royalty rejected. — Arrival of mission from Kúndúz. — Visit of Mír Alam Khân. — Views on Bájour. — Rumours and reports.

THE brother chiefs at Kândahár and Pesháwer had not been indifferent to the events passing at

Kâbal. It neither accorded with their feelings nor policy that Dost Máhoméd Khân should obtain the country, or what remained of the treasure of their deceased brother. Circumstances had not allowed them to act before; or so long as Habíb Ulah Khân was the victor so much necessity for movement did not exist. Now that he was besieged, it behoved them to take prompt measures. Shír Dil Khân, with his brothers, hastened to Kâbal, on the plea of assisting Habíb Ulah Khân. A variety of desultory actions followed, interluded by overtures and negotiations, and Dost Máhoméd Khân was ultimately compelled to fly to the Kohistân. The Kândahár chiefs congratulated Habíb Ulah Khân; and assuring him that he might always depend upon their aid against the evil designs of Dost Máhoméd Khân, intimated their intention of returning to Kândahár. They joined their pêsh-khâna, fixed at Alíabád, without the city. Habíb Ulah paid them, as he thought, a farewell visit, when he was seized by Meher Dil Khân, and instantly smuggled off to a castle in Loghar, belonging to Khodâ Nazzar, a Ghiljí, and confidential minister of the brothers. The perfidious uncles as instantly mounted, and took possession of the city and Bálla Hissár. It need not be remarked, that what remained of the treasure fell into their hands. Neither did they scruple, on the score of delicacy, as to the means of eliciting it. It is possible that Shír Dil Khân may have contemplated the retention of Kâal, but a little

experience proved it was not practicable. Dost Máhoméd Khân was again in arms, as the avenger of Habíb Ulah Khân, and the oppressive measures of Khodâ Nazzar, or Mámá, as commonly called, intrusted with the charge of the city, had estranged the good-will of all. The brother chiefs of Pesháwer had eventually reached Kâbal, and a strange medley of counsels and consultations prevailed. It would be impossible to detail the proceedings of this period, or the intrigues carried on. The differences of the several brothers produced a chaos of confusion, and although nothing was settled amongst themselves, many of their partisans were involved in disaster. Their followers have been engaged in deadly strife when the rival leaders were sitting together over a plate of cherries. The settlement of their pretensions was ultimately accelerated by a manifestation of public feeling. The state of Kâbal must have been terrific; and the reflecting at last began to think as to what course they should adopt to terminate it. The Júânshírs and the Shíá community determined to support Dost Máhoméd Khân, and that chief secretly repaired to the city, and entered into engagements with them. During the consultations that had passed between the brothers it had been decided to put to death, or to blind, Dost Máhoméd Khân; and on one occasion, when he had been allured to an interview, he had been placed in a chamber, and the door had been chained. Compunc-

tion, or the intercession of some one, saved him, and he left the house unconscious of the danger he had been exposed to. Now that it was known that the Shía community had espoused his cause, strenuous efforts were made again to secure his person and to blind him, if no more. Dost Máhoméd Khân's extreme caution was overcome, and he came, intending to have an interview with his brothers. He was about to have entered the apartment where his fate would have been sealed, when Hâjî Khân, in the secret, motioned him to retire. He did so, mounted his horse and galloped off. The Khâka soldier of fortune, in the service at this time of Shír Dil Khân, was able to discern that, backed by Kazilbâsh influence, Dost Máhoméd Khân had every chance of establishing himself. He had ever, from his acquaintance at Herát, had certain sympathies with him, and now he had determined to join his fortunes with those of Dost Máhoméd Khân. It was felicitous to preface the connexion by a signal service. The delusive arrangements tendered by the brothers to their kinsman with the view of betraying him, were converted into effective and real ones by the force of circumstances. It had been decided, as treachery had failed, to have had another appeal to arms; it had also been concerted by those willing to close the fearful drama enacting, to have slain one of the brothers in the expected combat, and by producing a blood feud amongst them, to

have led to their mutual extermination. The fact became known, and it was felt indispensable to accommodate matters without risking the safety of the family. By the new basis agreed upon Dost Máhomed Khân received the Kohistân and Ghazní, but as he had lost the territories at Pesháwer, he benefited principally by the more favourable position he was placed in. The city of Kâbal was given to Súltân Máhomed Khân, the second of the Pesháwer brothers. Jabár Khân was reinstated in the Ghiljí government, and Habíb Ulah Khân, released from captivity, received the districts of Loghar and Ghorband. The governments of Jelálabád, Pesháwer, and Kândahár were not affected.

When the sirdárs of Kândahár were about to leave Kâbal Hâjí Khân was missing, and it was discovered that he had retired to a shrine in the city, and that, professing to have become a fáquí, he had deprived himself of his clothing, and was seated, in great humility, with a langoti, or cloth bound round his loins. The sirdárs went to him, and asking if he was mad, conjured him to arise and go back with them; but he swore that he had renounced the world, and, as a fáquí, intended to pass the remainder of his days in seclusion, prayer, and repentance. Whatever the sirdárs thought of such assurances, they could not overcome his resolution, and time not allowing them much opportunity to reason with him, they left

him behind. As soon as they were gone Dost Máhoméd Khân was in the presence of the penitent fáquír, and calling him bá bá, or father, besought him not to desert him in his new situation, for which he was chiefly indebted to him, and entreated him to get up and become his vazír. Hájí Khân set forth his abhorrence of power, and the great crimes it leads men to commit; but Dost Máhoméd Khân was so earnest and affectionate that suddenly his scruples vanished, and avowing that he had always loved the sirdár, he declared that he would serve him even if he lost his own soul.

Within the year after his return from Kâbal with the plunder of his nephew, died Shír Dil Khân, leaving his ill-gotten wealth to be spoliated by his brothers. By his decease Dost Máhoméd Khân lost the brother most capable of opposing his advancement, and the one whose activity and valour he most dreaded. Súltân Máhoméd Khân at Kâbal experienced that he had a dangerous neighbour in the Kohistân. Unluckily for this chief, the union of the Kazilbâshes with Dost Máhoméd Khân drove him into the arms of the Súní party too exclusively; and looking upon his brother's friends as enemies to himself, he treated them with harshness and contempt. The city under his administration bid fair to become the theatre of religious dissensions; it had already begun to be a prey to disorder, which it may be conceived Dost Máhom-

ed Khân's emissaries fomented. Súltân Máhomed Khân was wonderfully fond of splendid dresses, and his predilection for finery and embroidery had earned him the *sobriquet* of Súltân Máhomed Khân Tilláhi (the golden Súltân Máhomed Khân). Not deficient in ability, he seemed ill-suited to govern, and while capable of business, seemed to dislike it. Respectable both in the field and cabinet, he willingly fled from both to the pleasures of the háram. His public measures were lax, and he left much to his officers. It is said, that during his sway there were as many hákams, or governors, in the city as there were kúchas, or sections. It required a more vigilant chief to contend with the restless and indefatigable Dost Máhomed Khân.

When, finally, Súltân Máhomed Khân received a message from his brother that he must evacuate the city, or dispute its possession on the plain, he exclaimed against his perfidy and perjury instead of exerting himself to oppose him. His Súní friends, however, warded off one or two attacks, but their chief became invested in the Bálla Hissár. As no movement was made from Kándahár or Pesháwer for his relief, it may be presumed that it was not convenient to afford it. Be this as it may, by the intervention of friends a treaty was concluded by which Súltân Máhomed Khân consented to retire to Pesháwer, and Dost Máhomed Khân bound himself to remit, annually, one lákh of rupees in return. As the Pesháwer chief evacuated the Bálla

Hissár by the eastern gate the fortunate Dost Máhoméd Khân passed into it by the western gate. His partisans and the populace manned the ramparts, and in derision shouted after the retiring Súltân Máhoméd Khân, "Khush amadíd, Súltân Máhoméd Khân, Tilláhi," or Good-b'ye to you, Golden Súltân Máhoméd Khân.

Dost Máhoméd Khân had now attained the first object of his ambition, the possession of Kábal; but he well knew it would be disputed with him as soon as his brothers of Kândahár and Pesháwer were able to take the field. He had profited by their embarrassed situation, and in place of assisting them had seized the occasion to aggrandize himself. To understand the events now passing it must be observed, that some time previously the celebrated fanatic and impostor, Ahmed Shâh, had passed through these countries into the Yusaf Zai districts, assuming a delegated power from above to exterminate the Síkhs, and to make himself master of the Panjâb, of Hindostân, and of China. The shrewd chiefs of Kábal and Pesháwer, while showing him the attentions due to a saiyad, were not quite convinced of his divine mission; still, while regarding him cautiously, they could not, as Músulmâns, seem even to object to the crusades he proposed. In the Yusaf Zai country he was received with perfect cordiality; implicit confidence was given to his assertions, and the enthusiastic population took up arms, eager to signalize them-

selves in the cause of religion, and to have shares in the countries which, as the saiyad told them, God had bestowed upon them. His unexpected success in rousing the Yusaf Zais induced the Pesháwer chiefs to open a communication with him, agreeably to their plan of being on the right side under any circumstances; and so innumerable were the hosts with the saiyad that his triumph, if uncertain, did not appear improbable. The saiyad himself was intoxicated with the results of his impudence and effrontery, and, assured of victory, affected to treat his allies as subordinates. Their pique immediately produced a renewal of their understanding with the Síkhs, and in the battle which followed, by flying on its commencement they threw confusion and disaster amongst the saiyad's irregular host. The daring and subtile impostor retired to his Yusaf Zai asylum, denouncing vengeance on Yár Máhomed Khân. Dost Máhomed Khân was in correspondence with the saiyad, and it opportunely happened that his proceedings, by keeping the attention of the Pesháwer chiefs engaged, were favourable to the Kâbal chief's designs. Hâjî Khân was constantly lamenting that the discords between the brothers of the family should prevent his marching with their united force to assist the holy saiyad Ahmed Shâh.

I have already related the result of the combination between the brother chiefs of Kândahár and Pesháwer to humble Dost Máhomed Khân,

and the active part taken by Saiyad Ahmed Shâh in preventing the march westward of the Peshâwer chiefs.

The several brothers having treated with Dost Máhoméd Khân as chief of Kâbal, henceforth relinquished their attacks upon him on account of his unjust claims, and assailed him on a new point, urging, that it was his duty to contribute a portion of his revenues towards the expenses they incurred in defending themselves respectively, against Kám-rân on the one side, and the Síkhs on the other, while, medially situated, he was at ease and in leisure, multiplying his resources ; it might have confessed fear, if they had added what yet they felt — for their degradation. To their demands for money or troops, the chief always replied, that the first he could not give, and the latter he would send only when their territories were actually invaded.

No sooner had the Kândahár army retreated from Ghazní than Dost Máhoméd Khân, at the instigation of Hâjí Khân, marched upon Zúrmât, the country of the Súlímân Khél Ghiljís. The chief hesitatingly consented to this expedition, being fearful, he said, to arouse the Ghiljís. It terminated successfully ; a multitude of castles were destroyed, tribute was levied, and its payment annually settled for the future. In this campaign the cholera spread amongst the troops, and produced some casualties. Dost Máhoméd Khan was affected by it, and, dubious as to the result, conjured Hâjí

Khân, in case of accident, to conduct his wives to Kâbal.

The chief returned to his capital amid rejoicings and illuminations, and he could never before have entered it with such pleasurable feelings. It would have been happy for him if he had been blessed with moderation, that he might have continued to enjoy power so satisfactorily ; but the spirit of ambition led him away, and his equivocal measures soon diminished his popularity. He, as well as his brothers, had violated the family compact, and the frequent changes and removals from authority which had taken place proved it to be a fallacy. The suspicious light in which Dost Máhomed Khân was regarded by his brothers and relatives was not lessened by his increase of power and means of injuring them, and henceforth we shall see how justly he was dreaded, and how deliberately, but determinedly he progressed in reducing them, and following up his plans of aggrandizement.

The complete establishment of Dost Máhomed Khân in authority, in the year 1827, produced no instantaneous alteration in the distribution of the country. The loss of Kohât and Hângu made it necessary to provide for the sons of Samad Khân, and Dost Máhomed Khân not interesting himself on their account, they fell to the care of Máhomed Zemân Khân, who conferred on Máhomed Osmân Khân the town of Bálla Bâgh, and on Sadú Khân villages in the plain of Jelálabád.

In the year 1829 Saiyad Ahmed Shâh made a serious attack on the Peshâwer territory; in his progress he captured the killa, or fortress of Húnd, and Yár Máhoméd Khân, advancing to recover it, was surprised in a night attack, and slain. The victorious saiyad, who was in communication with Faizúlah Khân, Hazár Khâní, a powerful zemíndâr of Peshâwer, entered the city, and for some days held it. The chiefs retired to Khaibar. The saiyad conducted himself moderately during his stay, discussing religious points with the múllas, and convincing them that he was not a Wâhabí, as, it would seem, they had accused him of being. To others he unbosomed himself, and regretted that he had not seized Kâbal, to have served as a *point d'appui* to his operations. With the fugitive sirdárs he opened negotiations, and they readily agreed to any terms proposed, having no intention of fulfilling them. It was arranged, that the saiyad should retire, leaving an agent at Peshâwer to receive one lákh of rupees. Faizúlah Khân, and all others, were to be respected, who had sided with the saiyad, and the sirdárs, as good Mússulmâns, were to assist him in his future struggles with the Síkhs. The sirdárs re-entered their city, and a few days after slew the saiyad's agent and Faizúlah Khân. The latter, on quitting the darbár, received his first wound from the hand of Pír Máhoméd Khân, the younger of the sirdárs. The preparations of the saiyad to avenge these perfidious acts, compelled

applications to Dost Máhomed Khân and to Lahore for assistance. As the integrity of the Pesháwer territory had been impaired, Dost Máhomed Khân sent the Nawâb Jabár Khân and Habíb Ulah Khân, with their troops, to assist his brothers. The Síkhs also, whose interest did not accord with the occupation of Pesháwer by the saiyaḍ, ordered a force to cross the Aták. Some skirmishing happened in the Yusaf Zai districts, and the campaign terminated by the retreat of the saiyaḍ and the recovery of Killa Húnd. The Nawâb Jabár Khân returned to Kâbal, and Habíb Ulah Khân remained at Pesháwer. Dost Máhomed Khân was glad of an opportunity to resume the revenues of his nephew. This impetuous youth had attached to him eight hundred very dissolute, but resolute cavalry. The excesses committed by him and them at Pesháwer were so extraordinary that on many occasions the shops of the city were shut up, as in a time of siege. The sirdárs, perplexed how to deal with him, at length, by stratagem, prevailed upon him to leave the city, when, finding that it was not the intention to re-admit him, he took the road of Lâlpúra, the town of the Momand chief Sâdat Khân. Here he remained two or three months a compulsory and unwelcome guest, and having gutted the town, proceeded up the valley of Jelálabád. Máhomed Zemân Khân fled at his approach, and repaired to Kâbal, imploring assistance from Dost Máhomed Khân. This chief smiled, and

thought he might dispense with territory, if unable to protect it. Habíb Ulah did not occupy the residence of Máhoméd Zemân Khân at Jelálabád, but passing the town, fixed himself about a mile beyond it, at the castle of Jehân Nemáhi, belonging to Mírza Aga Jân, one of the ministers. Here he and his men lived at free quarters upon the country. They were allowed some time to pursue their profligate career unmolested, that the people might be well surfeited, and that the measure in contemplation by Dost Máhoméd Khân might stand excused. When the time came, he sent Máhoméd Zemân Khân back with troops, and having tampered with Habíb Ulah's followers, they came over in a body, and were received into service. The Nawâb Jabár Khân was entrusted with the charge of an expedition to the Sáfi valley of Taghow. On entering the valley he was surprised in an evening attack by Mázúlah, the principal of the petty Maleks, and so complete was the panic produced that the troops fled, abandoning their equipage and the two guns they had brought with them. The Nawâb was the last man to mount, but neither his entreaties nor example could arrest the fugitives.

Dost Máhoméd Khân conceived that it behoved him to reduce Mázúlah and to recover his guns. He accordingly, in 1831, marched in person towards Taghow. It is asserted that the Nawâb Jabár Khân was willing that the failure of his brother's enterprise should extenuate the reproach attaching

to his own; and that his letters, encouraging Mázúlah to resistance, were intercepted. The nawáb's friends affirm, that his seal was forged. Dost Máhomed Khân entered Taghow, and reduced the principal castles, while the jísâlchís of his brother, Amír Máhomed Khân, scoured the valley. Mázúlah was ultimately induced, on the guarantee of Hâjí Khân and the good Mússulmâns in camp, to pay his respects to Dost Máhomed Khân, and he engaged, while paying a certain sum down, to remit annual tribute. The abandoned guns were restored. Mázúlah Khân was one of the men feared by Dost Máhomed Khân. He was not a great man, but one that dared to act: and at certain times example is contagious. Mázúlah Khân afterwards visited Kâbal, but under such guarantees that his person was respected. Had he again come he would have repented his confidence. Dost Máhomed Khân, in his anxiety to be ridden of him, offered a reward of three thousand rupees to the person who would slay him. The reward was falsely claimed; and Dost Máhomed Khân was so overjoyed that he paid the money without satisfying himself that the applicant was entitled to it. Some time after Mázúlah was slain by a man, who came laughing up to him, and presented his musket: the wretch was cut down on the spot. It was never ascertained by whom, if by any one, he had been instigated to commit the murder of his chief.

After the submission of Mázúlah and Taghow

Dost Máhomed Khân marched to Lúghmân, and it became revealed that he had designs upon Jelálabád. Máhomed Zemân Khân, previously informed thereof, had applied to the chiefs of Pesháwer for assistance, and they, regarding the capture of Jelálabád as the first step to the prosecution of the Kâbal chief's machinations against themselves, determined to give it, and marched with all haste to Bishbúlák in the valley of Jelálabád, but under the shelter of the Khaibar hills. As the affair was a family one, the Nawâb Jabâr Khân, Máhomed Osmân Khân, and others, became implicated in the league to support Máhomed Zemân Khân. At the approach of the Kabal force Máhomed Zemân Khân retired across the river, followed by Dost Máhomed Khân. A day of skirmishing passed, and on the morrow, when Dost Máhomed Khân had resolved to bring on a decisive action, the Nawâb Jabâr Khân and his party flatly refused to mount, or take part in it. Paralyzed, and ignorant how far the combination in his camp extended, while threatened by a junction of the Jelálabád and Pesháwer troops, Dost Máhomed Khân felt himself powerless. The Nawâb Jabâr Khân now assumed the part of a mediator and composer of differences, an office of which he is so fond that it is jocularly remarked, he promotes difficulties for the pleasure of adjusting them. He had, however, to experience that mediators may not always be acceptable to all parties, and that while setting to rights the affairs of others they

may endanger their own. Willing to preserve Máhoméd Zemân Khân, he did not wish to destroy Dost Máhoméd Khân, and therefore by not entering fully into the views of the Pesháwer chiefs, who thought the opportunity a good one of reducing him to insignificance, he offended them as well as Máhoméd Zemân Khân. Dost Máhoméd Khân was, of course, irritated that he was deterred from seizing a prey within his grasp. By the Nawâb Jabâr Khân's skilful arrangement the invasion was considered a friendly visit, and the firing that had taken place a few *feu de joies* upon the occasion. Máhoméd Zemân Khân was to present his guest, Dost Máhoméd Khân, with forty thousand rupees as míhmâní, or entertainment fee. The Kâbal and Pesháwer troops were respectively to retire. Máhoméd Zemân Khân regretted his money; the Pesháwer chiefs were enraged that they had been put to inconvenience and expense to no purpose, while Dost Máhoméd Khân was indignant at having been baffled. The Kâbal chief, however, intent upon drawing as much advantage as he could from the affair, pretended contrition that he had marched upon Jelálabád, and pleaded in excuse his having listened to bad counsels. He in some measure restored confidence to Máhoméd Zemân Khân, and at length, with his own hand, wrote a series of dreadful imprecations on himself, if ever he wrested Jelálabád from him, on a leaf of the chief's Korân. He, and his brother, Amír Máhoméd Khân, both

put their seals to this delectable document. Having for the moment lulled the suspicions of Máhoméd Zemân Khân, he returned to Kâbal, and informed the Nawâb Jabâr Khân, that having heard so many complaints as to his mal-administration of the Ghiljí districts, he was necessitated to transfer them to Amír Máhoméd Khân to bring them into order. In this manner the Nawâb lost his government.

The conditions of the treaty of Ghazní, as to remittance of the Loghar revenue, had never been fulfilled, and the subsequent death of Fúr Dil Khân rendered the Kâbal chief very easy as to any future embarrassment from Kândahár. The deceased sir-dár, while unpopular from a certain repulsive manner, was clever, and equal to business, which none of his remaining brothers were. The confusion into which their affairs soon fell made them disliked by all classes; and Dost Máhoméd Khân was not displeased at the accounts which from time to time reached Kâbal of their tyranny and mismanagement.

I have now narrated some of the leading events in the career of Dost Máhoméd Khân up to the year 1832, when, for the second time, I reached Kâbal. His course, it will not fail to be noted, had been a singular one. Possessing a variety of talents, without principle, he had foiled his competitors, and elevated himself to power, the great object of his ambition. To attempt to delineate

the character of a man who has none, would be ridiculous. He was good or bad as it suited his conceived interests. Still, the qualities which he derived from nature, or acquired in intercourse with the world, did not constitute him a great man,—the former were not such as rendered him capable of an act of generosity, the latter were not such as permitted him to repose confidence in any human being. Dost Máhoméd Khân might have an accomplice, he could never have a friend; and his power, erected on the basis of fraud and overreaching, was always liable to be destroyed by the same weapons. Many of his vices and errors were, undoubtedly, those of his countrymen, and of circumstances. His fortune had placed him in an age in which honesty could scarcely thrive. Had he been born to legitimate power he would have figured very respectably; his talents would have had a fair field for their developement and exercise, and he would have been spared the commission of many enormities, then unnecessary. It has been remarked, that he never acted wantonly, or perpetrated mischief for the mere sake of mischief, and that he was open to shame, but it was doubtful whether for having done evil or because he had gained nothing by it. It is fair to notice the conduct of Dost Máhoméd Khân in his new capacity of supreme chief of Kâbal, especially as it did him much credit in many respects. From his youth upwards he had been dissipated, and prone to all the vices of

the country. Master of Kâbal, he abjured wine and other unlawful pleasures. The chief of the community, it was due that his example should not be questioned. Of his application and aptitude for business there could be but one opinion. He had been uneducated; he now felt the evil; and by an effort, which required considerable resolution at his age, overcame the neglect of his youth. He learned to read and to write. In all matters where no political questions had force he was fair and impartial, and free from haughtiness; and accessible to all classes. Vigilant in the administration of the country, crimes became few. People ceased to commit them, conscious they should be called to account. There can be no doubt but that at this time Kâbal was flourishing: stranger as I was, and observing the visible content and comfort that prevailed, I could not but have attributed it to the equal rule of Dost Máhomed Khân; but I had afterwards to learn that so much good might be owing to other causes than his justice or care for the welfare of his subjects.

In the month of June accounts reached Kâbal of the intention of the ex-king, Shâh Sújah al Múlkh, to sally forth from his asylum at Lú-díana, and to attempt to re-establish himself in sovereignty at Kâbal. The expression of sentiment this news brought forth proved, at least, that the people, if they had no fair cause of complaint against their actual chief, were not averse to a change in

rule. It necessarily produced much solicitude in the mind of Dost Máhoméd Khân, particularly as, although he did not avow it, he must have suspected the ex-king to be about to move under the sanction, if not with the support, of the British Government of India. It is subject for discussion, whether it was politic or honourable to permit an expelled king to organise armaments in British territory. Dost Máhoméd Khân, on first hearing the report, exclaimed, "I have not money to march an army; the inclinations of the Ghúlám Khâna are well known. I have but a few Afghâns I can depend upon." Mirza Samí Khân, Hâjî Khân, the Khân Múlla Saifadín Khân, and others, urged upon Dost Máhoméd Khân the necessity of assuming royalty, as well to enter the field on equal terms, with respect to rank, with his antagonist, as to obviate a conviction, prevalent amongst Afghâns, that those who fall under the banners of a pádshâh, or legitimate monarch, may hope for the rewards of martyrdom, and which may not be so certainly expected by those who perish under other auspices. The sirdár's relatives universally and vehemently opposed the project; and influenced somewhat by their pertinacity, and perhaps as much by the knowledge that the people in general treated the affair with ridicule, it was abandoned, Dost Máhoméd Khân observing, that it was inconsistent in one who had no money to become a king.

In the month of August, Atmâr, the Hindú

Díwân of Mír Máhomed Morád Beg, the Uzbek chief of Kúndúz, reached Kâbal on a mission. He brought as presents twenty-seven horses and twelve sheep, besides cloths, &c. His avowed objects were with reference to the movements of the Persians in Khorasân, and the announced expedition of the ex-king, Shâh Sujâh al Múlk; to conclude a treaty, offensive and defensive, between Dost Máhomed Khân and his master, to be cemented by family alliances. The Kúndúz chief would engage to furnish, when called upon, seven thousand cavalry. There were many who suspected that the Díwân was merely sent to ascertain thoroughly the state of affairs at Kâbal. That he intrigued with many persons, particularly with Hâjî Khân, under orders for Bísút and Bá-miân, is certain. No one was more indignant than the khân at the bare mention of an Uzbek alliance; and Dost Máhomed Khân, purposing, if opportunity permitted, at some future time to visit Kúndúz, excused himself from benefiting by the condescension of Mír Máhomed Morád Beg, of which he was unworthy.

A few days after the Díwân's arrival Dost Máhomed Khân received a visitor of more distinction in Mír Alam Khân, the chief of Bájor. When foiled in his attempt to secure Jelálabád in the winter, the Kâbal chief threatened to proceed to Bájor; his purpose was diverted by the receipt of a sum of money, some ten or twelve

thousand rupees, and the promise of Mír Alam Khân to come to Kâbal. He now fulfilled it, but under every precaution for his security. Máhoméd Zemân Khân from Jelálabád preceded him a few days, and he received the joint guarantees of Mírza Samí Khân, the Nawâbs Jabár Khân and Máhoméd Zemân Khân, Hâjî Khân, and Khân Sherín Khân. He was numerously attended, and his train, a select one, was well mounted and appareled. Dost Máhoméd Khân received him with great respect, and lodged him in his own palace. The Bájor chief, it appeared, had sent a daughter, very young, to the Vazir Fatí Khân, who intended her for one of his sons. The maiden had grown up, and was now residing with the wives of Dost Máhoméd Khân. It was proposed to give her to one of the chief's sons; to which Mír Alam Khân, looking upon the daughter as lost to him, consented. The Bájor chief remained some days a guest, and although treated with civility, joyfully took his departure, inwardly determined never again to trust himself in the power of Dost Máhoméd Khân. Bájor was a country much coveted by the sirdár, and was the immediate advantage he calculated upon from the possession of Jelálabád. Besides giving him the command of the plains of Pesháwer, and putting him in communication with the fanatical tribes of the mountainous regions between it and Káshmír, from its remote situation and great natural strength, it

would admirably serve as a stronghold and place of refuge in case of a reverse of fortune. The distractions of the Dúrání chiefs had permitted the chiefs of Bájor to lapse into a species of independence. Mír Alam Khân, on discovering that Dost Máhoméd Khân had designs against his territory, had connected himself with the brother chiefs of Pesháwer, who cordially united themselves with him, justly considering the preservation of his country essential to the security of their own.

Numerous were the reports which, during the autumn, were circulated in the city relative to Khorasân and Shâh Sujâh al Múlk's proceedings. It was also a current bazar report that the sirdâr intended to seize Hâjî Khân. In process of time, however, that chief started on his expedition to Bísút and Bámíân, as I have related in the preceding volume.

CHAPTER V.

Researches. — Mound. — Discoveries. — Túz-leaf manuscripts. — Images. — Conjectures. — Antiquity of manuscripts. — Alarm of friends. — Intercourse with Máhoméd Akbar Khân. — His sensible observations.—Anecdote of Mr. Moorcroft.—Dr. Gerard's sculpture.—Excursions.—Return of Hâjî Khân.—His reception. —Hâjî Khân's visit to Kúndúz.—Hospitality of Mír Máhoméd Morád Beg.—Revolt in Bádakshân.—Hâjî Khân's Alíma.—Treaty with Máhoméd Morád Beg.—Ráhmátúlah Beg's replies. —Disposal of Déh Zanghí captives.—Ráhmátúlah Beg's parting remark.—Release of Mír Yezdánbaksh's relatives.—Hâjî Khân's hints to them.—Hâjî Khân's projects.—Samandér Khân.—Dost Máhoméd Khân's discretion.—Hâjî Khân's final determination. — Dost Máhoméd Khân's reproaches. — Hâjî Khân's retort.—Entertainment of elchís and chiefs.—Theft. — Dost Máhoméd Khân's sarcastic counsel. — Hâjî Khân discharges his followers. —His imputed design. — Hússén Khân. — Hâjî Khân's remark.—Movements of Mír Máhoméd Morád Beg.—Fate of Máhoméd Alí Beg.—Abdúlah Khân.

HAVING now resided a year without interruption, and in perfect security, in the country, I was emboldened to essay whether objections would be made to the examination of some of the numerous artificial mounds on the skirts or the hills. I was unable to direct my attention to the massive topes, where considerable expense was required; still, the inferior indications of the olden time might

repay the labour bestowed upon them, and by testing the feeling which my excavations created I might smooth the way for the time when I should be in condition to undertake the superior monuments. Without asking permission of any one, I commenced an operation upon a mound at the skirt of the hill Koh Takht Shâh, separated by a spur from the Zîárat Panjah Shâh Mirdân. It was at the entrance of a little khol, or glen, called Khol Shams, where was a spring and a few trees. The spot I had often visited with picnic parties. Below, or east of it, was a castle and garden, belonging to Akhúnd Iddaitúlah, already introduced in the narrative of my Bámiân excursion. I had become acquainted with his sons, who interested themselves to forward my researches. The mound was composed of two stages, the lower and superior one being garnished with caves. In the centre of the upper one was a circular hollow, supposed by my friends to have been a hous, or reservoir of water. These caves had been visited by the inmates of the castle, and from one of them a copper lamp had been brought, now in the possession of the Akhúnd. I obtained from them specimens of the unbaked bricks which had been employed in the construction of the mound. They were sixteen inches square, with a depth of six inches. On one side was the impression of a hand, on the other that of a figure, or character, 4. Tradition ascribes the locality to Zákóm Shâh, an opponent of Házrat

Alí, and therefore does not throw much light upon it. In the course of four or five days we discovered, nearly at one of the angles of the mound, a tâk, or arched recess, ornamentally carved, and supported by two slender pillars. In it we found the remains of several earthen images; the heads of the two larger ones only were sufficiently entire to bear removal. They were evidently of female figures, and of very regular and handsome features. Affected by moisture, which had naturally in the course of centuries completely pervaded the mound, and everything of mere earth contained within it, we could yet from slight traces ascertain that the figures had been originally covered with layers of white and red paint, and that over the latter had been placed a surface of gold leaf. The hair of the heads, tastefully arranged in curls, had been painted with an azure colour. The recess also had been embellished with gold leaf and lapis lazuli tints. Accompanying the figures were a variety of toys, precisely such as the Híndús make at the present day, and in no better taste, representing horses, sheep, cows &c., of cement. The more important discovery remained. At the base of the recess were hewn stones; and on their removal we found jammed in between them Nágarí writings, on túz leaf. Their position, which had clearly been adopted with a view to their preservation, had not secured them from the consequences of natural decay and the all-penetrating damp.

The characters on many of the fragmental masses were very distinct and legible. It now occurred to me, that an examination of the corresponding angle of the mound might lead to similar results; our labours did not substantiate the notion. We next opened the pile between the two angles, and it soon became evident that the space had been filled by a suite of small apartments. Some of these we cleared out. In one of them, which had been crowned with a dome, we found several images, of different proportions, but one of them eight or ten feet in length. They were all of pure earth, and had been covered with gold leaf, and were lying horizontally. My Máhomedan companions amused themselves in scraping it off, but the images were so saturated that it was impossible even to develop one of them perfectly. In another apartment, which had been alike decorated with mouldings, and painted with white, red, and azure colours, we found three earthen lamps, an iron nail, and one or two fragments of iron. Pieces of charcoal were abundant, and occasionally a few bones were brought to light, with pieces of red and black pottery; the latter of good fabric.

I have been particular in detailing the results here, as they are those likely to be obtained in the examination of the numerous artificial mounds, which everywhere in these countries arrest attention, and which have no doubt a common character. I could not forbear the conjecture that the spot had

been purposely filled up with earth, which indeed was evident, or that it might have been so filled up at some crisis when the torrent of invasion was rolling upon Kábal, and it was judged necessary to conceal the temples and funereal localities to preserve them from desecration. The fragments of writing elicited have a degree of value, since the researches of Mr. Prinsep have arranged, in a tabular form, the Nágari characters in use at various epochs. For our own we cannot claim a very high antiquity. If our preceding surmises have foundation, the locality may have been abandoned and concealed at the inroad of Sabakteghín Khân, the founder of the Ghaznaví dynasty.

My researches became the subject of conversation in the city, and the son of Akhúnd Iddaitúlah having sold the gold leaf he scraped from the images to a goldsmith, for something less, I believe, than a rupee, my friends prayed me to desist from such labours in future, urging that the country was bad, as were the people, and that I should probably get into trouble. I smiled as I essayed to console my friends, and to point out that little notice would be taken of me so long as broken idols were the fruits of my proceedings.

Máhoméd Akbár Khân, son of Dost Máhoméd Khân, hearing of my discoveries, sent for me, and wished to see them. He was enraptured with the two female heads, and lamented that the ideal beauties of the sculptor could not be realized in nature.

From this time a kind of acquaintance subsisted between us, and the young sirdár would frequently send for me. I became a pretty constant visitor at his tea-table, and procured from him an order, addressed to the several maleks and chiefs of the Kohistân and Ghorband, to assist me in any researches I might undertake in those districts, of which the sirdár was then hâkam, or governor. I was as much gratified as surprised to witness the good sense displayed by the young sirdár as to the nature of my researches, and their object. He remarked to those about him, who suggested that I might be seeking treasure, that my only purpose was to advance science, which would lead to my credit on my return to my native country; and he observed, that while amongst Dûránís the soldier was held in honour, amongst Europeans respect was paid to men of "illam," or science. At one of these majlisses, or conversations, when the subject of topes was discussed, a person related that he had attended Moorcroft Sâhib on his visit to Darúnta, and that while inspecting the monuments there a coin was brought, to which the sâhib applying his glass, observed, "Now I understand the meaning of the topes."

My intercourse with the sirdár allayed the apprehensions of my friends, and encouraged me to continue fearlessly my researches. I was always of opinion that no umbrage would be taken, and felt assured, that if I acted openly and fairly I should be fairly dealt with. Nothing farther, of consequence,

was extracted from the mound; but I may here observe, although anticipating the period, that at the close of autumn of this year, when Dr. Gerard arrived in Kâbal, I pointed out the spot to him as one likely to yield some token which he was desirous to possess and to carry with him to India. From it he obtained the marble sculptured slab forwarded to the Asiatic Society in Bengal, an account of which, by his múnshí and companion, Mohan Lâl, appeared in the Journal of the Society for September 1834.

During the preceding year I had made pedestrian excursions within a circuit of six miles around the city; I now felt that I could securely extend them, and my steps were first directed towards the Koh Dámân and Kohistân. With one attendant, I made trips on foot in succession to Shagr Dara, to Ferzah, to Istálif, and at length had pushed onwards as far as Cháríkár. My intention in these trips was not so much to examine deeply into the state and antiquities of the districts as to feel my way, and to become acquainted. To a stranger, like myself, and travelling without tent or retinue, there is difficulty in procuring a house to pass the night in, unless, indeed, the masjít be taken as quarters. To pass the night without is neither safe nor seemly. I had succeeded in forming acquaintances at all the stage villages between Kâbal and Cháríkár, not only on one road, but on all the several roads leading between them, and was certain whenever I

dropped in at any of them to be received with civility.

June opened with cloudy and windy weather. On the 8th and 9th slight earthquakes were experienced. They were both accompanied by a rolling rumbling noise. On the 12th my old friend Hâjî Khân arrived at Kâbal. He scattered money amongst the populace, and proceeded straight to the sirdâr's palace. His solemn intonation of Salâm alíkam was duly responded to by Dost Máhomed Khân, who took his hand and led him into his háram, where he introduced the long absent khân to his favourite wife, the mother of Máhomed Akbár Khân, telling her that her bá bá (father) had returned. On the next morning thé bá bá was informed that his jaëdád of Bámiân was transferred to the sirdâr's son, Máhomed Haidar Khân, and that he should receive annually the equivalent of its revenue in money.

It may not be improper to narrate briefly, in this place, the proceedings of the khân after I left him at Bámiân. I have shown that he was in communication with Mír Máhomed Morád Beg of Kúndúz. His means of subsistence appear to have failed him, and he decided upon becoming the guest of the mír. To appease the clamours of his soldiery for pay, and to relieve them from any solicitude as to their families at Kâbal, he directed letters to be prepared, which he read to them, purporting to be from their connexions in the city, and stating, that

by the khân's orders his agent there had paid them, severally, certain sums of money. To amuse them farther, he announced his intention to build a city, also to break up the two idols, one of which, he affirmed, was full of diamonds, the other of rubies, citing, as a matter of course, the well-known story of Súltan Máhmúd. Finally, unable to remain longer at Bámiân, where he apparently lingered as long as possible, mistrustful perchance of the untried soil of Túrkestân, he distributed eleven pais to each soldier, and started for Kúndúz. He took the road of Séghân and Káhmerd. The hospitality of the Kúndúz chief was unbounded. At every stage provisions of all descriptions were supplied in profusion, nor were luxuries omitted. Tea and sugar were served out to the Afghân soldiery, and the mír's officers wearied themselves in running from tent to tent to see that no want remained unsatisfied. On nearing Kúndúz it was found that a road had been made across the marshes and rice-lands which environ the town, expressly for the passage of the khân and his troops. Mír Máhoméd Morád Beg was suddenly called away to suppress a revolt at Faizabád of Bádakshân. Hájí Khân insisted, as a point of honour, upon accompanying him. The Afghâns could not keep pace with the rapid movements of the Uzbeks. They followed, and reached Faizabád after its capture. The mír, on arrival, carried the place by assault, consigned the inhabitants to slavery, and their chief, Mír Yár Beg Khân, to a dungeon.

The khân, conscious of the Mússulmâní tendency of Mír Máhomed Morád Beg, had prepared to appear before him to advantage. He had converted many of his domestics into múftís, kázís, ákhúnds, múllas, &c., and had surrounded himself with a powerful álíma. In all conversations with the Uzbek chief this gang of impostors was present, and the khân, constantly referring to the múftí sáhib or to the kází sáhib, feigned neither to speak or to act but in consonance with the prescriptions of the Korân. The intercourse between two such zealous Mússulmâns must have been delightful. The khân sojourned at Kúndúz as long as his stay was agreeable; and I have heard that Mír Máhomed Morád Beg repented of having, as he expressed it, shown the Afghâns his country. The visit had, however, proved profitable to the khân in more senses than one, and he had received at sundry times from Diwân Atmar, and it may be supposed with the mír's cognizance, thirty-five thousand rupees. During his stay he had negotiated a treaty with the chief, by which Káhmerd, Séghân, and Ajer, were annexed to the government of Bámíân, and he left Kúndúz, no doubt having impressed Mír Máhomed Morád Beg with the conviction that he had secured a powerful and steady friend at Kábal. On reaching Káhmerd, on his return, he wished Ráhmátúlah Beg to put away one of his wives, to renounce wine, and to become a Mússulmân. Ráhmátúlah asked, how he could discard a woman

who had lived with him thirty years, and who had borne him many children. As to wine, he said, that Killich Alí Beg had licensed him to drink it. The khân could not lay hands upon the property of the Káhmerd chief with any propriety on this occasion, and was reluctantly obliged to forego it. He, however, had procured from him a large quantity of grain, on the pretence of payment, which he was inclined to have forgotten. It was urged, that such conduct would be disreputable, and suggested that a good opportunity presented itself of disposing of the captive Dêh Zanghí chiefs, who would be gladly received by Ráhmatúlah in place of money. They were accordingly made over to him, and he told the poor wretches that they should be liberated in exchange for a certain number of female slaves. Ráhmatúlah Beg accompanied the khan to the crest of the kotal leading from his valley into that of Séghân, and after taking leave of him, turned to his mírza and said, "He has taken my son with him, but if the next year he crosses this kotal you may shave my beard, and tell me that I am no man." At Bámíân the khân was joined by elchís from Bokhára, Khúlm, Kúndúz, Shibrghân, &c. In his camp were the chief of Ajer, and the sons of the chiefs of Káhmerd and Séghân. He had assembled a goodly party of diplomatists and vassal chieftains, and had done no little business, but unfortunately without instructions or authority. It is most probable that the khân would have been

better pleased to have remained at Bámíân than to have returned to Kâbal, but he had no alternative, and had received no satisfactory accounts of Shâh Sújâh al Múlkh's progress. He therefore released the relatives of Mír Yezdânbaksh, until now detained in bonds, and significantly told them that the death of the mír and their treatment was owing to the orders he received from Kâbal, and that now they would show if they were men or not. Mír Abbâs, the principal, took the hint, and began to plunder kâfilas. At Sir Chishma the khân still had scruples as to whether he should go on to Kâbal, and sent to the city for a sum of money and some hundred sets of horse-shoes. The circumstance was reported to Dost Máhommed Khân, who, without comment, ordered both money and horse-shoes to be expedited. The chance is, that he would have been very glad if the khân had made off. This singular man is accused at this time of having meditated the plunder of a kâfila which had accompanied his party from Bámíân, and then to have gained Toba, whence he might, as convenient, proceed to meet Shâh Sújâh al Múlkh, or form new arrangements. It was known that the shâh had been joined by Samandar Khân, Popal Zai, therefore the place of dignity with the prince had been occupied, and Hâjí Khân would not have been content to have played a subordinate part. The junction of Samandar Khân was, in another point of view, obnoxious, as some years since when con-

nected with the sirdárs of Kândahár, and holding the government of Síví, the khân had waylaid, between Peshing and Sháll, a near relative of the Popal Zai Sirdár, and had either slain him or had delivered him to the Kândahár chiefs to be slain. These accidents may have deprived the shâh at this period of the services of Hâjí Khân, Khâka. During his absence the wary Dost Máhoméd Khân had uttered no expression which, reported, could have been interpreted as conveying the notion that he had any suspicions of his governor's designs. At various times he sent purses of two thousand and one thousand rupees to his family, inquired courteously after their necessities, and lamented that the khân had exposed himself to privations. Many people in darbár would state openly that the khân was in rebellion, but this was vehemently protested against by Mírza Samí Khân and the Khân Múlla; the latter asserting that he was too good a Mússulmán ever to be "yâghí," or rebellious. On the khân's reaching Arghandí he cut short his doubts and mental deliberations by exclaiming that he was áshak, or enamoured of the very eyes of Dost Máhoméd Khân. Leaving his troops and companions to follow at their discretion, he galloped off towards the city, attended by a select few. His arrival and reception have been noted.

The resumption of the khân's jaëdád, a clever stroke of Dost Máhoméd Khân, reduced the Khâka chief to comparative insignificance, and paralyzed

him for the moment. It would also compel him to disband his numerous followers, whom he could no longer subsist, and an object of consequence to the sirdár was gained without the ungracious alternative of a peremptory order. The khân, by sitting on the gillam to receive the fátíhas of his friends on account of the decease of his brother, Gúl Máhoméd Khân, was relieved for some days from the mortification of presenting himself at darbár, and had an opportunity to consult secretly with his supporters on his future line of conduct. When he eventually renewed attendance upon the sirdár, he assumed a high tone. The sirdár upbraided him with the murder of Yezdânbaksh. Hâjí Khân asked, if it had not been committed under his orders. "No," said Dost Máhoméd Khân, "I never told you to take seven false oaths, and afterwards to kill the man. I continually wrote to you to give him an abundance of khelats, to secure him, and bring him to Kâbal, when, after some time, I would have behaved handsomely to him, and have released him." The khân retorted, that it was singular the sirdár should reproach any one on the score of taking false oaths, and inquired how he had inveigled and slain the chiefs of the Kohistân. The sirdár answered, by illam bází, or dexterity, for he had sent logs of wood and not Korâns.

The entertainment of the several elchís and chiefs brought by the khân was a subject of consideration.

The sirdár did not look upon them as commissioned to himself, and declared that he had no intention to put himself to any expense. The elchí from Bokhára was handed over to Badradín, one of the most eminent merchants of the city, whose commercial transactions with Bokhára would induce him, unwillingly, or otherwise, to attend to the stray envoy's kidmat. The elchí from Mír Máhoméd Morád Beg, and the chiefs of Séghân and Ajer, with the son of Ráhmátúlah Beg, being peculiarly the guests of Hâjí Khân, were left by the sirdár to his care. While Dost Máhoméd Khân did not acknowledge these people, he did not refuse to accept the presents they brought. Amongst those from Mír Máhoméd Morád Beg were four noble yâks of Bádakshân.

In course of time the Kúndúz elchí discovered, to his consternation, that his purse had been carried off. On scrutiny, the theft was traced to the servant of Hâjí Khân, who brought the morning and evening meals for the elchí's party. The khân bound his servant, and sent him to Dost Máhoméd Khân, who declined to notice the affair, observing, that the guests are Hâjí Khân's: so is the robber, let him act as he pleases. The khân himself repaired to the sirdár, urging, that it behoved him to punish the man. The sirdár did not think so, and said, "Deliver him to the Uzbeks; they may sell him, and make something by him."

Hâjí Khân for some time did not discharge his

followers, perhaps hoping that he might have recovered Bámíân; at length he was compelled to do so, and his overgrown establishment was broken up. This circumstance was hastened by the sirdár ordering some of the Khâka retainers to quit the Chehel Sítún, a large apartment erected over one of the towers of the Bálla Hissár, on the line of wall extending from the Derwâza Shâh Shéhîd, where Hâjî Khân had his house, to the palace. It was pointed out to Dost Máhoméd Khân that his discontented khân could at any time push his men along the ramparts directly into his residence, and that he was not secure. The demolition of Chehel Sítún was directed, and the sirdár put in hand some precautionary erections at the point where the palace was connected with the ramparts. One Nekho Máhoméd had even reported that he had become informed that some dark enterprize had been concerted. The Chehel Sítún had been built, in the reign of Shâh Zeman, by Jân Nissar Khân, his governor of Kâbal, that the prince might enjoy the view from it.

The khân sat very uneasy under his degradation, but soon had an opportunity of entering into fresh intrigues, from which he cherished the hopes of gratifying his revenge on the sirdár, and of advancing his own ambitious views. Under the sirdár's son, Máhoméd Haidar Khân, one Hússén Khân, Shâh Síwân, had been appointed náib, or deputy governor of the Hazáraját and Bámíân.

Hâjî Khân on the occasion told the sirdâr that he had placed an elephant's load upon a jackass.

With this anecdote we shall leave the khân for the present, observing, that on the return of the several elchís and petty chiefs to Túrkestân, Mír Máhoméd Morad Beg resumed Káhmerd, Séghân, and Ajer. He farther chapowed Séghân, and consigned its chief, Alí Máhoméd, the father-in-law of Hâjî Khân, to a dungeon.

During the winter, or while I was absent with the khân in Bísút, Abdúlah Khân, the Atchak Zai chief, who, as I have mentioned, had been seized by the sirdárs of Kândahár, was permitted by them to proceed to Kâbal. He came in company with Rámazân Khân, Ohtak, alike discontented, and was courteously received by Dost Máhoméd Khân. To Abdúlah Khân was assigned a jâghír of sixty thousand rupees per annum, and to Rámazân Khân another of twenty thousand rupees per annum. Abdúlah Khân had little to recommend him beyond being one of the few hereditary Dúrání sirdárs who had hitherto, having attached himself to the interests of the Barak Zai family, escaped from persecution by them. He was one of the friends of the Sirdâr Máhoméd Azem Khân in Kashmír, and had acquired an evil reputation for possessing wealth. Now that he had been confined and put to shame, his reputation adhered to him, and he brought it with him to Kâbal.

CHAPTER VI.

Tour in Koh Dáman, &c.—Nánachí.—Mírza Jáfár Khân.—Kotal Kers Khâna.—Tumuli.—Killa Kohchíân.—Názir Mír Alí Khân.—His conversation and travels.—Accident.—Shakr Dara.—Serai.—Bízadí.—Bédak.—Kâh Dara.—Zirgarân.—Cave.—Tálúk of Ferzah.—Sekandar Shâh.—Persian Inscription.—Cascade.—Aurículas.—Killa Shâhí.—Istálif.—Delightful view.—Zíárat Házzar Eshân.—Azdhá.—Orchards.—Tálúk of Istálif.—Máhomed Shâh Khân.—His capture of Kâbal.—His death.—Bolend Khân.—His execution.—Istargitch.—Approach to Chárikár.—Town of Chárikár.—Trade.—Destruction of Gúrkha battalion.—Húpíân.—Tútam Dara.—Shesh Búrjeh.—Application.—Octogenarian invalid.—Távíz.—Dost Máhomed Khân's severity.—Alí Khân.—His recommendations to his raiyats.—Canals.—River of Tútam Dara.—Conflict and surrender of Dost Máhomed Khân.—Súltân Singh's garden.—History of Súltân Singh.—His rise.—Plot of Mírza Imâm Verdí.—Súltân Singh's adroitness.—Habíb Ulah Khân's measures.—Súltân Singh's state.—Seizes his ancient employer.—Malek Isâ Khân's proposal.—Súltân Singh swallows poison.—Jâh Nimâhí.—Tope Dara.—Simplicity.—Nekkak Perída.—Compass.—Fugitive of Húpíân.—Séh Yárân.—Zíárat Derwísh.—Killa Khúrbân.—Inhabitants of Chárikár.—Shâhmak.—Sanjit Dara.—Máhomed Jáfár Khân.—Killa Mír Saiyad Khân.—Kâbal doctor.—Objects of excursion.—Killa Bolend.—Plain of Bégrám.—Return.—Baloch Khân.—Coins.—Apprehensions of people.—Reports.—Killa Músa Khân.—Tá-tarang Zár.—Kállakhân.—Tope.—Chéní Khâna.—Killa Rajpút.—Kotal Mámá Khátún.—Killa Iltáfat Khân.—Kotal Pâh Mínár.—Return to Kâbal.

THE return of Hâjí Khân had reproduced my old companion Sirkerder Kamber, and I proposed to him a lengthened excursion into Koh Dáman and Kohistân; to which he cheerfully consented. We accordingly made our arrangements, and in his company I started on the tour.

Passing Deh Afghân, Killâ Bolendí, and the village of Barakí, we gained the seignorial castle of Nánáchí, belonging to Mírza Jáfar Khân, now aged and blind, but once the confidential mírza of the Vazír Fatí Khân. From wealth, acquired in the vazír's service, the mírza has constructed three castles here, and has purchased a large tract of land. Mírza Samí Khân, the present minister of Dost Máhoméd Khân, married his daughter; and to this alliance owes in great measure his elevation; indeed the blind mírza advanced his son-in-law the sum of money which secured him office. He is sometimes consulted on affairs of moment, and it need hardly be said, having mentioned under whom he was employed, that as a statesman he is clever, reckless, and unprincipled. Age has made him morose, while he was naturally cruel, and it is, perhaps, quite as well that blindness incapacitates him from taking an active part in public affairs. To our right on leaving Nánáchí, we had the extensive pastures, now partially under water, called the Chaman of Vazírabád, from a village on their southern limit. Tracing their western bounds, we reached the village of Déh Kippak, of one hundred houses

enclosed within walls. Beyond this, crossing a barren stony tract, we came to the Kotal Kers Khâna, or Pass of the Bear's den. At its entrance we found a ruinous stone tower, formerly a *chokí*, a few *tút*, or mulberry-trees, and excellent water in a *káréz*. The kotal is rather a slight defile than a pass, and was about three quarters of a mile in length, the road, although rocky, being perfectly easy to our cattle. At its western extremity was a tower, the station of officers receiving duties. Hence we had a noble view of the district of Shahr Dara, and of the plain of Koh Dáman. We halted a few moments to enjoy the scene. On looking back we found we had still in sight the Bálla Hissár of Kâbal. From the tower, on either side of the road gently inclining towards the plain, were, at regular intervals, the circular foundations of ancient structures, which my companions conjectured to have been towers, but which were rather sepulchral tumuli. They occur in some number. Having gained the level but sterile plain, we had nothing better to do than make the best of our way across it, and to reach the cluster of villages, castles, and orchards which spread before us. The plain, generally pretty even, had its surface fractured in two or three places, and we crossed two or three ravines, in one of which flowed the rivulet called the river of Koh Dáman, which rising amongst the hills above Gázá, in the extreme south-west quarter, traverses the valley and runs along its eastern limits, until it finally falls

into the united rivers of Ghorband, Perwan, and Pangshír, below Júlgha. At length we reached the vicinity of the two Kárézaks, Bálla and Pâhín (the upper and lower), villages at the skirts of the hills. Above them, a little to the north, was Gázá, where resides Náib Amír Khân. The three villages are all advantageously situated, and are abundantly distinguished by vestiges of the olden time, in mounds and tumuli. It was dark before we reached the seignorial castle of Kohchíân, the first one occurring to the south of Shagr Dara, to which we had been invited, and where we were politely welcomed by its proprietor, Názir Mír Alí Khân. A capital supper was prepared, and we were lodged in the Míhmân Khâna, over the entrance to the castle. On one of my former excursions, in making for Kâbal from Shagr Dara, I had met the názir, at that time unknown to me, near the Kotal Kers Khâna. He stopped his horse and asked if I was not a Feringhí; on being answered, yes, he much wished me to have returned with him, and pointed to his castle. I then declined to do so, and he made me promise I would visit him on some future occasion. The názir had been a merchant, and had also served the Sirdár Máhoméd Azem Khân in Káshmir; owing to which he was held guilty of being very rich, and had been more than once required to disgorge part of the wealth he had acquired. To avoid farther demands upon his coffers, without absolutely pretending to be a pauper, he represented himself as struggling

with the world, and barely able to make his way. His castle, a very excellent one, was built by Rohilla Khân, Popal Zai, a man who in by-gone days of anarchy seems to have been the tyrant of his neighbourhood. He was slain by one Báram, at the instigation of Hábib Ulah Khân. From his heirs the castle was purchased by a daughter of the Vazír Fatí Khân, who sold it to the názir for six thousand five hundred rupees.

I had not intended to have halted here, but to have spent the day at Shakr Dara, yet, as the názir talked of detaining us several days, we thought it seemly to remain one. On rising I joined my host, who was an earlier riser than I was, in a garden, near a reservoir of water shaded by majnún bédés or weeping willows. We commenced the day with a plentiful feast on mulberries and apricots, after which kabâb, or roast meat, with admirable bread, prepared, as is the vogue at Herát, was introduced as a nâstar, or breakfast. We had a good deal of general conversation; from which I learned that the worthy názir had been a great traveller, having visited India, Arabia, Persia, and Túrústân. He had been at Bágdad, when Mr. Rich was resident there, and, according to his statement, had been a frequent visitor of that gentleman. The north-west tower having a very elevated apartment over it, I asked if it were practicable for me to gain it, without incommoding his family. He obligingly replied, "Bismillah," and ordered the females of his

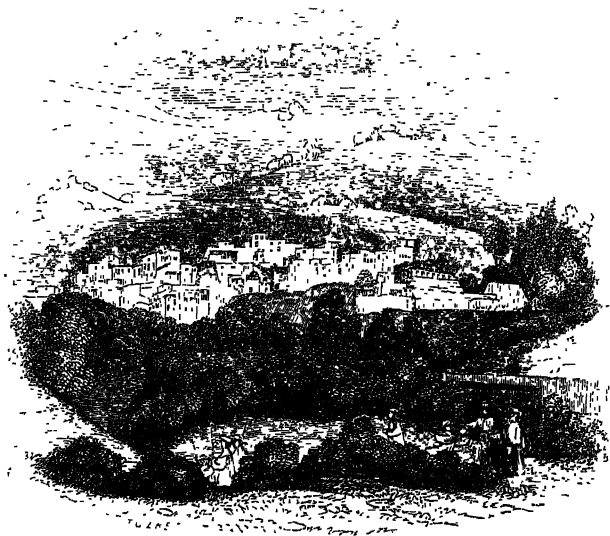
háram to retire that I might pass. While this was in operation one of the good man's wives arrived from Kâbal, seated on a pony, which being led near the horse of my companion the sirkerder, a very vicious animal, a battle took place, in which the lady was capsized, fortunately without greater detriment than fright. After this untoward accident the wayward beast broke from his ropes, and fled from the castle. The nâzir's servants mounted, and, after a long chase over the country, secured the fugitive at the foot of the Kotal Kers Khâna.

I ascended the tower, accompanied by a rîsh saféd, the malek of the castle, to give me all requisite information, and by another person, to attend to my wants while I remained in it. I did not leave until evening, being well occupied in taking sketches, bearings, and making myself acquainted with the country. Dinner and fruit were sent up to me, and I passed the day very agreeably. The apartment commanded an extensive prospect, and, for whatever purpose erected, had clearly been the scene of many a festive party, if we might infer from the numerous distichs, written on its walls.

In the morning we took leave of our friend the nâzir, who detained us until some dozen eggs were boiled; which he made us put up in our kâskúrzíns, with a couple of Herát cakes. We proceeded towards the gardens of Shakr Dara, which we soon reached, having the small village of Killa

Saféd (the white castle) on our left. Crossing a small rivulet, we passed, also to the left, the village of Killa Ahmed. Our road now led through a wilderness of gardens and orchards, the road defined by parapets of stones, and at nearly every step crossed by canals of water. We arrived at the large village of Serai, inhabited principally by Hindús, adjacent to which is Súrkh Bolendí (the red mound), where resides Shâh Nawáz Khân, the hákam of the district, or tálúk. Here the Hindú Díwân of the Nawâb Jabár Khân followed me, and entreated me to become his guest, and I fear was mortified at my refusal. A little beyond Serai we crossed a small stream, rolling over a rocky bed, called the river of Shahr Dara. It did not exceed in breadth fifteen feet, but its current was noisy and impetuous. We next passed the remains, still attractive, of a royal garden planted by Taimúr Shâh, and our road still threading through orchards, with the villages of Yákúb, Súlímân, &c., to our left, we at length cleared Shahr Dara. On gaining the open country we came upon the zíárat of Khwoja Wahâdar Jâhí, where are two or three large chanár, or plane-trees. Soon after we arrived parallel to the large village of Bízâdí, to our left, on the elevated side of a deep ravine, down which flows a rivulet. This place is picturesquely situated, and is famous for the manufacture of vinegar. We next passed, also to our left, the large village of Bédak, alike romantically situated on an emi-

nence, and surrounded with gardens, vineyards, and orchards. This place is included in the tálúk of Kâh Dara. On the side of the ravine opposite is seated the smaller village of Killa Kâzi. On the



BEDAK.

line of road east of Bédak is the castle called Killa Wâsil, where I halted and sketched the village. Hence we proceeded to the large village of Kâh Dara, which has an abundance of gardens and vineyards, and is the capital of a tálúk, enjoyed in jâghír by Mírza Samí Khân. The rivulet here is considerable, and termed the river of Kâh Dara. We next made the small village of Kadowla, with a small rivulet, and boasting the same advantages

of site, abundance of water, and gardens. Beyond it we entered the *tálúk* of Ferzah, passing to our left the Afghân hamlet of Bostân. Thence made our way through orchards, with castles and villages to the right and left, until we reached the village of Zirgarân, seated on an eminence, south of a stream called the river of Ferzah. Here we halted for the day, at the house of a previous acquaintance. The village commanding an extensive view of the Kohistân, as well as Koh Dáman, I took bearings and made observations from it during the remainder of the day. There was also at the summit of the eminence the entrance to a cave, which, although in a measure closed up, we could easily see once led by flights of steps downwards. The people represented, that within memory it was practicable to reach the bottom, where the stairs terminated in a spacious chamber, surmounted with a *gúmbúz*, or cupola. An account so sober and probable, that I felt conviction it was true.

The next day I passed in visiting the several villages and castles of Ferzah and its *zíárats*, and in making a sketch of *Déh Zirgarân*. The *tálúk*, I found, comprised twelve villages and four castles. The two principal villages, inhabited by *Tâjiks*, contained but eighty houses each, and the remainder varied from thirty to seventy houses. The aggregate of villages and castles embraced about seven hundred houses, consequently a population of nearly four thousand souls may be assigned to the

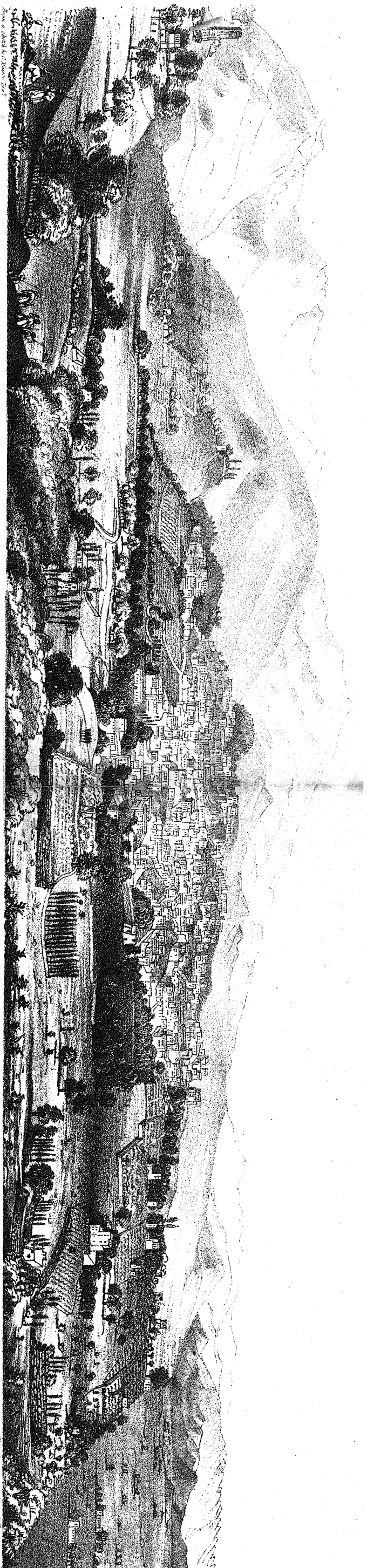
tálúk of Ferzah. This is mixed Afghân and Tâjik, although the tribes are generally distinct in the villages. The Tâjiks are under a local governor, one Sekandar Shâh, saiyad, formerly a notorious robber. On inquiring what sort of a hákam he made, I was told he was very fond of exacting fines, but that he had a very smooth tongue. Whatever sum he imposed, he assured the individual that owing to a particular affection for him he only claimed half what was due to the offence, and to his own duty, but friendship could not be resisted. Amongst the zíárats of the place I discovered a slab with a partially defaced Persian inscription, commemorating the foundation of a fort, or castle of Nasírabád. It was unknown from what spot the stone had been conveyed, or to what locality it alluded.

We proceeded up the glen of Ferzah for the purpose of visiting an áfsháh, or cascade. Our road led by many of the villages, most romantically and delightfully situated on eminences. When we had passed them we entered a lovely glen, very spacious at its commencement. I was astonished at the wild luxuriance of the vegetation, and at its variety, and observed with satisfaction the violet, and the blackberry-bush. This enchanting space had been till within a very few years filled by a royal garden; little remained in evidence thereof but cultivated flowers, as sweet flags, &c., here and there spontaneously growing. As we paced up the glen it contracted, but was always abundant in grass and

plants. Towards its extremity the road became troublesome, but I did not dismount, and it opened into a clear space, immediately under the body of the superior hills, over which a pass led into the Hazára district of Túrkomân. Here we found the cascade, which was indeed an agreeable object, although inconsiderable as to size. I made a sketch of it, and then went to the limits of the snow in front, where I was surprised to find a profusion of the most beautiful auriculas. I know not whether I was most pleased at having seen the cascade or discovered the flowers. Having eaten our breakfasts, which we had brought with us, we returned to Déh Zirgarân, well satisfied with our trip. The remainder of the day we passed in the garden of Ak-húnd Iddaitúláh's castle, where we regaled ourselves upon mulberries at discretion.

Between Ferzah and Istálif the soil was broken by ravines, and a very deep one occurs just before reaching the latter place, where Killa Shâhí, or the royal castle, stands, on an eminence left of the road. It was built by Taimúr Shâh, who also planted a garden here, of which hardly a trace remains; but there are numerous holly-trees sprinkled about, of which the inhabitants boast, as there are none other to be found in the Koh Dáman, however plentiful in the superior hills of Hindú Kosh. The royal castle had lofty walls and towers, but was built of mud, and has been seriously injured by the people themselves, who

are not well disposed to crown property, and wished to make it for ever untenable, both because it commanded their town and that they might divert into their gardens a canal which was formerly directed through its interior. Hence we had a magnificent *coup d'œil* of the town of Istálif, seated on the opposite side of a profound glen, or valley, down which, over a bed of rocky boulders, rushes a foaming rivulet. The sides of the glen are clad with orchards and vineyards, which alike fill much of the valley above and below the town. The houses occupying the rising ascent of the glen, and standing on sites elevated one above the other, are all distinctly and separately discernible. Above the town soar some magnificent chanárs, which denote the zíárat of Házzrat Eshân. Istálif is one of the most picturesque spots which can be conceived; all that a combination of natural beauties can achieve we behold here in perfection: their effect is not diminished, but rather augmented by the rude appearance of the houses of the town. The scenery of the country around is extensive and grand, in happy unison with the keeping of the whole picture. The people of the country have a proverb, that he who has not seen Istálif has nothing seen. We will not venture to say so much as that, but may be allowed to believe that he who has seen Istálif is not likely to see many places to surpass it, and few to equal it. We were never tired of looking at the luxuriant scene, and left



VIEW OF ISTAILF, IN KOH DAMAN.

London, Richard Bence, New Burlington Street, 1842.

with regret, to fix our quarters, although intending to return on the morrow.

We early repaired the following day to the royal castle, and I commenced a sketch of the fair landscape before me. Indisposition compelled me to defer my labour; and crossing the glen, I walked to the town to procure medicine, availing myself of the opportunity to visit the zîárat of Házzrat Eshân. Here were a number of slabs with Persian inscriptions, but they proved to be religious mottoes and pious sentences. The curiosity at the zîárat is the number of plane-trees, which together form the mass, which, a conspicuous object to the regions around, appears but one tree in the distance. There is a group of several trees, I think thirty-seven, and the difficulty of counting them correctly is believed to be due to an illusion which enshrouds the consecrated locality. Házzrat Eshân is but a recent saint, of not quite a century and half's standing. He came from Túrkistân, and his descendants, all holy men, are still numerous in the Koh Dáman. The spot, however, was probably a shrine of antiquity, and the Házzrat has usurped the homage formerly paid to another. Istálif boasts also of the zîárat of Sofí within the town, of that of Noh Lákhí Sáhib, in the glen at the western extremity of its orchards, and of that of Házzrat Shâh Mirdân, at Shoráwer, one of its dependent villages, where are some volcanic vestiges and sulphurous springs. A vein of a white friable stone, tinged with a red

colour, is believed to be the petrified remains of a dragon, slain, as all dragons in these countries are, by the keen-edged Zúlfíkár.

Nearly every householder of Istálif has his garden or orchard. In most of these is a tower, where, as soon as the fruits ripen, the families repair, closing their houses in the town. The people themselves, Tájíks, are not very amiable, nor are their females very chaste; and the mulberry season, which draws them into the orchards, by affording facilities to their intercourse, is generally marked by sanguinary conflicts and murders, and proves productive in fines to the governor. Besides the town of Istálif, the tálúk comprises the adjacent villages of Gúdára, Perganna, Shonakí, Khwoja Hassan, Malla, Hassan Kacha, and Shoráwer. The town and villages are reckoned to contain together three thousand houses, which would give a population of fifteen thousand to eighteen thousand souls to the tálúk. The revenue derived from it is rated at forty thousand rupees, and this year was enjoyed by Abdúláh Khân, the Atchak Zai sirdár. A great part of the population of the town is of the weaver class, and quantities of coarse cloths, lúnghís, and súsí, are manufactured, and a trade is maintained with Túrkestân. During the years of anarchy which distinguished the downfall of the Sadú Zai monarchs, some individuals of notoriety were produced amongst the turbulent citizens of Istálif.

The most remarkable was Máhomed Shâh Khân, a simple weaver, who rose one morning, and fancied himself destined to be pádshâh of Delhí. Grasping his musket, he left his house alone, shot the two or three first men he met, to show that he was in earnest, and took the road to Kâbal. Before reaching Ferzah he had been joined by several, and then crowds began to flock in to him. At the head of four or five thousand men he entered Kâbal. The court, under Shâh Máhmúd, was absent at Pesháwer; and Prince Súltân Alí, governor, had difficulty to preserve the Bálla Hissár, being compelled to abandon the city to the weaver-king. Shâhzâda Abbás broke from confinement, and aspired to sovereignty; and as Máhomed Shâh Khân's ideas extended far beyond Kâbal, he could afford to support the prince's views there, and an understanding followed between them. The weaver quartered his men on the inhabitants of the city during the winter, and spared the Shía quarter of Chándol, at his mercy, by listening to the hopes of ransom held out to him by the Ghúlám Khâna, then with their sovereign at Pesháwer. In spring Sirdár Máhomed Azem Khân was commissioned to clear the city of the pests assailing it; and arriving with a large body of troops, some hard fighting ensued. Máhomed Shâh Khân was slain, and, Prince Abbas secured, was re-conducted to his prison. More recently, one Bolend Khân made a figure in the country. Alike a weaver ori-

ginally, he became a robber, and flourished so exceedingly that he became the terror of the neighbourhood. He built a castle on an eminence at Istálif, completely overlooking and overawing the town and tálúk. He rendered some important services to Dost Máhoméd Khân, which he pleaded when, subsequently, that chief seized him, and ordered him to be put to death. Dost Máhoméd Khân acknowledged them, but said he was not about to be slain for the services he had performed, but for the treason he meditated.

On leaving Istálif we passed down the glen for about a mile, and cleared the gardens of the place. We then crossed the river, and traversing a very rocky surface, made the high road, leading a mile and a half to two miles from the hills. Passed the parallel of Shoráwer, where are seen the azdhá, or dragon, and impressions in the rock, believed to be of Daldal, the charger of Házrat Alí. Next that of Kúshâb, a small hamlet, the more northerly of the tálúk of Istálif. Beyond this, we reached the parallel of Istargitch, a collection of villages and orchards. It is famous for its grapes, and was formerly for the refractory spirit of the inhabitants. Dost Máhoméd Khân somewhat allayed it by the execution of two of their maleks, who were brothers, Agá Jân and Malekjí Khân. Still further, and computed four cosses from Istálif, we had under the hills another cluster of villages and orchards, called Sanjit Dara. About a coss

beyond, having passed in the interval the castle and hamlet of Rajjist, we came in a line with Tope Dara, celebrated for the magnificent tope it contains. Another coss brought us to Chaikal, a village of fifty houses immediately on the road, opposite to the zíarat of the Khwârzâda of Shâh Nakshband. At this point commenced the gardens and cultivation of Chárikár. At the entrance of the town is a large castle, the residence of Khwoja Pádshâh, one of the hereditary kowâníns of the Kohistân, and claiming descent from Házrat Eshân. Our road this morning had been over a tolerably even plain, sometimes crossed by rivulets and canals of water. To our left, as has been noted, were the skirts of the hills, and to our right the open plain of Koh Dáman, with its villages and cultivation. A few black tents were occasionally seen on the plain, the abodes of the Afghân pastoral families, whose flocks grazed it.

I had already made acquaintances in Chárikár, and we halted at the house of one of them, at the opening of the town. After refreshing ourselves we walked up the bazar, about four hundred yards in length, and loosely covered to exclude heat. The town is said to contain about one thousand houses, and carries on an active trade with the neighbouring districts on either side of the Hindú Kosh. It exports the coarse products of the looms of the Kohistân and considerable quantities of iron, both in pigs and manufactured into horse-shoes. At Chá-

rikár resides the hákam, or governor of the Kohistân; and duties are levied here on merchandize passing to and fro between it and Túrkhistân. They were this year farmed for ten thousand rupees.

Cháríkár during the recent military occupation of Kâbal was the seat of a political agent, and the station of the shâh's Gúrkha battalion. When the insurrection broke out the position was attacked by the warlike Kohistânís, and after some days' severe fighting the battalion, sadly diminished in numbers, retired upon Kâbal, and at Karabagh nine miles from Cháríkár, its wrecks, entangled amongst the orchard walls of the town, were overwhelmed and extinguished. The gallant little mountaineers of Nípal would, however, appear to have left their foes as much cause for sorrow as for exultation, and, at least, died worthily.

Early in the morning we took the road to Tútam Dara, carrying our breakfast in our saddle-bags, and accompanied by an acquaintance, one Dádají. To our left we passed the small village of Húpíân, deserted in great measure, but once famous for its sai-yads, the principal of whom, Saiyad Ashraf Khân, was slain by Dost Máhoméd Khân, and the remainder are fugitives in Sir Aulang. It is farther distinguished by its huge artificial mounds, from which at various times copious antique treasures have been extracted. Beyond Húpíân every glen of the hills had its orchards, until we reached a castle called Killa Walí, where commences the district of Tútam Dara,

immediately preceded by a burial-ground, in which the graves were disposed without much nicety, as many extending from east to west as from north to south. We passed through the village, of about one hundred and fifty houses, the better of which belong to Hindús, who reside here in some number. We made for the seignorial castle of Shesh Búrjeh, belonging to Alí Khân, and seated on an eminence overlooking the river of Ghorband, which here issues from the hills into the basin of the Kohistân. While taking our breakfast, Sirkerder Kamber went to the castle for some butter-milk. The females observing that I had a book in my hand, asked if the âkhúnd was a múlla, and from what country he came. The sirkerder said, from a country one year and one month distant. One of them said, that if the âkhúnd would write a távíz for a person with afflicted eyes it would be a charitable act. The sirkerder promised to inform the âkhúnd. He came to me, and after we had breakfasted returned to the fair Tâjiks, and told them that the âkhúnd had opened his book, and that his nazzar, or sight, had fallen upon a black fowl, which if given he would write a távíz. The females ran into the castle, and a few minutes after came, led by a youngster, a short miserable-looking octogenarian, with his eyes bound up, and weeping most bitterly. Old as he was, he proved to be the husband of one of the prettiest of the Tâjik ladies, was named Azem Khân, and by office názir to

Alí Khân. He fell at my feet, embraced them, and sobbed incessantly. He protested, that he had no black fowl, but would give his shirt or his trowsers, such as they were, if I would write a távîz. I made haste to scribble the letters of the alphabet on a slip of paper, and directed it to be carefully sewn in fine linen and suspended over his temples. For fear the távîz might not be effective, I recommended his wife to coagulate the white of an egg with alum, and apply the mass to his eyes by night, hoping that the epithem of Riverius might benefit him if the charm should not. Dádají was not pleased that I should write a távîz múft, or gratis, and seemed to think that if black fowls were not produced white fowls ought to have been. It is scarcely possible to visit any place in the Koh Dáman or Kohistân without learning some proof of the justice or severity of Dost Máhoméd Khân. Here the malek, Alí Khân, is the son of Sâkí Khân, one of the eight maleks seized the same day at Kárabâgh, and executed together at Chárikár.

Alí Khân has secured tolerable interest in the darbár at Kábal by giving his sister in marriage to Názir Alladád Khân, Júânshír, the brother of Dost Máhoméd Khân's mother, and who is the adviser and director of his son, Máhoméd Akbar Khân. Názir Alladád has estates at Tútam Dara, and by renewing an ancient canal has brought as much waste land under cultivation as yields an annual return of two hundred kharwârs of grain. He is,

moreover, the hákam, and holds the valley in jághír. He is accustomed to tell his raiyats to repeat fewer prayers, and observe less fasting, but in lieu thereof to speak truth and be more honest.

From the river at Tútam Dara are diverted three magnificent canals, each extending for six cosses, or about nine to ten miles southernly, and for that distance irrigating and fertilizing the plain. The more westernly is called Júi Robát, from terminating at a place so called. The intermediate one is named Júi Khwoja, and terminates at Dowlat Khâka. The third, and easternly one terminates at Karotí. In its course it supplies the villages and lands of Déh Sádúlah, Déh Kází, Baiyân Mír Moghal Khân, Yúrchí, Tok-chí, Khwoja Khedarí, Shâkhân, Mâhíghír; beyond which is Karotí. This canal is named the Júi Mâhíghír, and was made, or renewed, by Amír Taimúr.

Tútam Dara has since acquired celebrity, from having been the spot where Dost Máhoméd Khân, in his attempt to raise the Kohistân, encountered the British force under General Sale, and where the misconduct of a regiment of native cavalry led to some unfortunate results. Dost Máhoméd Khân and his followers, it would seem, were little satisfied with their triumph, for the latter dispersed, and the former, in true Afghân style, observing, that rather than be sold by one of the scoundrels about him, it would be better for him to sell himself, rode off, nearly unattended, to Kâbal, and surrendered to the envoy, Sir W. Macnaghten.

The river of Tútam Dara, flowing from Ghorband, was not at this time wider than thirty feet, nor little more than knee-deep. Its course was impetuous, and over a bed strewn with boulders. Seen from the castle of Alí Khân, the valley was sufficiently picturesque, and I judged it worthy of a sketch. We were now on the brink of the basin of the



TUTAM DARA.

Kohistân, and had skirted the hills which bound Koh Dáman to the west throughout their entire length. I should have been happy to have extended my progress into the Kohistân, but being at this time unable, I returned to Cháríkár.

In the evening we repaired to the garden of the

late Díwân Súltân Singh, where we were delighted with a variety of flowers, Indian chrysanthemums, balsams, stocks, Indian pinks, China asters, princes' feathers, French and African marigolds, &c. The paths were planted on either side with safédárs and poplars, and in the centre, where they met, was a takht and summer-house. At one extremity of the garden was a díwân-khâna, or hall of audience, at the other a handsome hamárat, or residence, painted within and without with flowers. The garden to the north was open, allowing a complete and magnificent view of the Kohistân and the Hindú Kosh. It occurred to me, that no Máhomedan would ever have thought of this arrangement. Díwân Súltân Singh was a person of no small importance in his day. He was son of a Síkh of Cháríkár, the tarâzadár, or weigher of grain, to Malek Isâ Khân of Máhomed Irákí, a district near Khwoja Régh Rawân. The son succeeded to his father's office, but subsequently became a partner, or connected with Díwân Damúdúr, the díwân of the Sâk Zai Sirdár Madat Khân. When Sirdár Máhomed Azem Khân returned from Kashmír he called for an account of the revenues of Koh Dáman and Kohistân from Díwâns Ramsah and Gúrsah, who gave false statements. Súltân Singh informed the sirdár of their delinquencies, and was appointed díwân of Koh Dáman and the Kohistân in their stead. He held office during the lifetime of the sirdár and his son, Habíb Ulah Khân.

In the distracted politics of that period, the díwân connected his interests with those of Amínúlah Khân, Logarí, and when the khân, fearing the headstrong violence of the sirdár, turned his attention to Dost Máhoméd Khân, the díwân did the same. Mírza Imâm Verdí, the minister of Habíb Ulah Khân, had concerted a plan to secure his master's stability, by the removal of four obnoxious persons, viz. Náib Amínúlah Khân, Hafizjí son of Mír Wais, Shékh Mazár, and Mír Marjatí of the Kohistân. Súltân Singh, known to be eminently bold and reckless, was destined a part in the execution of this scheme. Summoned to a conference with Habíb Ulah and Mírza Imâm Verdí, he was informed of what was intended to be done, and of what was expected from himself. On taking leave he revealed the plot to Náib Amínúlah Khân. This coming to Habíb Ulah Khân's knowledge, he sent Názir Alí Máhoméd to secure the díwân, intending to put him to death. The názir told Súltân Singh that Habíb Ulah Khân wished to give him a khelat, and dismiss him to the Kohistân.

Súltân Singh immediately ordered his yábús to be laden, and putting forty armed Kohistánís in front of his horse, accompanied the názir to that part of the Shohar bazár where one road leads to the Bálla Hissár and another to the house of Amínúlah Khân. Súltân Singh took the latter, and the názir reported to the sirdár that the Hindú had foiled him. Habíb Ulah Khân ordered the drums to beat to

arms, and marched on Amínúlah Khân's house. The khân resisted, having been joined by his friends, and the sirdár's efforts to force his house proved ineffectual. These events led to the re-appearance of Dost Máhoméd Khân, and the battle on the plain of Kergah, where Habíb Ulah Khân was defeated. Under Dost Máhoméd Khân the díwân continued in employ, and was particularly distinguished for the dexterity with which he managed the affairs of the district under his charge. A person of most forbidding features, he had acquired an ascendancy in the Kohistân that no person before him had enjoyed. He affected the state of a sirdár, held levées and darbárs, planted gardens at Chá-*ríkár* and Saiyad Khél, and built splendid residences and castles. He was suspected of entertaining the notion that the Ráj Gúru was near at hand, but he was destined to fall. Forgetful of his obligations in early life to Malek Isâ Khân, he obtained, by his representations, an order from Dost Máhoméd Khân to seize him. The malek was called to Chá-*ríkár*, on pretence of business, was made prisoner, and conveyed to Kâbal. A fine of sixteen thousand rupees was demanded of him, but he had interested in his favour Mírza Samí Khân and Názir Alí Máhoméd. Malek Isâ Khân said to Dost Máhoméd Khân, "You have sold me to my slave for sixteen thousand rupees; put the slave in his ágá's hands, and you shall have thirty thousand rupees." Dost Máhoméd Khân feigned to be

soothed with this proposal, and was not displeased to see competition, as it promised to increase the sum he should get from one or other, or from both of them. Súltân Singh was sent for by Dost Máhoméd Khân, who applied to him many abusive epithets, and talked, without intending to do so much, of making him a Mússulmán. On reaching home the díwân sent for a rupee's weight, or value of arsenic, discoursed with his friends, like Cato, upon the immortality of the soul, dismissed them, locked his door, and swallowed the poison. Dost Máhoméd Khân was exceedingly sorry when informed of his death. Nor is this the only instance when he has had to regret having driven a high-spirited man to self-destruction. Malek Isâ Khân now excused himself from paying anything, as the díwân had not been made over to him, and the sirdár, ashamed of the affair, gave him his liberty. He, however, benefited by the appropriation of the estates and property of the unfortunate Súltân Singh.

From Chárikár, in company with a young lad, the son of our landlord, I walked up to Tope Dara, where I had before been. Midway the surface is strewn with huge boulders, and sprinkled with arghawân bushes, so beautiful in blossom at the commencement of spring. As we neared the hills the yellow físh, the red sévitch, and the sherín búí, or liquorice-plant, were plentiful. A little north of the dara is a castle called Jâh Nimâhí, or the place of prospect. Built by one Khwoja

Jân, it is now inhabited by a few wretched families from Sír Aulang. At the opening of the dara into the plain are some large tumuli, one honoured by the name of Rústam. The castle of Tope Dara, situated in a picturesque and commanding situation, has been suffered to fall into decay. The village comprises about sixty houses, constructed clumsily of stones. Passing through it, we proceeded to the Tope, and I occupied myself for some time in making sketches of it. About the monument were numerous caper-trees, of a species similar to that of the Baloch and Persian hills. Proceeding a little up the dara, which has a fine brook running down it, whose volume of water was considerably augmented by the earthquake of last year, we found a convenient place to rest in, and were supplied by the villagers with mulberries. I had to strike sparks from a flint over the heads of two children, and learned that persons who had crossed the Atak river are supposed to possess some peculiar powers. We remained here until evening, when we were joined by a party, composed of the relatives of Mír Hakjí Sáhíb and the son of Khwoja Pádshâh of Cháríkár. We had a fresh regale of mulberries. When they departed we went a little farther up the dara to see a spring, called Nekkak Perída, or Flying Nekkak. We found a smooth perpendicular rock, from the base of which issues the spring, and which receives its name from one Nekkak, whose misfortune it was to fall from the top of the rock. We had several

of the villagers with us, and they pointed out two stones, in one of which was a hole, as they said, the perforation of a spear; in the other a fissure, caused by a sword-wound. The stones, I was assured, represented a brother and sister, slain by kâfrs, or infidels. From an eminence overlooking the plain I next took a few bearings, and my compass created no small astonishment; I however soon made them familiar with it, and indulged them by looking through it, after I had fixed the hair-line on an object. In this way they became useful as well as pleased, and told me the names of places that I did not know. I hitherto said nothing about opening the Tope, neither did I inquire for the malek, as the time had not come, but appeared in the village, as I had done before, a casual visitor. Having completed my observations, we bade adieu to the friendly villagers, and passing the mound called the tomb of Rústam's son, we struck across the plain for Chárikár. In our progress we observed a man at some distance, who as soon as he descried us left his path, tucked up the skirts of his garments, and with his musket trailed and his body bent, glided from behind one stone to another. He did not appear to be dodging us, but rather taking precautions against us. On nearing him, so that my young companion could catch a glance at him, he was recognized as a fugitive of Húpíân, who had stealthily visited his friends at Istargitch, and was now on his return to

Sir Aulang. The poor wretch feared to encounter in every one he met an enemy. He relaxed a little on finding that he had nothing to apprehend from us, but preserved his caution and distance, and I could not but admire his activity.

Visible from Cháríkár is a white building, at Séh Yárân, or the three friends, which the people call a sandúk, or chest, believing it to have been built for some other purpose than to enclose a tomb. As the spot is one which was honoured by the emperor Baber's approbation, and which he embellished with fountains and chanár-trees, it behoved me to visit it. In my way to Tope Dara yesterday, I had been near to it, as it lies about a mile only north of it, but judging I should have enough to occupy me there during the day, I did not deviate from the road. I again, as the distance was trifling, left my Kâbal companions behind, and proceeded on foot with my landlord's young son. The sandúk, as it is called, proved to be the remains of a quadrangular building, having a pillar inserted at each of the angles. The entrance faced the south, which seemed to imply, that it was not originally a tomb, although there were two marble grave-stones standing within its walls. It had also once been covered with a cupola, which seemed likewise to have been an addition, but it had in great measure fallen. Hence we passed to the zíarat of Derwîsh, where there are fountains and chanár-trees, which we might have attributed to

the social king, of whom, however, no tradition is preserved here, had we not been led still farther on towards Killa Khúrbân, where are many ancient sepulchral mounds, and where a spring of water issues high up in the hills. Here were some venerable chanár-trees; and the locality is to this day one of favourite resort to the people of Chárákár. There could be little doubt but that this was the place which had delighted Baber. The water from the spring forms a canal on the plain below, irrigating a small garden at the base of the hill. At-Séh Yárân is a village of some forty houses, and Killa Khúrbân is a deserted castle. South of the latter is a ravine, supplied with a rivulet, and containing a few orchards and dwellings, named Takía. We followed this ravine until it merged into the plain, which we then traversed and regained our quarters. On my first visit to Chárákár I found the inhabitants, who are not particularly famed for civility, inclined to be merry at my expense, and in walking the bazár I incurred the hazard of being mobbed, one rogue passing the word to the other that a "múrgh noh," or strange bird, had come. On better acquaintance, however, they had become very respectful and tractable, and in lieu of their jeers and jests I received in passing their Salám álkams and Khúsh ámadéds.

As Sanjit Dara was one of the spots between Istálif and Tope Dara which I had not seen, I proposed to devote a day to an excursion to it;

and accordingly we mounted, and proceeded across the plain to Tope Dara; whence we intended to skirt the hills. A good many ravines intersected our road, otherwise pretty good. At about two miles we passed the agricultural village of Sháhmak, with an excellent canal. To the left of the road there were some vestiges, in stone parapets and mounds, not of much importance, and in the hills to our right we observed the entrances to several samúches, or caves. Hence we gained the villages and gardens of Sanjit Dara, and halted for the day under some walnut-trees on the bank of its rivulet. Here are collected seven or eight villages. The principal zíarat is distinguished by a magnificent chanár-tree. The soil is too rocky to be turned to great profit, and prevents the cultivation of the vine to any extent. The orchards are principally stocked with mulberry and walnut-trees. We were preparing to return to Cháríkár, when we were told that Máhoméd Jáfar Khân, one of my Bámíân companions, was encamped below the dara, and that he held some of the villages in jághír. We paid him a visit, and accepted his invitation to become his guests for the evening. A sheep was killed, and, while our supper was preparing, the khân and myself were engaged in conversation. He was intent upon forming a canal, the obstacles to which were some rocks. He seriously inquired of me whether they might not be removed by vinegar. I told him all I knew about Hannibal

and the Alps, but recommended him, nevertheless, to try the effects of a little powder.

From Sanjit Dara we returned to Chárikár, and taking farewell of our friends, crossed the canal, or Júi Robát, flowing through the town, and passed over a fertile tract, cultivated chiefly with cotton. We then crossed the Júi Khwoja, and subsequently Júi Mâhíghír, a little after which we reached Killa Mír Saiyad Khán. The owner received us with politeness, and lodged us in his míhmân-khâna, but complaining of heat, I was conducted to the garden. There we found a doctor of Kâbal, who had just returned from Bokhára Sheríf, where he had realized three thousand rupees by his practice. He was a dwarfish, hook-nosed, morose old gentleman, and disposed to have displayed his erudition had I countenanced him. He remarked, that he had known two or three Feringhís, who administered mercury, copperas, arsenic, and other poisons, while his own practice was according to the genuine Yúnání, or Greek system, and safe.

A primary object of my rambles into the Kohistán of Kâbal was to ascertain if any vestiges existed which I might venture to refer to Alexandria ad Caucasum, the site of which, I felt assured, ought to be looked for at the skirts of the Híndú Kosh in this quarter. I had before reached the borders of the plain of Bégrám, and had heard strange stories of the innumerable coins, and other relics, found on the soil, but had been unable to procure a specimen,

all to whom I applied, whether Hindú or Mússulmân, denying they had any such things in possession. I now purposed to obtain from Mír Saiyad Khân a party of his retainers to enable me to traverse and survey the plain, which is dangerous to do, owing to the marauders infesting it. He provided half a dozen horsemen, a sufficient escort, as, being known to the robbers, they are not interrupted by them. Having passed the large ruinous village Ghúlám Shâh we arrived at Killa Bolend, on the brink of the Kohistân basin, and at the commencement of the plain. There were seven considerable Hindú traders here, but we applied to them for coins in vain. We therefore proceeded across the plain until we reached a tope at the eastern extremity of Koh Bacha, and near Júlgha. Of this monument I made a sketch, and noted my observations of the country. When we were well back on our return I dismissed Mír Saiyad Khân's party, and we struck across the plain to Killa Khwoja, a small village, where we were welcomed by Malek Gafúr, a friend of my companion, Sirkerder Kamber. We heard fresh tales of Bégrám, and the treasures found there, and my curiosity was so intensely excited, that I determined to revisit it, taking with us Mír Afzil, the malek's son, who had friends in the vicinity. Accordingly, with him for our guide, we passed successively the villages and castles of Déh Ghúlám Alí, Mahíghír, seated on the canal of that name, Killas Ghúlám and Járúla, Koh Déh, Killa Illaiyár,

and Gújar Khél, beyond which was Killa Bolend. We were there received by a dyer; and Mír Afzil descended into the valley below to inquire for a friend, residing at one of the castles of Báltú Khél. I repaired to the roof of the dyer's house, and wished to have taken bearings, but the wind was too violent to permit me to remain at ease. Mír Afzil returned with Baloch Khân, a fine honest young man, who brought me a present of melons and grapes. This was the commencement of an acquaintance, which continued as long as I remained at Kâbal; and Baloch Khân greatly assisted me in my subsequent researches, as I could always, when needed, call upon him and his armed followers to attend me in my excursions, and to protect the people I sent. He now exerted himself to procure coins; and at last an old defaced one was produced by a Máhomedan, for which I gave two pais, which induced the appearance of others, until the Hindús ventured to bring forth their bags of old monies, from which I selected such as suited my purpose. I had the satisfaction to obtain in this manner some eighty coins, of types which led me to anticipate bright results from the future. The fears and scruples of the owners had been overcome, and I remained some time at Killa Bolend, securing their confidence. It had been feared that I should employ bígáris, or forced labourers, to scour the plain in search of antique relics, on which account it had been determined to conceal from me, if possible, their

existence. I afterwards learned from a zirghar, or goldsmith, of Cháríkár, that at the time I applied to him he had three cháraks, or about fifteen pounds in weight of old coins by him, which his companions deterred him from exhibiting. I made myself well informed as to the mode, and by whom these coins were found; and the clue to them once discovered, the collection became an easy matter, although it subsequently proved that a long time was necessary before I became fully master of the plain. While this traffic was carried on, the report had spread that a Feringhí had come to engage soldiers, and crowds came from the neighbouring castles to ascertain the truth, and what pay was given. I now thought it better to leave, and accordingly we retraced our steps to Killa Khwoja.

We had intended to have made a long march next day, but at the first castle we reached the sirkerder was recognized by the people without, and we were induced to remain there for the day. The castle was built by one Músa Khân, since dead, and the honours of our entertainment were performed by Assad Khân, a fine youth, the younger of his two sons living.

In the morning I ascended one of the towers of the castle, and took bearings, and after breakfast we started on our road towards Kâbal. As in coming we had skirted the plain of Koh Dáman to the west, so in returning we skirted its eastern limits. Under the hills parallel to our course is the

site of a city, called, by tradition, Tátarang Zár. It extends for a long distance, but appears to be a continuation of the ancient sepulchral grounds of Bé-grám, from which it is separated only by the river of Koh Dáman. Coins, trinkets, &c., are frequently picked up on the surface. Passing the village of Bâgh Alam, of one hundred houses, and then Killa Kerimdád, we came upon the river, in a wide bed, but the stream is inconsiderable. East of it was a hill called Chehel Dokhtarân, or the forty virgins, who have as much celebrity in these countries as the eleven thousand virgins of Cologne have in Europe. Hence we passed the village Langar, of sixty houses, and then a castle called Killa Godar; after which came the village of Bázárí, containing forty houses; from which we proceeded to Kállakhân, where the sirkerder found a friend, one Zéhin Khân, who would not allow us to proceed farther. Kállakhân is a large village of four hundred houses, the greater part of which are fortified. Its revenue is enjoyed by Ahmed Khân, son of the late Nawâb Samad Khân, and it is famed for raisins of superior flavour. In the evening I mounted, for the purpose of visiting a tope near Korrinder. We passed to the left, in succession, the small village of Múshwâní, and the larger one of Korrinder, then the castle of Rohilla Khân, Popal Zai. Crossing a deep ravine, we came to the seignorial castles of Lúchú Khân, held by the family of Hâjí Ráhmátúlah, one of whose daughters is the favourite wife of Dost Máhoméd Khân, and

mother of his son Máhomed Akbár Khân. Hence turning to the east, we crossed the river of Koh Dáman, and struck easterly to the tope, on the eminences overlooking the plain. I examined and made a sketch of the structure; after which repaired to another building, a little more easterly, and lower down towards the river, called Chéní Khâna. This was an octagonal building, neatly constructed of excellent kiln-burnt bricks. It had been originally crowned with a cupola, and had been superbly painted with flowers and other devices, in tints of lapis lazuli, red, yellow, and other colours; whence, I presume, its modern appellation. It had four entrances from the several cardinal points with an aberration of twenty degrees; but there was no recess which could serve for a kabla, or to point it out as a Máhomedan edifice. Within there was a grave-stone, bearing a rather licentious copy of verses, or epitaph, and the date 1211 of the Hejra, which did not, consequently, apply to the edifice, which certainly had an antiquity of some centuries. It stands on an eminence, buttressed with masonry to the north, west, and south. Having completed inspection, we retrograded to Kállakhân.

In the morning we skirted the hills to the Kotal of Mámá Khâtún. On our right we had an immense artificial mound, said to denote the site of an ancient fortress, and called Killa Rájpút. Its summit is now crowned by mud walls, of comparatively recent construction. The kotal has an easy

commencement, and a plain is crossed for above half a mile, when we reach a chokí. Hence the ascent is more marked for two or three hundred yards, until the summit is reached, where is a takht, or basement of stones, from which we have a good view of the plain of Kâra Dúshman, and the country and hills to the east. At the termination of the kotal, or where commences the plain of Kâra Dúshman, is the dilapidated castle built by Iltáfát Khân, Khwoja, in the serai appertaining to which we halted, to avoid the meridian sun. The castle and lands are farmed by Názir Khairúlah, for some four or five thousand rupees annually; and he is a most severe landlord. A splendid masjít is attached to the castle, but has been suffered to fall into decay. The fine garden has been destroyed, and nothing of verdure remains but an avenue of mulberry-trees, leading from the foot of the kotal to the castle. Iltáfát Khân was a khwoja, or eunuch to the Sadú Zai princes, and designed this castle, with its gardens and establishments, which were most complete, to perpetuate his name. The course of events has made them crown property, and they are neglected, as such property generally is. About three o'clock we resumed our journey, and at three quarters of a mile from the castle crossed a deep ravine, in which was a small rivulet, which flows across the plain to Killa Kâjí, and eventually to Aga Serai. A course of five miles cleared us of the plain, and led us to the foot of the Kotal Pâh Mínár, crossing

a low range of hills separating the plain of Kâra Dúshman from the pastures, or chaman of Vazíra-bád. At its southern base is the small ruinous village, called after the kotal, and a little beyond it to the east is the village Déh Yaiya. On the crest of the kotal is a chokí, from which an extensive view is commanded, and we had again the pleasure to behold before us Kâbal and its environs. Descending into the plain, we passed to our right a deserted castle, built by Mír Wais, and a large tumulus. We had subsequently to wade through a mass of stagnant water and mud, up to our horses' girths, for nearly a mile, when we reached the castles and villages of Bímárú, and then the Kaiabân of Shâh Zemân, from which we pushed on to the Bálla Hissár, closing a very agreeable excursion.

CHAPTER VII.

Collections of coins.—Jealousy.—Importance of discoveries.—Antiques.—Site of Bégrám.—Hill ranges.—Neighbourhood of Bégrám.—Tope.—Character of the Kohistân.—Magnificent view.—Boundaries of Bégrám.—Evidences.—Mounds.—Tumuli.—Stones.—Site of city.—Deposits with the dead.—Testimony of Herodotus.—Funereal jars.—Traditions.—Mode of sepulture.—Absence of data.—Húpiân.—Canal Máhighír.—Taimúr's colony.—Decline of Bégrám.—Signification of Bégrám.—Bégrám of Kâbal.—Bégrám of Jelálabád.—Bégrám of Pesháwer.—Etymology.—Topes.—Antiquities of Kohistân.—Perwân.—Régh Rawân.—Localities in Panjshír.—Caves in Nijrow.—Vestiges in Taghow.—Ruins in Ghorband.—Caves.—Zíárat.

THE discovery of so interesting a locality as that of Bégrám imposed upon me new, agreeable, and I should hope, not unprofitable employment. I availed myself of every opportunity to visit it, as well with the view to secure the rich memorials of past ages it yielded as to acquire a knowledge of the adjacent country.

Before the commencement of winter, when the plain, covered with snow, is of course closed to research, I had accumulated one thousand eight hundred and sixty-five copper coins, besides a few silver ones, many rings, signets, and other relics. The

next year, 1834, the collection which fell into my hands amounted to one thousand nine hundred copper coins, besides other relics. In 1835 it increased to nearly two thousand five hundred copper coins, and in 1836 it augmented to thirteen thousand four hundred and seventy-four copper coins. In 1837, when I had the plain well under control, and was enabled constantly to locate my people upon it, I obtained sixty thousand copper coins, a result at which I was well pleased, having at an early period of my researches conjectured that so many as thirty thousand coins might annually be procured. The whole of the coins, and other antiquities, from Bégrám, with several thousands of other coins, brought to light in various parts of Afghânistân, have been forwarded to the Honourable the East India Company.

The failure of the Kâbal mission in 1838 compelled me to leave the country and to suspend my labours. I had found, that I was not permitted to prosecute them without suffering from jealousy in certain quarters, and when I was desirous to resume them in 1840, the hostility of a miserable fraction of the Calcutta clique prevented my purpose, by acts as unprecedented, base, and illegal, as, perhaps, were ever perpetrated under the sanction of authority against a subject of the British crown.

It may be superfluous to dwell upon the importance of the Bégrám collections; independently of the revelation of unknown kings and dynasties, they impart great positive knowledge, and open a wide

field for speculation and inquiry on the very material subjects of the languages and religions prevailing in Central Asia during the dark periods of its history. Astonishing as are many of the conclusions forced upon us, because in opposition to opinions before current, and now proved to be erroneous, it is a source of unqualified satisfaction that not only has the progress of discovery confirmed the veracity of our justly esteemed classical authorities, but at every new step it teaches us to appreciate the value of our Scriptural records, which alone have preserved a rational account of the growth and spreading of the human race.

Besides coins, Bégrám has yielded very large numbers of engraved seals, some of them with inscriptions, figures of men and animals, particularly of birds, cylinders, and parallelogramic amulets with sculptured sides, rings, and a multitude of other trinkets, and miscellaneous articles, generally of brass and copper; many of which are curious and deserve description. The reasons which confine me to a mere allusion to the results of my researches at Bégrám need not restrict me as regards the locality, which, besides its pretensions to be considered Alexandria ad Caucasum, has other claims to notice. It occurs about twenty-five miles in a direct distance from the present city of Kábal, and is situated at the south-east point of the level country of the Kohistân, in an angle formed by the approach of a lofty and extensive mountain range, trending from

the superior Caucasus on the one side, and by an inferior range, (the Síáh Koh,) on the other. The former range, while it separates the Kohistân from the populous valley of Nijrow to the east, defines to the west the course of the lengthened valley of Panjshír. The latter range, commencing about fifteen miles east of Kâbal, stretches to the north, and gradually sinks into the plain of Bégrám. Through a break in this range, called Tang-i-Khârún, nearly east from Kâbal, flows the united streams of Kâbal and Loghar, which, surmounting a magnificent fall, winds among the hilly districts in its course to Lúghmân and Jelálabád. The range itself forms a prominent feature in the landscape of Kâbal, displaying a bold precipitous front, and, being of gneiss, has the appearance of being stratified. Behind, or east of the Síáh Koh, is a hilly, not mountainous, tract, although waste and desolate, named Koh Sáfi, from the tribe that pasture their flocks in it; and this tract intervenes between the Síáh Koh and the valley of Taghow; moreover, through it meanders the river of the Kohistân, until, at a spot near Súrbi, it unites with the river of Kâbal. Through the open space formed by the approach of the above noted ranges the river of Kohistân, formed by the accession of the larger streams of Panjshír, Perwân, and Ghorband, with the minor rivulets of Kohistân and Koh Dáman, directs its course, describing, at the point where it quits the basin of the Kohistân, the northern

boundary of the plain of Bégrám. Parallel to the river, also leads the high road from the Kohistân to Nijrow, Taghow, and Jelálabád.

Bégrám is comprised within an extensive district called Khwoja Khedarí. To the north, it has an abrupt descent into the cultivated lands and pastures of the Báltú Khél and Kerimdád Khél families, which interpose between it and the river for the extent of perhaps a mile, or until the river reaches the base of a singular eminence called Búrj Abdúlah, which, from the remains of walls and mounds on its summit, was undoubtedly an appurtenance of the ancient city. Beyond, or east of Búrj Abdúlah, another small space, devoted to culture, with two or three castles, called Karaichí, fills a curvature in the direction of the abrupt boundary of the plain with the course of the river. Beyond extends a low detached hill, called Koh Bacha, for about a mile and half, separating for that distance the level dasht from the river. At the eastern extremity of Koh Bacha is one of those remarkable structures we call topes; and on the opposite, or northern side of the river, are the castles and cultivated lands of Máhoméd Irâkhí, and beyond them a sterile sandy tract gradually ascends to a celebrated hill and zíarat, called Khwoja Régh Rawân, an interesting point in the scenery from Bégrám, and thence to the skirts of the superior hill range above mentioned, high up on which the gardens of the village of Dúrnámeh,

(a corruption of Dúr Namâhí, or conspicuous from afar,) are visible. This village is famous as a residence of a desperate band of robbers, who infest their vicinity in general, and the plain of Bégrám in particular; also for affording asylum and protection to the outlaws of Kâbal. East of the tope, the level plain stretches for above a mile, until, with the same character of abrupt termination, it sinks into the low lands of Júlgha, where are numerous castles; much cultivated land, and, as the name Júlgha implies, a large extent of pasture.

The Kohistân, it may be observed, and which may better show the position of Bégrám, is a punch-bowl, or basin, on three sides surrounded by hills, and on the fourth, or southern side, by a comparatively elevated tract, which forms, as it were, the rim, and runs sinuously from Tútam Dara—the point where issues into the basin the river of Ghorband—and passing, as we have seen, the plain of Bégrám, extends easterly to Júlgha. This basin may have a circumference of thirty-five to forty miles. The higher lands of Bégrám on the one side, and of Máhoméd Irâkhí on the opposite one, form the spout to this basin, from which descend its waters upon the lower countries eastward. The *coup d'œil* presented is most magnificent; the winding courses of the rivers, the picturesque appearance of the gardens and castles, the verdure of the pastures, the bold and varied aspect of the environing hills, crowned by the snowy summits

of the Hindú Kosh, form a landscape whose beauty can scarcely be conceived but by those who have witnessed it. The natives of these countries are apt to compare it with the scenery about Herát and the Kohistân of Meshed, but they, as well as the neighbourhood of Ispahân, which is very beautiful, must yield the palm to the Kohistân of Kâbal.

The boundaries of the dasht of Bégrám are the lands of Júlgha to the east, the level plain of Máhíghír to the west, the river of Kohistân to the north, and to the south what is called the river of Koh Dáman. At the north-west angle of the dasht is the small village of Killa Bolend, where reside a few Hindú traders, who have considerable intercourse with the neighbouring hill tribes, and at the south-west angle are three castles, called Killa Yezbáshi, distant from Killa Bolend about four miles.

Notwithstanding the vast numbers of relics discovered on the plain, other evidences that a city once stood on it are not so palpable as to have attracted extraordinary attention, had it not been imperatively directed to the locality from the circumstance of the discovery of the numerous and singular antique treasures at it. In many places, indeed, it has been proved, that by digging about a yard in depth, lines of cement, seeming to denote the outlines of structures and their apartments, may be found. On the edge of the plain to the north, where it abruptly sinks into the low lands of

Bâltu Khél, from Killa Bolend to Karaichí is a line of artificial mounds; but such objects are so universal in occurrence throughout the Afghân countries that, in ordinary instances, they might claim only a cursory notice. On the summit of the eminence called Búrj Abdúlah are the remains of stone walls, marking a square enclosure; they are, however, loosely arranged, and, I should rather conjecture, denote the remains of a more recent castle than an edifice of the ancient Bé-grám; some mounds, however, found on it, may have a greater antiquity. South of, and contiguous to Búrj Abdúlah, are some mounds of great magnitude, and accurately describing a square, of considerable dimensions. On one side of this square, in 1833, the exterior front of the mound subsided deep into the earth, and disclosed that these mounds were constructed of huge unburnt bricks, two spans square and one span thick. This accident also enabled me to ascertain that the original breadth of these stupendous walls, for such we must suppose them to have been, could not have been less than sixty feet, while it may have been much more. Among the mounds near Killa Bolend is a large tumulus, which appears to have been coated with thin squares of white marble; and near it, in a hollow formed in the soil, is a large square stone, which the Máhomedans call Sang Rústam (Rústam's stone); and which the Hindús, without knowing why, reverence so far

as to pay occasional visits to it, to daub it with sindúr, or red-lead, and to light lamps at it. In the Máhomedan burial-ground of Killa Bolend is a fragment of sculptured green stone, made to serve as a head-stone to a grave; above four feet is above ground, and we were told as much more was concealed below. This is a relique of the ancient city; and we meet with another and larger but plain green stone applied to a similar purpose in a burial-place called Shéhidân, or the place of martyrs, under Koh Bacha. In a zíárat at Chárikár is also a fragment of sculptured green stone; and it is remarkable, that all fragments of stone which we discovered, and which we may suppose to have reference to the ancient city, are of the same species of coloured stone. The inhabitants of these parts are now ignorant whence it was procured, although, doubtless, from the inferior hills of the Caucasus to the north, where steatite is so abundant that the people dwelling in them make their cooking utensils of it; and steatite, with jade, and other magnesian green stones, are found together in the lower hills of the Saféd Koh range, south of the valley of Jelálabád.

In specifying the extensive limits over which coins and other relics are brought to light, we must not be understood as conveying the notion that the entire space defined by them was once filled by a city. We should rather suppose not, and that it is to the ancient burial-grounds of the

former city we are indebted for the supplies of curiosities we meet with. If asked to assign the site of the city, I should, fixing the enormous square enclosure south of Búrj Abdúláh as the fort, or citadel, locate it between those remains and the western portion of the plain, or towards Killa Bolend and Mâhíghír, in which space coins are found in far less number, while scorixæ, lumps of iron, fragments of glazed earthenware (the latter a peculiar token, in opposition to the common baked pottery which is scattered over the whole plain,) are found more abundantly than in other spots. In this part also, besides the remains of walls, may be traced the courses of the ancient canals, by their parallel lines of embankment. The presence of mounds, the casual discovery of coins, and other antiques, are generally supposed to indicate the site of a city, whereas, they may only point out that of its burial-grounds; a distinction worthy of notice, when the detection of an actual site is important, and which might possibly be usefully applied to some of the celebrated old sites in the world, as Babylon, Nineveh, &c., particularly when we have reason to believe that, with the ancients, their burial-places were without the city, and independent of it. The probability that the great numbers of coins and other reliques, discovered on the dasht of Bégrám, are merely deposits with the ashes of the dead, as prescribed by the usages and superstitions of former times, is strengthened

by the knowledge that such deposits were in practice, and the articles found alike confirm it. Coins were mingled with them, that the expense of transit over the rivers of Paradise might be provided for; as with the Greek or Roman corpse was placed a fee for the ferryman Charon. Rings, seals, beads, ear-rings, small images, &c., were either the property of the deceased or the votive offerings of friends; arrow-heads, frequently occurring, may mean that the deceased was a warrior, or that he was fond of archery. The collections from Bégrám have furnished a great variety of engraved signets, and many gems, curious as specimens of art, with multitudes of small sculptured animals, particularly of birds. A passage in Herodotus, while it admirably accounts for the production of many of the relics elicited in the burial-grounds of ancient Babylon, serves also to explain why similar results should be obtained in those of Bégrám. Speaking of the old inhabitants of Babylon, he says, "Each person has a seal-ring, and a cane, or walking-stick, upon the top of which is carved an apple, a rose, a lily, an eagle, or some figure or other, for to have a stick without a device is unlawful."

The immense distribution of fragments of pottery may be satisfactorily explained, when we recollect that the mode particularly prevalent of treating the bodies of the dead was by cremation, then collecting the ashes and lodging them in earthen

jars, which were finally deposited beneath the soil. These funereal jars, in the course of ages, have become affected by damp, and consequently fragile, as by the abrasion of the surface of the soil they and their fragments have become exposed; hence we discover the fragments mixed with the soil, and the coins and other relics originally deposited with them. Entire jars are, indeed, sometimes found: and the lines of cement, before noted, as discoverable about a yard beneath the surface, if horizontal, may indicate the floors on which these jars were placed; and, if perpendicular, the separation of one deposit from the other.

The traditions of the country assert the city of Bégrám to have been the Sheher Yúnán, or Greek city, overwhelmed by some natural catastrophe, and the evidence of its subterranean lines and apartments is appealed to in support of them. If we have rightly conjectured their nature, they are found only in their natural position, and afford evidence of another kind. The present Hindús call the site Balráam, and suppose it to have been the capital of Rájá Bal.

There is a peculiar feature attending the deposit of the sepulchral jars, that not only was it necessary to cover them with earth, but it was essential that the earth should contain no stones or other extraneous substances. So particular was this deemed that in many situations on the ascent of hills, where earth could not be found, it has clearly

been brought from the plains beneath, and always carefully sifted. In all the old burial-places of Afghânistân we witness the feeling as manifestly as if expressed on a Roman tomb-stone, *Sit tibi terra levis*. In traversing the dasht of Bégrâm not a stone is met with; the reason obviously, that the surface is actually composed of the prepared earth, spread over the ancient places of sepulture.

It is mortifying, when making inquiries as to the former history of a site, on which we find coins of ages in regular succession from Alexander to the Máhomedan era, to learn no better account of it than the traditions above-mentioned afford, and while we are compelled to conjecture doubtingly upon its origin, to have no precise data on which even to estimate the period of its decay and final ruin. That it existed for some centuries after the Máhomedan invasion of these countries, is proved by the vast numbers of Cufic coins found at it; which, moreover, seem to show that the early conquerors of Islám did not particularly interfere with the religion of the conquered, or of such that submitted to their temporal dominion, as the practice of cremation must have been continued, and would not have been followed had the people become Máhomedans. It is not, indeed, improbable that this city, like many others, may owe its destruction to the implacable Jenghiz; but, if so, we ought to detect some notice of it

in the extant histories of that conqueror, and of his period.

Without affecting the probability that at Bégrám, or in its immediate neighbourhood, was the site of Alexandria ad Caucasum, it will be remembered that the narratives of Chinese travellers expressly state that, subsequently, there was a capital city in this part of the country called Húpíân. A locality of this name still exists between Cháríkár and Tútam Dara ; and I have noted that it possesses many vestiges of antiquity ; yet, as they are exclusively of a sepulchral and religious character, the site of the city to which they refer may rather be looked for at the actual village of Malek Húpíân, on the plain below, and near Cháríkár, by which it may have been replaced as the principal town, as, more anciently, it superseded another, perhaps Alexandria itself.

That Bégrám ceased to exist at the time of Taimúr's expedition into India we have negative proof, furnished by his historian, Sherífadín, who informs us that Taimúr, in his progress from Anderáb to Kâbal, encamped on the plain of Bárân (the modern Baiyân, certainly) ; and that while there he directed a canal to be cut, which was called Mâhíghír ; by which means the country, before desolate and unproductive, became fertile and full of gardens. The lands, thus restored to cultivation, the conqueror apportioned among sundry of his followers. The canal of Mâhíghír exists

at this day, preserving the name conferred upon it by Taimúr. A considerable village, about a mile west of Bégrám, standing on the canal, has a similar appellation, and probably also owes its origin to Taimúr, who may have attempted in it to have revived or renewed the ancient city. This canal of Mâhíghír, derived from the river of the Ghorband valley, at the point where it issues from the hills into the basin of the Kohistân, irrigates the lands of Baiyân and Mâhíghír, and has a course of about ten miles. Had the city of Bégrám then existed these lands immediately to the west of it would not have been waste, and neglected; neither would Taimúr have found it necessary to cut his canal, as the city, when existing, must have been supplied with water from the same source, that is, from the river of Ghorband, and from the same point, that is, at the exit of its waters from the hills into the basin; and the canals supplying the city must have been directed through these very lands of Mâhíghír and Baiyan, which Taimúr found waste and unproductive. The site of Bégrám, although having to the north the great river of the Kohistân, could not have been irrigated from it, as its stream flows in low land, considerably beneath the level of the dasht, besides being too distant. On the south it has the river of Koh Dáman; but this, while only partially and casually provided with water, runs in a sunken bed, and is alike inapplicable to the purposes of irrigation.

It may be farther noted with reference to the colonization of Mâhíghír by Taimúr, that the inhabitants of Khwoja Khedarí, while forgetful as to whom their forefathers owed their settlement in this country, acknowledge their Túrki descent, and alone of all the inhabitants of the Kohistân speak the Túrki language.

The appellation Bégrám, although it may be questioned whether such was ever the peculiar name of the city, must still be considered indicative of the former importance of the site it now designates; undoubtedly signifying the chief city, the capital, the metropolis. Still, it must be borne in mind, especially, when considering the coins found on it, that it must generally have been a provincial capital. About three miles east of Kâbal we have a village and extensive pasture retaining the name of Bégrám; and if we inquire whether we have any vestiges of a former city at the spot, numerous mounds, and a series of magnificent topes on the skirts and in the recesses of the neighbouring hills to the south, seem to attest the fact—and would denote, might we infer from the single coin found in one of these buildings by M. Honigberger, who examined them, that the capital of King Mokadphises, or Kadphises, and his lineage, was there located; or, should not that inference be granted, that a city of some consequence existed here, for the structure was probably, if not connected with that sovereign, erected in his time. Two large cities

could scarcely have been located so close together as Bégrám and the present Kâbal, therefore it is possible that the predecessor of the modern city may have been Bégrám (under, however, some other and peculiar name), on the banks of the river of Loghar, which winds through its meadows. A character of sanctity is yet preserved to the Loghar river in this spot, for to the adjacent village of Shévakí the Hindús of Kâbal annually repair to celebrate the vésák holidays.

Near Jelálabád a spot called Bégrám, about a mile and half or two miles west of the present town, would seem to denote the site of the former capital of the province; and that a city has flourished here, with its periods of importance and prosperity, we are not permitted to doubt; not merely by considering the actual state of the country and the advantages of position, but from the existence in the neighbourhood of three distinct series of topes, at Darúnta, Chahár Bâgh, and Hidda, without enumerating independent and isolated ones. The vicinity of Bégrám, indeed the entire plain of Jelálabád, is literally covered with tumuli and mounds. These are truly sepulchral monuments, but, with the topes, sanction the inference that a very considerable city existed here, or that it was a place of renown for sanctity. It may have been both. Tradition affirms, that the city on the plain of Jelálabád was called Ajúna, and alike asserts that the ancient Lahore was there; which may mean, that prior to the para-

mount sovereignty in these countries being possessed by Lahore (it must be remembered it was so when Máhmúd of Ghazní first invaded India), it was established here.

Near Pesháwer we have a spot also called Bé-grám, distinguished by its mounds and tamarisk-trees, marking the site of an ancient city; and that this epithet of eminence and distinction was continued up to a recent date we learn from Baber and Abúl Fazil.

The term bé-grám appears composed of the Túrki bé or bí (chief) and the Hindí "grám" (city); the latter word, while still colloquially employed by the people on the banks of the Indus, was once probably of more general use in the countries of the Afghâns, but has been superseded by the Persian "sheher," and "abád," with the Hindí "púr." Besides these four Bégráms, there is Oshter-grám in the Kohistân; Sal-grám, a Hindú zíarat in Panjshír; Pesh-grám, in Bájour; No-grám, in Pánchtá, &c., all sites of considerable antiquity.

It has been observed that at the extremity of Koh Bacha is a tope, which on examination furnished no useful result. Judging from its appearance, it has not so great an antiquity as many others near Kábal and at Jelálabád.

There is another at Alísai, ten or twelve miles east of Bégrám, between the valleys of Nijrow and Taghow; and there is again another and superior one at Tope Dára, near Chárikár, which may reason-

ably be supposed to have been constructed under the princes of Húpíân. A fourth, moreover, occurs at Korrindar, midway between Bégrám and Kâbal; but it has unfortunately happened that no one of these several monuments has yielded evidences upon which we might decide upon its origin or date.

The Kohistân of Kâbal abounds with vestiges of its ancient inhabitants; they are chiefly, if not exclusively, of a sepulchral character, but their greater or less extent with the numbers and varieties of the coins and other relics found at them, may authorize us to form an estimate of the importance of the places which we infer were situated near them. Admitting such criteria, a city of magnitude must have existed at Perwân, about eight miles, bearing north nineteen west, from Bégrám, consequently that distance nearer to the great range of Caucasus, under whose inferior hills it is in fact found. Coins are discovered there in large numbers, and there is also a cave remarkable for its dimensions; while in the hills which separate it from Sir Aulang, is a takht, or square stone monument, the sides of which are girt with decorative mouldings. The site in Perwân is called by Máhomedans Merwân, and by Hindús Milwân.

At Korahtás, east of the famed hill and zíarat Régh Rawân, and on the opposite side of the river to Bégrám, from which it is distant about six miles, bearing north forty-eight east, coins are nume-

rously found, and we have the usual tokens of mounds, fragments of pottery, &c., with remains of works in masonry about the hills, which bearing now the appellation of Killa Káfr, are in truth sepulchral repositories.

At the hill of Régh Rawân (flowing sand), remarkable for the bed of sand lying upon its southern face, which gives it both its name and singular appearance, is a subterranean cave, which has a descent by hewn, or artificial stairs, and may therefore be supposed to mean something more than the ordinary rock cave. It has never been duly explored, and there might be danger in the attempt to descend into it. The Máhomedans have made it a zíárat, and have an idea that it is the spot whence their expected Imâm Médí will issue upon earth; and they believe that on roz Júma, or sacred Friday, the sounds of nagáras, or drums, may be heard in it. It may be observed, that the Máhomedan shrines, or by far the greater part of them throughout these countries, were originally those of the former idolatrous inhabitants, whose conversion to Islám was doubtless facilitated by the policy which dictated the conservation of their sacred localities, so dear to them from past associations and custom. A compromise was made between them and their converters, similar to that between the Prophet and his Arabs, by which the adored black stone of the latter became the kába of the faith propagated by the former.

In the valley of Panjshír are considerable vestiges, at three distinct localities; one near the castle of Saifúla in Dara Ferhâj; another in Dara Bazárák, near the castle of Zamrúd Khân. It has before been casually remarked, that there is in Panjshír a place of peculiar religious repute, called by the Hindús Sál-grám, although, from the lawless habits of the natives of Panjshír, they seldom venture to visit it. The Hindús also consider the word Panjshír (the five lions) as referring to the five sons of Pandú. The valley is even now populous and fertile, and in former times, when these countries were held in due and firm control, must have been of consequence, as affording a facile communication with Bádakshân. It had, moreover, a distinct and intrinsic value in its silver mines, which were worked in remote times, as we are told by Abulfeda. There is reason to believe that this metal, in common with many others, abounds in the secondary hills of the Caucasus. The inhabitants of Panjshír, esteemed by their neighbours, and so calling themselves, Tájiks, while they speak Persian, also understand the Pashai language.

In Nijrow, as in other valleys of this country, are abundance of mounds and caves. While I was at Kâbal chance brought to light a large collection of caves which had formerly been concealed under earth. Some of them were described as curious, and their discovery was a subject of wonder for the day to the inhabitants. North-

east of this valley are a few villages belonging to families still retaining the name of Pashai. The natives of Nijrow, esteemed Tâjiks, and conversing with strangers in Persian, generally discourse in Pashai with each other.

The large valley of Taghow has many vestiges of its ancient inhabitants, and large parcels of coins have been found among them. It is now held by the Sáfí, reputed an Afghân tribe; but one of its most considerable daras, or minor valleys, is named Pashân. The tope of Alisai, between Nijrow and Taghow, has been before alluded to.

In the valley of Ghorband, separated from Koh Dáman to the west by a high hill range stretching from the Hindú Kosh, are many and important remains of ancient times. This valley has a direction towards Bámiân, the Hazára districts of the Shékh Alí tribe, and of Shibr intervening. At a spot called Nílâb are the ruins of an ancient fortress on the river, which even during the last few years have been rendered more palpably ruins by Dost Máhomed Khân, who employed elephants in the work of destruction; fearful that his nephew, Habíb Ulah Khân, whose authority he had contributed to overthrow at Kâbal, might have fled to it, and have renewed its defences. At Fúlojird, and Ferinjâl are remarkable caves; the latter of which Wilford had heard of, and with reference to Hindú traditions was willing to consider the cave of Pramathas, or Prometheus.

In Ghorband is a celebrated Hindú zíarat, which they call Ghárúk Tabbí, the equivalent of Bábá Adam, which merits notice, remembering Wilford's notions that Bámíân was the Mosaical Eden,—not that I believe it was, but as showing how that singular, but always talented, man's inquiries were directed.

CHAPTER VIII.

M. Honigberger. — His antiquarian operations. — Dr. Gerard. — Adventures of M. Honigberger. — Departure for Jelálabád. — Id Gâh. — Incivility. — Bhút Khák. — Defile of Sokhta Chanár. — Ghiljí guide. — Séh Bába. — Bárík-âb. — Taghow. — Sang Toda Baber Pádsháh. — Jigdillik. — Kotal Jigdillik. — Súrkh Púl. — Old acquaintance. — Khalíl Khân's story. — Samúches. — Troublesome night. — Khalíl Khân's death. — Gandamak. — Nimla. — Bálla Bâgh. — Tátang. — Ascent of Síáh Koh. — Caves. — Kajarí. — Goraichí. — Killa Kâfr. — Cascades. — Extensive view. — Shrine of Lot. — Large graves. — Shrine of Lamech. — Opinions of the people. — Scriptural names. — The Pâlí. — Scriptural and classical testimony. — Pâlí conquests. — Early civilization. — Diffusion of their sciences and language. — Judicial astrology. — Universality of Pâlí language. — Names of localities. — Shrines.

ON my return to Kâbal from my first excursion to Bégrám I had the pleasure to meet M. Martine Honigberger, from Lahore, who proposed, *viâ* Bokhára, to regain his native country. My visits to this gentleman caused me to see frequently the Nawâb Jabár Khân, with whom he resided; and that nobleman issued a standing order that he should be informed whenever I came, and made it a point to favour us with his company. With M. Honigberger I made a trip to Shakr Dara, with the view of ascending the high hill Hous Khâst,

but the season being too early we failed to do so, and I nearly perished in the attempt. M. Honigberger subsequently examined several of the topes near Kâbal, and then proceeded to Jelâlabâd, under the Nawâb's protection, where he instituted a series of operations on the Darûnta group; and had not his apprehensions been excited by certain rumours as to the intentions of Nawâb Máhoméd Zemân Khân, and Sirdâr Súltân Máhoméd Khân of Pesháwer, then a guest of the Nawâb, it is possible little would have remained for my ultimate examination. As it was, he precipitately retired to Kâbal. His labours have had the advantage of having been made known to the European world by the late regretted Eugene Jacquet. At the close of autumn our European society was augmented by the arrival of Dr. Gerard, the companion of Lieutenant Burnes, and a few days after his departure for Lúdíána M. Honigberger set out with a kâfila for Bokhára.

At Ak Robât, a march beyond Bámiân, he was maltreated and plundered. Dost Máhoméd Khân, I fear, was not innocent in this matter; nor does it extenuate his guilt that he was led to sanction the injury offered to M. Honigberger by the representations of the profligate Abdúl Samad. Níáz Máhoméd, the governor of Bámiân, was a creature of the latter; and the chief of Kâbal while he furnished M. Honigberger with letters directing every attention to be paid to him, placed his seal

on the wrong side of the paper, by which it was understood that the reverse of what was written was to be done by those to whom they were addressed. Private instructions of course did the rest; and it would appear that M. Honigberger very narrowly escaped being put to death. Abdúl Samad complained that he had met with ill-treatment at the hands of the French officers in the Panjâb. Subsequently the Nawâb Jabâr Khân purchased from Níáz Máhomed some, or all, of the articles plundered, and sent them to M. Allard at Lahore, for transmission to M. Honigberger. The affair created a great expression of disgust at Kábal, indeed Dost Máhomed Khân, in removing Níáz Máhomed from the government of Bámiân soon after, made his criminal conduct the plea for his disgrace. The nawâb was anxious that I should reside with him when M. Honigberger left, but I declined, as I was doing very well where I was, and purposed to repair to Jelálabád for the winter.

I was about to start, when the nawâb entreated me to defer my departure for a few days, and accompany him. As I did not consent, the good-natured nobleman sent me a message to the effect that he would come to my house in the Bálla Hissár, and have me locked up. I could not divine the meaning of his solicitude, but nevertheless determined upon proceeding, when, finding I was not to be diverted from my purpose, he made me promise that I would go to his castle at Tátang, and not

quit it until he came. So much arranged, he directed a Ghiljí, Gúl Máhoméd, to be ready to accompany me, and instructed me, at the first stage of Bhút Khâk, to pass the night at his castle.

I left Kâbal with my own servants; the Ghiljí guide, and a mírza who had agreed to become one of our party, being to join us at the nawâb's castle at Bhút Khâk. I had not seen the castle, and had been misdirected, or had misunderstood the directions given to me, and made for Killa Mosan, under the ridge bounding the plain of Kâbal to the south. In route from the Derwâza Shâh Shéhîd we passed the eminence and zîarat of Síáh Sang to your left, overlooking the Id Gâh, or space where the annual and public festivals are celebrated, and where, in expeditions to the east, the pésh-khâna, or advanced tents of the chiefs, are pitched preparatory to the assembly of the army, and to marching. In the short distance between this spot and the Derwâza Shâh Shéhîd, about half a mile, the unfortunate Shâh Sújâh al Múlkh would appear to have been assassinated.

Crossing the small rise, called Kotal Yek Langar, with the ruinous castle of Killa Gúrjî on its crest, we descended into the plain of Kamarí, a village of that name being to our right, and to our left another, called Killa Ahmed Khân. At this point also the road is intersected by the canal Júí Khwoja, derived from the Loghar river, which at some distance farther we crossed by a dilapidated

bridge of brick-work and masonry, the village of Bégrám lying immediately to our right. A little beyond the river we struck across the plain towards Killa Mosan, believing it to be the nawâb's castle. We found our error; but its Afghân occupants were very willing we should have passed the night with them. We declined their proffered civility with thanks, and made across the plain in a northerly direction for the nawâb's castle. Mid-way we passed Bhút Khâk, a large enclosed agricultural village, desolate in appearance, but memorable in the traditions of the country as the place where Súltân Máhmúd broke up the idols of Samnáth, whence its name. On arrival at the nawâb's castle I was surprised to meet with an uncivil reception. I inquired for Múkhtahár Khân, the intendant, to whom the duty of receiving us fell, and the fellow did not deign to notice me. I accordingly turned to the right-about, and retrograded to Bhút Khâk, where I passed the night in the samúches, or caves, which are, indeed, usual halting-places for kâfilas and travellers. Bhút Khâk is the station of a karijghír, or collector of duties, and has a fine rivulet to the east. The samúches in which we lodged have their corresponding small tumuli, proving the character of the spot. The village is the last occurring on the plains of Kâbal to the east, and beyond it commences the hilly country, extending to Jelálabád. In a line to the south of it terminates the ridge of Shâkh Baranta, around

whose extremity leads the high road to Khúrd Kâbal, or little Kâbal, and Tézín.

Early in the morning I despatched one of my people to the nawâb's castle to ascertain whether the mîrza had arrived. He met him coming to me, with a host of the nawâb's people, sent from Kâbal by their master to do me honour. They were much chagrined at the untoward reception I experienced from Múkhtahâr Khân, and said they were at a loss what report to make to their master. I found afterwards that the man's incivility cost him his employment, and I had the task of interceding for his pardon and reinstatement. The Ghiljí guide did not, however, make his appearance, and deciding to move on without him, we debated as to what road should be followed, and that of Sokhta Chanár was fixed upon. Accordingly, we crossed the rivulet of Bhút Khâk, and traversing an uneven undulating tract, entered the hills on our right. At their entrance was a small valley, with the remains of a castle, a little cultivated land, and a clear rivulet. From it the road led through a continued defile, and we were embarrassed by ice and frozen snow, particularly during the first part of our progress, when a rivulet accompanied us. On reaching a spot with a few samúches we halted, and were joined by the Ghiljí, commissioned by the nawâb to attend us, who proved to be the same person who had escorted Dr. Gerard and his party. We now moved forwards with

greater confidence ; indeed we had not prudently left Bhút Khâk without our guide, but fortune had befriended us. On entering the hills I observed my companion, the mírza, turn pale, and he did not then tell me what was the matter. He had noticed a party of robbers sitting on the hills above us, over a fire. They did not descend, as we were armed and mounted ; but we learned, subsequently, that they intercepted some pedestrians, and drivers of asses, in our rear. I did not see these men.

As we approached the vicinity of Tézín the rocks were remarkably contorted, and throughout the defiles were many indications of copper, a metal more or less abundant in the hills of this part of the country. We at length came into a valley, through which flows the rivulet from Tézín, now on our right, where we found a few camels laden with chaff, and the proprietors, Chúli Zai Afghâns, being willing to supply our cattle, we determined to halt with them for the night, the rocks being disposed so as to exclude the wind, at this season justly dreaded. The early part of the night passed mildly, but afterwards, as we heard the shrill whistling of the breeze, we congratulated ourselves on being sheltered from its violence.

By sunrise we were on the move, and passed down the valley, spacious and open, but the surface broken and stony, in many places sprinkled with low trees and shrubs, until we reached the zíarat of Séh Báábá, or the three fathers, the shrine of

all the robbers of the country, who make this spot a favourite resort, and perform pilgrimage, and plunder travellers at the same time. It is conveniently located for the exercise of their calling; three of the roads from Kâbal, those of Tézín, Sokhta Chanár, and Lattaband, meet at it. The zíarat is a grave in an enclosure of loose stones, distinguished by a large tree bedizened with rags and shreds. We here turned to our right, the road leading over a jumble of sandstone hills, inducing a variety of ascents and descents before we reached the narrow lengthened valley of Bárík-âb, so called from a slender rivulet which flows down it.

On the heights were the remains of an old Chaghatai castle, and a recent one, built by Amír Máhomed Khân, for the protection of the road. There are also several samúches, now used by the traveller, but which, from the many tumuli apparent, were originally constructed with a different object. From Bárík-âb we continued our progress over the same elevated and diversified country, and enjoyed from the rounded summits of the hills a fine view of the open valley of Taghow, about twenty-five miles distant, and of the intervening depressed hilly space, through which flow the rivers of the Kohistân and of Kâbal. The valley of Taghow appeared studded with castles and gardens, denoted by the dense dark masses speckling its surface, and has evidently a marked slope from the north to the south. We also advantageously beheld the lofty range dividing

Taghow from the more easternly districts of Lúghmân and Nadjíl, with its acute pyramidical peaks, and north of it the snowy summits of Koh Kohand, which intervenes between Panjshír and the mountainous seats of the Síáposh Kâfrs. Descending into the spacious stony valley of Kattar Sang, we met a strong kâfila from Pesháwer, and coming to a rivulet we halted, and made our breakfast. Leaving the valley, we again crossed an uneven tract, but with greater extent of level surface. A heap of stones was pointed out as the Sang Toda Baber Pádshâh, and is believed to have been raised by the soldiers of Baber's army, each soldier, agreeably to the emperor's orders, contributing a stone. A little beyond it are the walls of a small square building, near which two or three fellows were skulking. We rode up to it to see that no robbers were lurking within it, and farther on reached the summit of a hill, on which were the ruinous walls of two Chaghatai castles, and below us the dara, or valley of Jigdillik, with a good rivulet, and the remains of a garden planted by Taimúr Shâh, in which his unfortunate son, Shâh Zemân, was deprived of sight, when delivered by Malek Ashak to Assad Khân, brother of the Vazír Fatí Khân. We passed the night in some samúches, of which there are several, with a number of tumuli on either side of the valley. Higher up in it are again others; and besides a few scanty groves of mulberry-trees, on an eminence, is the village of Jigdillik, now deserted, having been

but a short time since given over to plunder by Máhoméd Akbar Khân. The inhabitants, Afghâns, had dispersed, until they should be invited to resume their seats. We with difficulty procured necessaries, and Gúl Máhoméd had to scour the country in quest of them. Jigdillik, from the misfortune of Shâh Zemân, had acquired a local celebrity, which has now become more general, and wofully enhanced to us, since its cheerless and desolate glens have witnessed the destruction of the wrecks of our ill-fated Kâbal force.

From Jigdillik we ascended a dara, gradually contracting until we came to the foot of a slight kotal, called the Kotal of Jigdillik. On its crest were the remains of a Chaghatai castle, and but for the hazy weather we should have had a magnificent view of the low country of Jelâlabâd beneath us. This kotal is now, and has probably always been, the limit of the Kâbal and Jelâlabâd jurisdictions; and on that account, and with reference to the habits of the neighbouring tribes, it was anciently deemed a position worthy of being protected, as is manifest by the remains of its castles, more than usually extensive. Baber was here opposed in one of his expeditions, and it is possible that to the establishment, by his orders, of a line of posts and stations between Kâbal and Atak, the castle, whose remains we see, was owing, as well as many of the other fortresses, known at the present day as Chaghatai killas, however his successors may have improved and added to them.

The descent was continual, without being precipitous, and the snow diminished every step we advanced, until at last we left it fairly behind us. On arrival at a locality called Lokhí, where to the right is a rivulet in a bed overspread with reeds, our guide asked permission to visit Hissárák, a little right of the road, where he said his family resided. It was granted, as he promised to join us at Súrkh Púl. We did not suspect he had other motives until we reached that place, so called from a bridge built by Alí Mirdân Khân over the Súrkh Rúd, or red river, which crosses the road, and glides into the valley of Kangkarrak. It seemed that our friend had some altercation with the karijghírs, or toll-collectors, when attending Dr. Gerard and his party. Anticipating that we should encounter similar difficulties, he had wisely put himself out of the way, and left us to arrange matters ourselves. We passed the bridge and made a short halt. I went to see a Persian inscription on a rock, recording its foundation, when one of the collectors came to me and asked if I was the owner of the horses. I replied "Yes;" when he said, "Take them before the khân," pointing to a person wrapped in a postín and sitting within a circle of stones, by the side of the road. I shook my head; and he then said, "Go, and have a little iktalát, or conversation with the khân." I again shook my head, for I could not conceive who the khân could be in such a place. The mírza, who had joined, expressed his intention of waiting upon

Khalíl Khân. On hearing the name, I asked what Khalíl Khân it was, and was told, Khalíl Khân of Bísút. "Oh, then," I exclaimed, "I will go myself." I had soon the satisfaction of shaking hands with an old friend, whose civilities to me in my first visit to these countries I have before recorded. I could not refuse to pass the evening with him; and men were despatched to Tútú, two cosses distant, for a sheep, barley, and chaff, while cakes, cheese, and honey were immediately placed before us. We talked over the events which had befallen us since we first met, and the khân gave a strange account of his disasters. He said he was overwhelmed with debts, and that his fine castles in Bísút were mortgaged. He was farther embarrassed in his accounts with the Nawâb Máhoméd Zemân Khân, from whom he farmed the transit-duties of Jelálabád, and who occasionally resumed them, but finding no person collect them so well, was compelled to transfer them again to him, notwithstanding the liberty he took in withholding the receipts. He told me, that he did not care a fig for the nawâb, that he had married two or three daughters of the Ghiljís in the neighbourhood, and was in rebellion whenever money was demanded from him. I congratulated him in being, in one respect, in so thriving a way. An elderly staid gentleman coming towards us, the khân observed, that the scoundrel was one of his creditors, who gathered up the monies as he collected them from kâfilas.

Tea being brought for me, the khân complained of headache, and referred it to the beverage, of which he drank two cups; I rather suspected the evil was owing to his sitting the whole day in the sun, which, however, he said, was his custom. Some of his young men brought in some partridges, which were grilled, and served to us, and, it being evening, we retired to samúches, excavated by the khân himself, and in which he resided, or rather passed his nights. He was very proud of them, as being memorials which would confer immortality upon him, and showed me a substance which he had found in course of the work, which cut glass, and which he fancied to be a diamond. The samúches were oppressively hot, and I certainly should have preferred the open air. After an excellent supper, the mírza produced a book, the *Khalíl wa Damnah*, and recited, to the great apparent satisfaction of the khân and himself, for the rest of the evening. I sat until I could not keep my eyes longer open, and went to repose on a chahárpâhí, at the extremity of the samúch. It was in vain that I courted sleep, which, if the heat of the apartment would have permitted, the asthmatic cough of the old gentleman creditor prevented. I had not expected another cause of interruption, offered by Khalíl Khân himself, who throughout the night kept up an incessant series of shouts, groans, and sighs, intermixed with ejaculations of Sokhtam! sokhtam! I burn! I burn! and Oh! Khodâ! Oh!

Khodâ! toba! toba! hazâr toba! Oh God! oh God! repentance! repentance! a thousand times repentance! I was alarmed, but observed that no one took any notice; and the old gentleman, whose cough made him pace the samúch a good part of the night, passed and repassed the chahárpâhí, on which the poor khân was extended, perfectly indifferent to his torments; wherefore I concluded the exhibition was an ordinary one. I went through a singular night, and heartily rejoiced at the break of day, which enabled me to quit the samúch. The old gentleman requested a remedy for dil-dard, and professed to be eased by a decoction of cloves. Khalil Khân complained of fever. A few days after the unhappy man died; and his corpse was carried past Tátang, where I was staying, in its way to Bísút for interment. Some time after I met the old creditor at Jelálabád, and observing "So poor Khalil Khân is gone," asked of what disorder he died, and was told that Házrat Alí had slain him, weary of having his name profaned, and of hearing the perjuries he uttered.

Having breakfasted, we bade farewell to the Khân, and passed over an uneven country, the road tolerably good, until we came to a rivulet, which we crossed, and ascending a short but abrupt kotal, found ourselves on the table-land of Gandamak. Afar off we had descried a horse standing on the summit, which we rightly conjectured to be that of the Ghiljí guide. We ral-

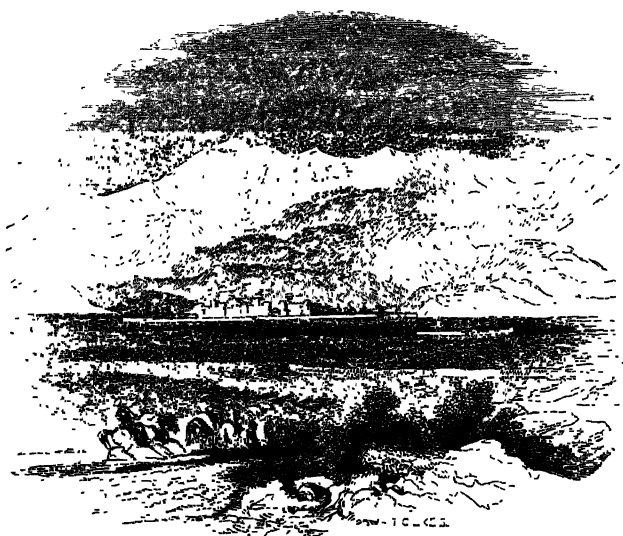
lied him on leaving us at the mercy of the karij-ghírs. We halted at Gandamak, although we had only marched three cosses, as we could command supplies and good accommodation. The village, once enclosed within walls, does not contain above forty or fifty houses, but has some half-dozen Hindú shopkeepers, and it is famed for its fine mulberries. South of the village is a royal garden, all but destroyed. There are two or three castles adjacent, one called Killa Gandamak, another belongs to Meherdád Khán, Popal Zai, and anciently Harkára Báshí. There is also much cultivated land, water being plentiful. The inhabitants are of the Kohgâní tribe, that formerly possessed the country to the west, held by the Jabár Khêl Ghiljís, who expelled them. They now occupy in this vicinity, besides Gandamak, the villages Tútú Kajar, Nimla, Fatíabád, &c. They claim to be related to the Ghiljís, who do not acknowledge the affinity, and apparently with reason. Gandamak, from its elevated site, has a climate cool in comparison with that of the lower plains of Jelálabád, and the people, in common with those of the districts of the contiguous Saféd Koh, tend silk-worms.

From Gandamak we came to the villages of Háshem Khêl and Belâl Khêl, with the Naiân rivulet, over which is a ruinous bridge of two arches, picturesque in decay. To our right were the villages and castles of Nokar Khêl, and above them,

at the skirts of the Saféd Koh, the villages of Múrkhí Khél, Zoar, &c. In place of following the high road, which leads to Nimla, we took one to our left, over the table space of Bâmak, from which we had an admirable view of the valley, village, and royal garden of Nimla. This village is a small one of eighty houses, but the garden appears very advantageously with its tall cypress-trees. It is famed for narcissuses, posies of which are sent as presents to Kabâl. The unopened buds are selected for transport, and they expand on being placed in water. From the table space of Bâmak we descended into the valley of the Súrkh Rúd river, at a point called Kangkarrak, where is a small collection of ancient caves. We halted there, and breakfasted. We now observed many plants of warm climates, strangers to Kâbal, and the milky âk-bush became abundant. We traced the southern skirts of the narrow valley, passing many hamlets, small castles, and much cultivation, and finally came to Bálla Bâgh, a small walled-in town, seated on the very bank of the river, on the opposite side of which is the site of the city of Adinapúr, flourishing in the time of Baber.

About a mile west of the town is a garden, the Chahár Bâgh, planted by that prince, and which he calls Bâgh-i-Wafa. He vaunts the strong position of the fortress of Adínapúr, which I could never detect, unless a mass of ruins on an eminence, near some triangular entranced caves, denote

it, and if so, however extensive, it would appear to have been very loosely constructed. Bálla Bâgh is a commercial little town, and Hindús in great numbers reside at it. The revenue is enjoyed by Máhoméd Osmân Khân, son of the late Nawâb Samad Khân, who was expelled from Kohât by Pír Máhoméd Khân, of Peshâwer. Two or three hundred men were employed in widening the trench, it being said that Dost Máhoméd Khân was expected. We were now gratified by the sight of luxuriant fields of sugar-cane. A little beyond Bálla Bâgh we crossed the Súrkh Rúd, a rapid stream, and with water to our horses' girths. Passing a variety of hamlets and fortlets, with the village of Kotípúr, we arrived at the nawâb Jabâr Khân's seignorial castle of Tátang, where we were received with all honour by his intendant Abdúlah, and presently installed in apartments over the principal gateway, whence we commanded a noble view of the valley of Jelálabád and the country to the east. This castle was built by the nawâb when governor of the Ghiljís of Kâbal, and when he could call forth the labourers of the country at discretion. He fixed upon a waste, neglected spot, therefore called Tátang, which in Pashtâní implies desolate, and to reclaim it directed his attention. The site had been anciently occupied by a castle called Killa Rájpútân, or the castle of the Rájpúts, and was connected by tradition with the period of Rájpút sway in these countries. Two or three substantial towers



CASTLE OF TATANG.

were yet existing, and the nawâb has often assured me it employed more labour to remove them than was required to raise the new castle. A superior castle, with very lofty walls and towers, has been erected. To the east, or front, is a large public garden, with handsome summer-house and baths for the accommodation of guests, and adjoining the southern front of the building is another private garden. Both are stocked with flowers, and at this time displayed large expanses of red and white tuberoses. In the evening the fragrance of the atmosphere was delightful. The trees in these gardens, as over the estate, are but young, although some of the cypresses have attained a moderate

height. About eighteen kolbahs of land appertain to the nawâb, who has purchased the whole of it, but at very low prices. There was formerly no water, or little in the neighbourhood, a deficiency which the nawâb has obviated by bringing a canal from the Sûrkh Rûd, opposite Bálla Bâgh, along the skirts of the hills, at the foot of which Tátang lies. Within the castle there is a spacious residence for his family, provided with all due appendages, as baths, &c., and about thirty-five houses, for his tenants and agriculturists. The estate is now in pretty good order, and in course of time will be a magnificent one, as additions are every year made to it, by purchases of the adjoining lands. The nawâb takes great pride in it, and is never so happy as when walking over his grounds, planting trees, widening canals, or feasting upon the beauties of his flower-gardens. A doubtful politician and statesman, his skill as a husbandman is denied by no one.

I fulfilled my promise to the nawâb of not wandering far from his castle, yet I did not neglect the immediate environs, which to me had at least the charm of novelty to recommend them. One of my first excursions was to the summit of the range overshadowing us, and which, extending from Jigdillik to Darúnta, separates the valleys of Ningrahár and Lúghmân. It is called Kândaghar by Afghâns, Bâgh Atak by Tâjiks, and Koh Bolan by the people of Lúghmân. It is also frequently

called Síáh Koh, or the black hill, in contra-distinction to the magnificent range of the Saféd Koh, or white hill, on the opposite, or southern line of the valley. From Tátang a glen, called Kajarí, in a north-west direction, extends to the main body of the range, and early one morning I started to proceed up it and gain the crest of the hills, attended by one of my servants and an Afghân guide, Ferdúsí. At the opening of the glen upon the plain round conglomerate hills occur on either side, composed of boulders of moderate dimensions, combined by a calcareous cement. This species of rock is very liable to delapse, and huge fragments, fallen from above, strew the narrow valley. From the same reason, towards the summits, many of them have a scarped perpendicular line of many feet in depth, which has caused their selection for the excavation of samúches. Here are many of those ascetical residences; and the hills abound with vestiges of walls, ramparts, and pottery-ware, indicative of the former character of the locality. As we ascend up the glen we tread upon a series of stratified and schistose rocks, at first barely peering above the surface, but gradually rising in altitude. Amongst these we observed some of the impressions, common enough in these regions, apparently of the hoof of an animal. Here, as well as everywhere else, I have seen them; they are found in a certain kind of black stone. Three hundred yards from its commencement the glen contracts,

and a short tanghí, or defile, is passed, where is a very beautiful object in an excavated arched recess, made in ancient times for the sake of obtaining zâkh, or the sub-acetate of iron, which completely pervades the rock. The people at present employ it to strike a black dye on cloths previously saturated in a decoction of pomegranate rind. The spot is particularly picturesque, from the nature of the stratified rocks, and the variously tinged yellow and green hues caused by the presence of the zâkh. It is a fairy scene, and the grot of Oberon could not be more fanciful or fantastic. Beyond it the glen expands, and the enclosing hills to the west are again provided with caves. Here is also a warm spring, and a clump of productive date-trees, which give a name to the glen, which throws off a branch to the west, leading to Márnú, a spot inhabited by Afghân pastoral families. At this point is a small, but deep dand, or pool of water, its borders fringed with that species of reeds from which the kalams, or pens of the country, are fashioned. We traced the northern branch of the glen, being anxious to see some remains we had heard of, the first said to be at a spot called Goraichí, a place of Hindú pilgrimage. In fact, we found scratched on the rocks a variety of rude figures, of men on elephants and horses, and of men on foot, armed with bows and arrows, of stags and lions, of hares, and other animals. It was impossible to decide whe-

ther the figures were owing to single design or were the result of casual and occasional contributions. If the former, it may have been intended to represent a battle, or hunting-scene. The figures were too rudely scratched to deserve much attention, neither could anything useful be learned from them ; but, surmounting the rocks on which they are found, we presently came upon some more substantive remains, in walls and parapets of masonry, on the crest, and encircling the sides of an eminence. This locality, as all similar ones are, was called Killa Kâfr, or the infidel's fortress. A line of wall was carried round three sides of the peak ; the fourth, presenting an abrupt perpendicular escarpment, rendered its continuation unnecessary. The entrance faced the west. At the eastern point were the remains of a circular tower. Beneath the superior line of wall, on the acclivities of the eminences, parapets had been raised ; the intervals between them and the inclined surface of the rock were filled up with pure sifted earth. From these spots funereal jars, containing dark-coloured earth, bones, and fragments of charcoal, had been procured, establishing the fact of the sepulchral nature of the locality. The walls on the summit enclosed a variety of small apartments, the partition walls of which were entire, and which seemed to point out the residences of the various persons connected with the establishment. It could scarcely be doubted that it was the ancient burial-place of some

village on the plain. Skirting the hills to the east, I afterwards found many such places were to be found, some of them much more considerable than the one here. They occur continuously, as it were, until we reach the termination of the range, where, for the last two or three miles, is dispersed the group of the topes of Darúnta. To the westward we also discover them; the remains at the site of Adinapúr, whether or not denoting the fortress so favourably spoken of by Baber, are of the same character, and similar vestiges present themselves until we reach the caves of Kangkarrak, and even beyond them. In all instances the rational inference is, that they refer to villages formerly located, as at the present day, on the plains beneath them, and that their retired situation was selected in conformity to the custom and religion of the time; of which the ever-present cave attests, that seclusion and asceticism were prominent features. In like manner, we account for the antique evidences to be found on the skirts of the various hills of Afghânistân, all of which exhibit them, and it is only natural they should, for there were villages, of course, in all directions, as now, in the plains at their feet; and every village as naturally had its place of sepulture.

The view of the country from Killa Kâfr being extensive, I took a few bearings, and then retraced my steps, to gain the road leading to the summit of the range. It continued very fair and even for

some time, and brought us to a waterfall, of fifty or sixty feet in height. As we ascended we were gratified by the sight of a much more considerable fall, or rather succession of falls, the superior one of great height. There was little water, and it was clear that such objects, to be seen to advantage, should be visited after rains and floods. There are many of them in various parts of the range. The difficulty of our journey increased as we neared the summit, though the hill offered no impediment to our ascent beyond that presented by its inclination, and it was only after repeated halts that we attained the object of our journey; and certainly our toil was well repaid by the wide, the varied, and magnificent scenery on all sides. To the north we had under our observation the valleys of Lúghmân, with their towns, villages, castle, and cultivated lands, bounded by Koh Karinj; beyond which a jumble of hills designated the abodes of the mysterious and imperfectly known Síáposh races. To the west of the Lúghmân valley stretched a cheerless barren expanse to the ranges separating it from Taghow, and the lands of the Sáhibzâda Uzbíns. At the point where it connected with the cultivated plain, near the town of Tírgarí, a solitary dome indicated the zíárat of Métar Lám Sáhib, or the supposed grave of the patriarch Lámech. The towns, villages, and castles appeared as minute specks upon the plain, but they were specially distinguished by the venerable gaz-trees of their zíárats. We had an admi-

rable view of the rivers of Alingár and Alíshang, winding like slender rivulets in their courses, and effecting their junction at Tírgarí, and subsequently at Mandaráwar uniting with the river of Kâbal. Directing our sight to the east, we commanded a view up the valley of Khonar as far as Islámabád, where it was intercepted by the snowy range separating it from Bálor, and which confines to the east the course of the river of Kámeh, which we had also the gratification to descry in its meanders along the contracted valley. Turning round, the valley of Jelálabád and of the Kâbal river was fully developed, bounded by the hills of the Momands and Khaibaris, intervening between it and Pesháwer. To the south we had a glorious prospect of the Saféd Koh range, the limitary boundary of the valleys of Ningrahár and Bangash, and of the numerous districts at its skirts. To the west, our observation included Amân Koh, and snowy peaks in the vicinity of Kâbal; but the atmosphere was hazy in this quarter. Our admiration at the noble prospect made us think of leaving the hill with regret, but we had reached late, and after taking my observations upon the principal localities within view, I was compelled to descend. Our downward course was easy, and we regained Tátang a little after sunset.

Within a mile from Tátang, in a valley of this hill-range, is the zíárat, or shrine of Házzrat Lút Paigambar, supposed to be the grave of no less

a personage than the scriptural patriarch Lot. Such an object necessarily commanded my attention, and I therefore one evening walked to it. I found one of those graves of extraordinary dimensions which abound in this country; and more sparingly are found westward, as at Kâbal, and in the Hazârajât. The grave in question was about thirty-three yards in length, and was enclosed by a wall, rudely constructed of stones. It had the usual concomitants, of poles surmounted with flags, of lamps, and a spring of water contiguous. A path leads from it to Bálla Bâgh, which, as well as the immediate vicinity of the grave, is kept carefully clean, as the inhabitants of that place, both Máhomedan and Hindú, constantly repair to it, and hold it in special reverence. Adjacent to it is a smaller grave, believed to be that of a relative of the patriarch. At the head of the grave, the assiduity of pilgrims has accumulated a rich cabinet of the mineralogical specimens of the hills, for it is usual to deposit in such localities any rare or curious natural object of the kind which may be found. They are also partially strewed over the entire surface. On this account the mineralogist should always visit the shrines in a Máhomedan country, as he will find there collected what it would cost him much trouble to acquire in their dispersed state; the naturalist will also meet with antlers and horns of extraordinary dimensions, and the antiquarian may chance to dis-

cover fragments of sculptured stones, and inscribed slabs. The numbers in which these large graves occur in the valleys of Ningrahár naturally pressed on my mind the consideration of their nature. It was unnecessary to believe, with the people of these parts, that they covered the remains of giants, which they infer Házrat Lút, and the other patriarchs, to have been; and it was obvious that their direction from north to south was strictly orthodox and Máhomedan. In most situations they are zíárats; and those which are not are still beheld reverentially, their holy character being acknowledged, while it is regretted that no revelation has disclosed to whom they relate. The more celebrated of these large graves, is that of Métar Lám Sáhíb, or the patriarch Lámech, in Lúghmân, known in Europe from its connexion with the traditionary history of Súltân Máhmúd, and by the notice Wilford has taken of it. In fixing the antiquity of these memorials we are not absolutely without guides. On the plain of Jelálabád many are found on the summits of the tumuli of the middle ages, whose epoch we are warranted to conclude from the coins and relics picked up on their surface, or elicited by excavation, to have been anterior indeed, but frequently very little so, to the Máhomedan conquests. Nothing can be more certain than that the graves, in such positions, are posterior to the tumuli on which they are formed. I therefore suppose that they are

the graves of Máhomedans who flourished in the time of the Caliphat rule, and who, falling probably in action with infidels, have been interred with extraordinary honour. I have had occasion to remark, that the shrines of the ancient superstitions of the country have, palpably, been legitimatized by the early Múslím invaders; and this fact may account for the presence of these graves in sites which, if only sepulchral, will still have had a religious and venerated character. On many of the tumuli where these monuments are found there are gaz, or tamarisk-trees, of great size, and of at least as remote an age as the graves they overshadow. To Súltân Máhmúd traditionary record imputes the reclamation of these graves, and the revelation, imparted in a dream, that the sepulchre of the patriarch Lámech was unknown and dishonoured in the country.

The inhabitants of Bálla Bágh believe that the existence of the shrine in their environs conduces to the prosperity of the town, and those of Lúghmân ascribe the productiveness of their lands to their good fortune in possessing the shrine of the illustrious Lámech. In these degenerate days neither has any endowment: the contributions of the pious, and the offerings of pilgrims, are the sources from which their little establishments are kept up.

It may deserve notice, that many localities in Afghânistân bear scriptural names: Kábal itself is

that of a place in Palestine, noticed by the author of the Book of Joshua, chap. xix. verses 24 to 30, when describing the allotment of the tribe of Asher. It again occurs in Kings, where Hiram, the prince of Tyre, dissatisfied with the twenty cities made over to him by Solomon, confers upon them the name of Kâbal, which Josephus explains to mean worthless, or unprofitable. In like manner we have Zoar, Shínar, Gáza, Shéva, Sidim, Tabar, Amân, Kergha—to mention only a few instances—all of which we find not only in the Scriptures, but in the earlier of them; and it is clear that they were names borne by the localities when they became first known to the Israelites, and that they were not conferred by the latter. It need not be doubted that they are Pâlí names, given by the Pâlí settlers in that region, called Pâlistân, or land of the Pâlí, the original of our Palestine; and these Pâlí are again the Philistines, (a plural term,) so long the memorable antagonists of the Hebrews. If we inquire who these Pâlí were, we learn from Genesis that they were descendants of Ham, in the line of Mizraim; and if we consult classical authorities, we are informed by Diodorus that they were one of the great Scythian families, the other being the Nápí; and we are farther told, that at a very remote time they overran all Asia, and penetrated into Europe, and the islands of the Mediterranean. Of these Pâlí conquests I am not aware that we have any other positive record,

but they are fully confirmed by vestiges left behind in all the countries they are said to have subdued. Tyre, or correctly Túr, was, as Strabo says, more anciently called Pâlí-túr: the Pâlí túr or fort; and Rome succeeded a Pâlí-tan, the Pâlí town, on the hill we call Palatine; while innumerable places throughout Italy, Greece, Sicily, and the Mediterranean isles, as well as throughout Asia, attest the presence of these ancient people. Their conquests are, moreover, of the first importance; for, connecting the evidence of Scripture with that of Diodorus, we find that subsequent to, if not consequent upon, the dispersal at Babel, the Pâlí must have spread themselves into the regions known to the ancients as Scythia, as they returned from them in their career of victory, mentioned by the historian. In their first movements towards the east they necessarily carried with them all their arts and sciences. And on this point the testimony of Scripture is most valuable, for in apprising us of their affinity with the descendants of Mizraim, it leaves no room to doubt that they were as proficient in them as were those with whom they were connected; and it is needless to advert to the early state of society and civilization in Egypt, unless to suggest that the countries into which the Pâlí spread may have been at the same time equally under similar influences; and we can but remember that in China there would always appear to have existed a civil-

ized people. At Babylon Alexander the Great was presented with a series of astronomical calculations, extending for a certain number of years, within ten of the date generally assigned to the erection of the tower of Babel. It has been suspected that one of the objects of the tower may have been to facilitate such observations, probably for the sake of the predictions deduced from them; and it is curious to find that in China and in India, from the earliest times, judicial astrology has been a favourite study, and the principal means by which a crafty hierarchy have imposed upon the deluded imaginations of the people. Would not the Pâli have carried that science with them? Recent discoveries in India, and in Central Asia, have proved that the language of those countries at the period of the Macedonian conquests was Pâli. Sanscrit turns out to be Pâli; the language of Persia at the time of Darius Hystaspes, was Pâli; Phœnician we know to be Pâli: facts undeniable, and in unison with authority we feel all inclination to respect and venerate, while they are singular only because they disturb erroneous impressions, long current and cherished. There are many points in connexion with the Pâli of engrossing interest, to discuss which would carry me beyond the limit prescribed for such matters in these volumes; it will be sufficient, after what has been observed, to point out that the occurrence of Pâli names, whether in Afghânistân or Palestine, is no cause

for wonder; had they not occurred there would have been. Besides Pâlí names, the Afghân countries preserve in their localities names of the several races which have successively overrun them. Hence we have Arab, Rájpút, Túrki, Persian, as well as other appellations; and the various remarkable shrines owe, no doubt, their nomenclature to the early Máhomedans, who thereby made the existing sacred places their own.

CHAPTER IX.

Dost Máhoméd Khân's designs.—Movements of Shâh Sújáh al Múlk. — Arrival of Meher Dil Khân. — Súltân Máhoméd Khân's visit to Jelálabád.—Plots.—Dost Máhoméd Khân's feints. — Extortions. — Projects and counter-projects. — Designs disclosed.—Hájí Khân discarded.—March of Dost Máhoméd Khân. — Mír Afzil Khân.—His ingenuity.—Submission of Máhoméd Osmán Khân.—Measures of Máhoméd Zemán Khân. — Assault and capture of Jelálabád.—Plunder of town.—Arrival of Nawáb Jabár Khân. — Attempt to assassinate Dost Máhoméd Khân.—Fate of assassin.—Máhoméd Zemán Khân's conduct.—His recent re-appearance.—Disposal of Jelálabád.—Seizure of chiefs of Khonar and Lálpúra.—Abdúl Ghiáz Khân. —His proposed mission to India.—Dost Máhoméd Khân's objections.—Secret departure.—Altercation at Dáka.—Obstinacy of companions.—Reference to Sâdat Khân.—His decision and message.—His conversation.—His fate.—Remarks thereon.—His successor in authority.—Shelmân Khúrd.—Múlla Ghorí.—Robbers.—Reception at Ispind Sing.—Arrival at Pesháwer.—Confused state of affairs.—Ridiculous alarms.—Shâh Sújáh al Múlk's treaty.—The Síkhs profit by circumstances.—Their understanding with parties.—Proposal to the sirdárs.—Advance of Sîkh army.—Stand of Hájí Khân.—Pesháwer taken.—Jocularity of Harí Singh.—Pír Máhoméd Khân's valorous remark.—Abdúl Ghiáz Khân's arrangements.

I HAVE noted, that on passing Bálla Bâgh workmen were employed in strengthening the defences of the place, under a notion that Dost Máhoméd Khân contemplated to visit it in his way to Jelá-

labád. I soon found that there was good ground for the apprehension, and at once understood the nawâb's solicitude, that I should go to his castle and not wander from it. When I left Kâbal I was not aware of the sirdâr's intention, in fact, supposed his attention would be directed to other quarters; but I troubled myself little about politics, and did not penetrate the secrets of his councils. It was known that Shâh Sújâh al Mûlkh was at Shikârpûr, that he had defeated the army of Northern Sind at Sakar, and extorted a sum of money from the confederated chiefs. All accounts concurred that he had collected an army, formidable as to numbers at least; that there was abundance in his camp, and that the road to Kândahâr was open to him. His letters were circulated through all parts of Afghânistân, and there was scarcely a person of note who had not responded to them. In September, Meher Dil Khân, one of the Kândahâr chiefs, arrived at Kâbal, avowedly to induce his brother, Dost Mâhommed Khân, to march to Kândahâr, to assist in repelling the danger with which they were menaced by the Shâh's advance. Notwithstanding, the shâh was naturally an object of dread; so imperfect was the bond of union between the several Bârak Zai brothers in power that the real purpose of Meher Dil Khân's visit was to entice his brother to Kândahâr, with a view of rendering his territories accessible to invasion by the chiefs of Peshâwer and Jelâlabâd.

Dost Máhoméd Khân, well acquainted with the intentions of his brother, received him with outward civility, but neglected to provide him with entertainment, or with expenses to defray it, thereby annoying him during his stay, and probably abridging its continuance. He engaged, however, to march to Kândahár, if satisfied that no advantage would be taken of his absence by the chiefs of Pesháwer. Sultân Máhoméd Khân advanced as far as Mámá Khêl, south of Gandamak, and sent his son to Kâbal to assist at the conferences, as a proof of his desire to unite cordially with Dost Máhoméd Khân in the crisis which impended over the family. Such was the proclaimed motive; but agents, in the train of his son, were commissioned to tamper with the adherents of the Kâbal chief, and, in concert with Meher Dil Khân, to arrange measures with the disaffected for his destruction. The Nawâb Jabâr Khân, and Hâjî Khân, were privy to these plots, and lent them their countenance. Sultân Máhoméd Khân's agents reported, that their mission had been successful; and Dost Máhoméd Khân, who had alike despatched emissaries to Pesháwer on a similar errand, was flattered by their assurances that the retainers of his brothers had been corrupted. Sultân Máhoméd Khân, of course, exerted all his influence with Máhoméd Zemân Khân, who, however hostile to Dost Máhoméd Khân, and desirous to preserve his authority at Jelálabád, was not anxious to provoke

attack ; and while consenting to call in the Pesháwer chiefs, if Dost Máhoméd Khân became the aggressor, and to cede them Bishbúlák as an equivalent for their assistance, still would not personally see Súltán Máhoméd Khân ; and when this chief, about to return to Pesháwer, called at his house in Jelálabád, he was not admitted, and was compelled to leave without an interview. Máhoméd Zemán Khân had been summoned by Dost Máhoméd Khân to meet and confer with Meher Dil Dhân at Kâbal. His refusal previously to co-operate with the sirdár of Kâbal in his expedition to Taghow, had been made the pretext for the invasion of his territory, as before narrated. On this occasion he declined to place himself in the power of his suspected kinsman, but avoided the charge of contumacy by sending his son, an evasion little palatable to Dost Máhoméd Khân. Before Meher Dil Khân departed from Kâbal the sirdár had stationed his pésh-khâna at Déh Mazzang, and the Kândahár chief returned, most likely pluming himself on the result of his dexterity. To provide means for the expedition, a loan of thirty thousand rupees was forced from the Shíkárpúrís ; a few other individuals were seized, and sums of money extorted from them, until, at length, the persons of Názir Khairúlah, and the Mírákhór Walí Máhoméd were secured, the first under the protection of the Amín al Múlkh, Máhoméd Réhim Khân, and the latter

in the service of the Nawâb Jabâr Khân. Thirty thousand rupees were demanded from the one, and ten thousand rupees from the other. This step was highly offensive to the two noblemen named, and the nawâb used strong language ; but all that he could effect was a commutation, by which a part of the amount was given in money and the remainder in goods and chattels. The pésh-khâna was still at Déh Mazzang, when, in November, a fall of snow happened, and the soldiery became somewhat discouraged at the prospect of a march in winter, and through snow. Máhomed Akbar Khân, the sirdâr's son, had been sent to Lúghmân, ostensibly to collect money for the expedition ; it was alleged that the march was delayed until his return. In this stage of the business the principal kowâníns, at the suggestion of Amír Máhomed Khân, requested the sirdâr to defer his march to Kândahár, pointing out that, according to his repeated and constant assertions, the Shâh had no army, so there could be no immediate danger, while a march through the snow would disorganize his own force. They proposed to go to Khúram, where revenue for the last two years had not been collected. The sirdâr affected to take the recommendation ill, swore that he would march to Kândahár, and acquit himself of his duty to his brothers, if up to his neck in snow ; that all who chose might follow him, and all who chose might remain ; that, for himself, he would go

if followed only by Abdúl Samad and his battalion.

The pésh-khâna was advanced to Killa Kází, and Abdúl Samad, with his battalion, directed to join it. The first fall of snow, after an interval of severely cold weather, had been followed by a second, and the prospects of the troops became daily more discouraging. In this conjuncture the sirdár convened his kowâníns, and prefacing that they might thank the Amín al Múlk, and others, for their dilatoriness in complying with his demands, or he had certainly marched to Kândahár in despite of snow, declared his resolution to take their advice, and proceed to Khúram. One of his dependents, Bahâwal Khân, Bárák Zai, was despatched to examine and report upon the state of the Kotal Péhwâr. This man on his return affirmed that the kotal was impracticable, and that some of his men had lost their toes from the severity of the frost. The sirdár then ordered his pésh-khâna to be brought from Killa Kází, and to be fixed at Síáh Sang, east of Kábal, and on the road to Jelálabád. His real purpose, which he had hitherto so industriously concealed, became apparent. It was greatly disrelished by many. The Nawâb Jabár Khân was very sore, and, ostensibly, the sirdár's brother, Amír Máhoméd Khân, disapproved of it. The nawâb, however, declined to remonstrate, observing, that if he said march, he made his nephews enemies; if he said, do not march, from previous transactions he should be

suspected of intrigues with them; adding, with simulated humility, that he was a núkar, or servant. The arch dissembler, Amír Máhoméd Khân, took a Korân in his hand, and presented himself before his brother, praying him not to march on Jelálabád, reminding him of the mutual oaths they had both taken to Máhoméd Zemân Khân, and offering, if money was the object, to contribute three lákhs of rupees. The sirdár replied, that if twelve lákhs of rupees were proffered he would refuse them, and march. Dost Máhoméd Khân next called Hâjí Khân to an interview, at which, besides himself and the khân, Amír Máhoméd Khân, and Mírza Samí Khân were present. In a few words he informed the khân, that his evil deeds and his intentions were known and forgiven, that his person and property were respected, and that he had liberty to transport himself and his dependants wherever he pleased. Amír Máhoméd Khân, before Hâjí Khân recovered from his surprise at this abrupt announcement, had taken off his turban and placed it at his feet, conjuring him not to reply. He then withdrew him from the meeting, protested that he considered him as a brother, and that if he disliked to remain in Dost Máhoméd's service he should share in his own fortune. Of course, this matter had been previously arranged between the two brothers. On the 21st of December the pésh-khâna was advanced to Bhút Khâk, where the battalion joined it, and soon after Dost Máhoméd Khân left the city. He

marched successively to Khúrd Kâbal, Tézín, Jig-dillik, and Ishpân, in the Kohgâní district, a little west of Gandamak. Here he halted to allow the troops from Kâbal to reach, which followed in detail, as was necessary on account of the inclement season and the scarcity of provender. The sirdár came with his battalion, the Ghúlám Khâna troops, and fourteen guns. Amír Máhoméd Khân, the Nawâb Jabâr Khân, and Hâjî Khân were yet in Kâbal, where one of the sirdár's sons, Máhoméd Akram Khân, had been appointed governor. At Ishpân, famous in Afghân history for one of Shâh Sújah al Múlkh's discomfitures, the sirdár was close upon Mámá Khêl, the place to which Súltân Máhoméd Khân had advanced in the autumn. There resides Mír Afzil Khân, eldest son of Akram Khân, Popal Zai, the vazír of Shâh Sújah al Múlkh, slain in the disaster at Nimla. Mír Afzil Khân, bitterly inimical to Dost Máhoméd Khân, was no doubt mixed up in the intrigues carrying on against him, but his cunning made him now, as at all other times, feign afflictions in his limbs. Aware that Dost Máhoméd Khân was likely to pay him a visit, and to demand money—for he is reputed to be very rich—his ingenuity had provided against such a call, by an expedient worthy of the occasion. One night, while the sirdár was yet at Kâbal, he employed men to rob his own castle. Holes were perforated in the walls, and in the morning carpets, felts, and utensils of all kinds were found scattered about.

His wife, a daughter of the Vazír Fatí Khân, immediately started for Kâbal, and related to her brother the sad misfortune, and loss of all her jewels and valuable property; reviled Máhoméd Zemân Khân for his lax exercise of authority, and prayed that the sirdár would use his influence to recover her wealth. He had difficulty to appease his volatile relative, but he was too shrewd not to perceive the manœuvre put in play. He, however, forebore at this time to demand a contribution from Mír Afzil Khân, aware that his wife would be forthcoming with the piteous tale of the robbery. The manner in which Mír Afzil Khân acquired his useful lady may be told as characteristic of Fatí Khân, and also to his honour. When Akram Khân was cut down at Nimla, he recommended his family to the protection of his antagonist, saying, they might one day serve him. Fatí Khân subsequently inquired for Mír Afzil Khân, and gave him his daughter in marriage. By this alliance the son was able to preserve much of his father's property, although many lákhs of rupees were lost, being confided to Hindús, who fled to Amratsir, where they are now capitalists. Mír Afzil Khân lives secluded in a delightful locality at Mámá Khêl, where he has built castles and planted orchards and vineyards, but is supposed to be a reckless intriguer. His reputation is very bad, and very different from that of his father. He has a brother connected with Pír Máhoméd Khân of Pesháwer,

alike distinguished for his intrigues, and qualities the opposite to amiable ones.

From Ishpân Dost Máhomed Khân marched to Fatiábád, between which and Bálla Bâgh a stony plain, traversed by the Kârasú river (black river), intervenes for about three miles. Here he asked Abdúl Samad, at what expense of life he would capture the latter town ; who replied, with the loss of ten men. The sirdár observed, you shall presently see that I can manage these affairs better than you can. I shall order the discharge of five guns, and Máhomed Osmân Khân will come walking into camp like a dog with his tail between his legs. The guns were discharged; and their report dissipated, as the sirdár had predicted, his nephew's warlike notions. His mother appeared, a suppliant, announcing her son's allegiance, praying the town might not be attacked, and expressing his readiness to supply the camp with provisions. The lady was accompanied by a host of persons, bearers of sugar-cane, and other dainties. It was stipulated, that on the advance of the army to Chahár Bâgh of Jelálabád her son was to join the camp, and make his submission. It has previously been mentioned, that the sirdár's son, Máhomed Akbár Khân, had been despatched to Lúghmân. On the arrival of his father at Jigdillik he commenced offensive operations there, expelling the troops of Máhomed Zemân Khân from the Tâjik villages included under the rule of the Jelálabád government. About eight thousand kharwárs

of grain fell into his hands. From Tírgarí he marched to Chahár Bâgh of Lúghmân, where he awaited instructions. This expulsion of the Jelálabád chief's troops was effected without bloodshed; but they had to submit to be plundered of their horses and arms.

The Nawáb Máhoméd Zemân Khân had been for some time busy in renewing the defences of Jelálabád. The dilapidated walls, originally of some width, were repaired, and on an eminence, a little south of the town, called Koh Bacha, he erected an intrenchment and placed a piece of ordnance in battery. He had summoned the íljari, or militia of the country, and the saiyad petty chiefs of Khonar, with Sâdat Khân, the Momand chief of Lâlpúra. He could scarcely, however, have expected to withstand a siege, notwithstanding his preparations, but must have depended on the arrival of the Pesháwer army to his assistance, when, if no actual collision took place, the usual routine of intrigues and negotiations would have been carried on; and if Dost Máhoméd Khân had been foiled, he for the present would have preserved his authority. A confidential agent from the Pesháwer sirdárs, Nazír Morád Alí, was with him, urging him by resistance, to give the army time to join him, as also striving to obtain the cession of Bishbúlâk, which the nawâb, formerly promising to yield, now scrupled to make over.

When Dost Máhoméd Khân reached Fatíabád the malek, or principal of the place, who, with his

Íljárí quota, was at Jelálabád, informed the nawáb, and asked whether he should fight or give barley and provender, as was required. The nawáb turned to his chiefs around him, and said, "You see how silly Dostak is, to come into my country; if I did not feed his horses, they would be famished." The malek repeated his inquiry as to how he was to act. "Go," said the nawáb, "and provide barley and chaff, or his horses will die." The malek, with his men, returned to Fatíabád, and made his submission to Dost Máhoméd Khân. This sirdár advanced to Chahár Bâgh of Jelálabád, where he was joined by Máhoméd Osmán Khân, and his son, Máhoméd Akbár Khân, from Lúghmân. He halted there one day, and on the next moved upon Jelálabád. On the same day he possessed himself of the eminence Koh Bacha, and the zíárats close to the town walls on the western side. During the night a nagam, or mine, was carried under a bastion nearly opposite, and on the following morning, the first of the month Rámazân, a day worthy of being signalized, the train was fired, and the battalion of Abdal Samad marched over the breach into the town. Parties were immediately despatched to protect the residences of the nawáb, and of those it was intended to preserve from plunder, and the rest of the town was abandoned to the mercy of the soldiery. The two mirzas of Jelálabád, Imâm Verdí and Agâ Jân, with Sâdat Khân the Momand chief, were made prisoners, but two persons whom Dost Máhoméd Khân

was very desirous to secure, Názir Morád Alí and Fatí Máhomed Khân, Popal Zai, and father-in-law of the Nawáb Jabár Khân, found means to escape, and reached Pesháwer. As for the Nawáb Máhomed Zemân Khân, as soon as the town was entered he seated himself, with the Korân in his hands, open at the part where Dost Máhomed Khân, two years before, had written the most horrible denunciations on himself if ever he deprived him (the nawáb) of Jelálabád. Special care was taken that no outrage was committed on the nawáb or on his family, but their dependants were rifled and denuded without scruple or remorse. The Nawáb Jabár Khân reached Tátang the day before the assault and capture of Jelálabád, at which he was not willing to be present. In the evening of that day, walking along the skirts of the hills between the castle and Bálla Bâgh, I met him with a small party. He produced, with much satisfaction, a copper coin which he had picked up somewhere on the road, and which proved to be one of Agathocles. He had left Kâbal in company with Hâjî Khân, and together they reached Bhút Khâk. The nawáb took the road of Sokhta Chanár, and the khân that of Khúrd Kâbal, whence he marched upon Bangash, and was next heard of at Pesháwer, where he was cordially received, appointed náib, and assigned a jágghír of one hundred and twenty thousand rupees per annum. He had arrived to take part in the machinations concocted by the chiefs there against

their brother, Dost Máhoméd Khân, whose celerity, however, had rendered them nugatory, and by the opportune acquisition of Jelálabád and the command of its resources, made him more formidable than ever. Amír Máhoméd Khân arrived from Kábal a day or two after the capture of Jelálabád, and gravely expostulated with Máhoméd Zemân Khân on his rashness in firing upon Dost Máhoméd Khân, who, he pretended, had no idea of interfering with Jelálabád; but was merely passing by, intending to make a demonstration against Pesháwer, and with no more serious purpose than to bring his untoward brothers there to an understanding. The territory of Jelálabád was placed under the government of Amír Máhoméd Khân, and a *jághír*, to the value of one hundred and fifty thousand rupees per annum, was made over to Máhoméd Zemân Khân, and the quota of troops he was to entertain fixed at three hundred. The *mírzas* of Jelálabád were reinstated in office, and Sâdat Khân, after some days' imprisonment, was released, on condition that he should give a daughter to one of the *ámír's* sons. Dost Máhoméd Khân encamped between the town and river, and shortly after seized the *saiyad* chief of Peshat in Khonar, then in his camp, and despatched Múlla Momind Khân to occupy his little domain. Many reasons were urged for the step; sufficient ones were, that he was a sworn friend to Hájí Khân, and that his country lay in the road to Bájor.

It may here be noted, that besides depending upon the assistance of the Pesháwer sirdárs, the Nawâb Máhoméd Zemân Khân had been willing, by the assassination of Dost Máhoméd Khân, to have ridden himself of apprehension from him, and commissioned a desperate man in his employ to commit the deed. This man went to Kâbal where his family resided, and one night, by means of a ladder, ascended into the apartment where Dost Máhoméd Khân was sleeping with one of his ladies. He relented of his fell purpose, as, he said himself afterwards, he thought it a pity to kill such a man, and carried off his shawl, trowsers, &c. as trophies of his visit, which he presented to the nawâb, and claimed his reward. The ladder was left standing, and was of course discovered in the morning. Subsequently the man came to Kâbal, resided openly in the Bálla Hissár, made no secret, or very little, of what he had done, and was unnoticed by Dost Máhoméd Khân. In course of time he was shot one evening as he came from a Hindú's house, by some Rikas. His friends demanded the blood of the Rikas at the hands of Dost Máhoméd Khân, who manifestly favouring them, pretended there was not evidence enough against them.

Máhoméd Zemân Khân by the loss of Jelálabád was deprived of authority, which he may have prized, although not very able in its exercise, yet he did not otherwise suffer, as he preserved his wealth, supposed to be great. From that time, while con-

stantly engaged with the Nawáb Jabár Khân, and others, in the intrigues of the hour, he generally secluded himself, and by pretending sickness, or afflictions of the limbs, excused his attendance upon Dost Máhomed Khân, whom he constantly asserted it would be meritorious to slay, although to kill Ranjit Singh, an infidel, would be a crime. He seldom called Dost Máhomed Khân by any other name than Dostak, and was alike accustomed familiarly to address Máhomed Azem Khân, when living, as Azem.

In the recent events at Kâbal he would seem to have taken a conspicuous part, or, perhaps, he has been made an instrument by others for the sake of his wealth. I have understood, that in common with the seniors of the Bárak Zai family, he did not use to wait upon the shâh, but sent his son Shújá Dowlah, a youth, by whom the unfortunate prince has been eventually slain.

Immediately after the arrival of the Nawáb Jabár Khân, and the capture of Jelálabád, I directed my attention to the topes of Darúnta, and was engaged in their examination until the Nawáb Jabár Khan earnestly requested me to accompany his son, Abdúl Ghíás Khân, who it appeared was destined to be sent to India to receive an English education. I had much rather the request had not been made, yet knew not how to evade it, and consented to accompany the youth to Pesháwer at all events, and to Lahore, if necessary. I was soon informed

that Dost Máhoméd Khân by no means approved of the mission of Abdúl Ghías Khân, if on no other account, that he beheld his brother, the nawâb, with jealousy, and disliked that he should form any connexion, however faint, with the British, or any other government. On the other hand, it need not be supposed that the nawâb had any but interested political motives in forwarding his son at the present conjuncture, when the interests of the family were threatened by Shâh Sujah al Múlkh, who, it was generally believed, was supported by the British government. In his most extravagant expectations the nawâb had been encouraged by the British agent, Saiyad Karamat Alí, with whom the scheme of sending Abdúl Ghías Khân originated. Through the medium of the saiyad also, he corresponded with the shâh, being fearful in such a matter to confide to his own mírzas. Dost Máhoméd Khân would probably have detained the youth, nor have permitted him to proceed, but the nawâb delayed his departure until the time arrived when Dost Máhoméd Khân was compelled, by the events transpiring at Kândahár, to return towards Kábal, when Abdúl Ghías Khân was sent for from Tátang, and secretly placed on a raft and floated down the river to Pesháwer, his horses and attendants being to follow him. I could not retract my promise, and in a few days started from Tátang, with a formidable cavalcade, the retinue of the young lad, for Pesháwer. The first march we made to Alí-Bâghán,

six cosses east of Jelálabád, and the second took us to Bássowal. On the third we reached Dáka at the eastern termination of the Jelálabád valley. Here, on the Momands claiming the customary passage-fees, the nawâb's people talked largely, and refused to pay them. Some altercation followed, but at length it was conceded by the claimants, that as the nawâb's people were Mússulmâns as well as belonging to the nawâb, the fees should be remitted, and that I should be considered in the light of a guest, and not asked to pay anything, but that two or three Hindús of the party must pay the usual sums, as they no farther belonged to us than as being in our company. The nawâb's people refused to allow the Hindús to be taxed, and on my professing willingness to pay for the men and for myself, horses and servants, according to custom, I was entreated not to mention such a thing, as it would be derogatory to the nawâb. The Momands then offered to commute the matter by acceptance of a sheep; but this in like manner was refused; when they waxed sore, and insisted on the payment of full fees. Many of them congregated, and but for the názir of Sâdat Khân, who happened to be with them, we should all have been plundered, if not worse treated during the night. In the morning fresh debates ensued, and it was finally settled to refer the business to Sâdat Khân himself, who we found was at Shelmân, a spot in the hills. My mírza was sent as agent to our party, being per-

sonally known to the khân. On his return he reported, that Sâdat Khân, after cursing Dost Máhoméd Khân and the nawâb, affirmed that he could not interfere with the claims of his úlús, or tribe, but that he remitted his own share in the fees, or one-third. The nawâb's people, I thought, were, very rightly served; but now there was another evil, for it proved they had no money to pay the fees, and after all they were compelled to draw on my funds. Sâdat Khân had sent a very civil message to me, and requested me to wear country clothes, as my mîrza had told him I was clad in European costume. The next morning we marched for Shelmân, and, after passing Dáka Khúrd, commenced the ascent of a high and difficult pass. We had nearly reached the summit when a host of fire-lock men came with rapidity down the steep sides of the hill. It was Sâdat Khân and his followers. I had a few minutes' conversation with the khân, and while complaining of the losses Dost Máhoméd Khân had inflicted upon him on the capture of Jelálabád, he consoled himself with the notion that if defeated by Shâh Sújah al Múlkh, his râh gúrêz, or the road by which he would fly, might bring him to the Momand hills, when he would retaliate upon him and remunerate himself. Sâdat Khân was a man of very good address, and is a very respectable chief, contriving to keep a turbulent tribe in excellent order. Sâdat Khân is now a fugitive, and rebel. I know not the causes leading to a result,

which I may, however, regret, because I feel assured that nothing but ignorance and unfair treatment could have made him so. When I left Pesháwer, in 1838, he was aware of the intended restoration of Shâh Sújah al Múlkh, expressed his satisfaction, and declared his readiness to aid in the views of the Indian government, and that *he did not want money*. Khân Bahâdar Khân of Khaibar, and other chiefs of the neighbourhood, said the same thing, *We want no money*. It would not surprise me if more had been required of Sâdat Khân than ought to have been, and that he has been punished to conceal the weakness and ill-judgment of others. I have heard as much from a Sadú Zai prince engaged in the transactions of that period. If unfortunate for Sâdat Khân, it is no less so for his tribe, and for those who pass through their country, for never was tribe or country kept in better order than by him. Túrabáz Khân, the nominee of the British, is a good man, and services he may have rendered deserve requital, but his supporters cannot give him ability or conduct, and both are required in the chief of a powerful úlús, and were possessed by Sâdat Khân.

The ascent of the kotal achieved, we came upon the table land of Shelmân Kelân, which we traversed throughout its extent; nor was it until evening that we reached Shelmân Khúrd, seated upon a fine rivulet, the banks fringed with oleanders, at the western base of the great Kotal of Tátara. The

inhabitants here were not disposed to be very civil, and in the night rain descended, not in showers but in floods. In the morning we commenced the ascent of the pass, exceedingly long and difficult to the cattle, from the smooth surface of the rock, over which, in many parts, the road leads. From the summit of Tátara the view is very extensive, but the hazy state of the atmosphere over the Pesh-áwer plain prevented it from being observed with advantage. The road now winds around the brinks of fearful precipices, and it was only a little before arriving at the village of Múlla Ghorí, still among the hills, that it improved. Hence the road, had we followed it, was good; but the nawâb's people, to avoid a village where the inhabitants have a bad character, deviated from it, with the intention of making Ispind Sang, a village on the plain of Pesh-áwer. We were speedily bewildered amid ravines, the passages blocked up with boulders, and, to complete our confusion, a party of ruffians, with long knives in their hands, rushed down upon us. Had we been together we should have been too formidable in number for these men to have approached us, but we were scattered, and they assailed us who were in advance. Not one of them touched me, all passing; I presume because, although unarmed, I was so well dressed that they suspected I was some more important personage than I was. They cried one to the other, looking at me, "Dár sirdár dí, préj dí;" that is a sirdár, do not touch him. Much

mischief had not been done when they observed our companions in the rear pressing forward, and a parley took place, which closed by a few rupees being given to them, when they made off. After this rencontre we cleared the hills, and descending into the plain, reached Ispind Sang. Here we occupied the hújrí; and the nawâb's people sent for supplies to the malek of the village, who replied, that had they come to him he would have received them as guests, but as they had taken up quarters at the hújrí they must find themselves. We had more rain at this place, and I was glad when the morning broke forth, that I could push on to Pesháwer. I found Abdúl Ghíás Khân lodged with his uncle, the Sirdár Súltân Máhoméd Khân, but that affairs had arrived at a sad state. The Síkh army under Harí Singh was encamped at Chamkaní, three cosses from the city, and it was feared that he intended to occupy it under plea of a treaty, arranged between Ranjit Singh and Shâh Sújah al Múlkh, consequent to the departure of the latter from Lúdíána. Some affected to believe that the treaty had been concocted by the consent, and under the sanction, of the British political agent at Lúdíána. Harí Singh, avowedly, only demanded the annual tribute in horses, rice, swords, &c., which by their engagements the sirdárs were bound to give, but he was not easily satisfied, and by rejecting horses &c., as not suitable, he gained time, which was clearly his object. The sirdárs, aware of the actual

aspect of affairs, had sent their families to Minchíni, on the northern side of the Kábal river, with their guns and other property. They remained in Pesháwer, with their horses ready to be saddled at a moment's notice, and it was somewhat ridiculous about twice or thrice every day, to see the servants running out with the saddles on their heads, and returning when they discovered that the alarm which had been given was a false one. All the doors and windows of their houses, indeed everything of wood which was portable, had been carried away; and I understood such had always been the case whenever the Síkhs had encamped near Pesháwer. By the treaty before alluded to Pesháwer had been ceded to Ranjit Singh, and no doubt Harí Singh was commissioned to look after its execution.

Everything at this particular crisis conspired to favour the designs of the Síkhs; and the plots devised by the chiefs of Pesháwer to effect the ruin of Dost Máhommed Khán immediately involved their own; and their fate affords an example of evil falling upon those who imagine it. The promptitude of their Kábal brother in the capture of Jelálabád, had broken up the confederacy against him, and they now, in turn, began to be apprehensive lest he should attack them; and in truth they were at his mercy; but while he could easily have expelled them, and have overrun their country, he might not have been competent to have retained it

at this time. Their fears, however, induced them to apply to the Sikhs for assistance, who readily promised it on certain considerations, and Harí Singh gladly crossed the Atak river, which, if they had not played into his game, he might not have done, but would have been content to have watched the course of events in the country east of it. The arrival of Hâjî Khân, also in conformity to their plans for the destruction of Dost Máhoméd Khân, in which he was intended to have been a main instrument, proved seriously detrimental to the sirdárs. Disappointed in his projects as to Dost Máhoméd Khân, but anxious to evince his capability in his character of náib, he proposed a variety of innovations: amongst them, to reform the army, and to dismiss all the shías, or infidels. These men, the remnants of the old Ghúlám Khâna of Pesháwer, were yet powerful, if not a very numerous body, and growing incensed at the propositions of Hâjî Khân, and fearing the effects of his ascendancy, at once opened a communication with the Sikhs, as did many others, not shías, but who could not feel confidence in Hâjî Khân. The principal Hindú díwâns of the country were also in correspondence with Harí Singh; and had he not been furnished with positive orders or discretionary powers, the opportunity was so tempting that he would scarcely have been warranted, in Sikh policy, to have foregone it. After he had procured from the sirdárs beyond the ordinary complement of tribute, he sent a message to them, that the

Shâhzâda Noh Nihâl Singh, the grandson of Ranjit Singh, who was with the army, desired to see the city, and it would be well that they should evacuate it, and retire to Bâgh Alî Mirdân Khân, when the shâhzâda would ride round it, and then the army would retire towards the Atak. The morning came, when Sûltân Máhomed Khân, who had always his spy-glass in hand, descried the Sikh force in motion. All became panic-struck, and horses were saddled and mounted in a trice. The house was emptied as if by magic, and none remained in it but Abdúl Ghíás Khân, his party, and myself. We ascended the roof, and beheld the Sikhs moving forward in very respectable style. In the van was the young shâhzâda on an elephant, with Harí Singh and a variety of Sikh chiefs, attended by a host of cavalry. Behind them followed the battalions of M. Court, advancing in columns at a brisk pace. On reaching the gardens attached to the house we were in the first shots were fired, some Afghâns being concealed among the trees. They were soon cleared out, and the march of the force was not affected by the desultory opposition. Subsequently we heard some smart firing, and learned during the day that the Sikhs, pressing too close upon Hâjî Khân, who covered the retreat of Sûltân Máhomed Khân, the khân lost patience and turned upon them. He handled them severely, and, as admitted by themselves, checked their advance until the bat-

talions came up. Khân Máhoméd Khân, the brother of Hájí Khân, was badly wounded in this skirmish, but was borne off the field. Some very splendid instances of individual bravery were exhibited by the Afghâns, and one gallant fellow cut down six of his opponents. The Síkhs, having completed the circuit of the city, encamped under the Bálla Hissár to the east: the discomfited sirdárs retired to Tákkâl, and then to Shék-hân, at the skirts of the hills. My mírza in the course of the day went to the Síkh camp, where he saw Harí Singh, who asked where I had been during the tamásha, or sport. He replied, that I had witnessed it from the roof. He then asked, jocularly, where the sirdárs had gone. The mírza said to Tákkâl, to prepare for battle. The sirdár laughed and said, No, no; nasghér, nasghér; they have run away, they have run away; some to Kohât, some to Khaibar. I certainly was amused at the almost ridiculous manner in which the Síkhs had made themselves masters of an important and productive country, and Súltân Máhoméd Khân was as much to be laughed at as to be pitied, for in place of adopting any means of defence he had sent away the better part of his troops, and prohibited the citizens and people of the country from defending the city, as they wished. Pír Máhoméd Khân was accustomed to say, that he had three lákhs of rupees, and did not care who knew it; that he had reserved them for such a cri-

sis as this ; that he would assemble the Gházís, and do many wonderful things. Hâjî Khân would, when such valorous speeches were made, embrace the sirdâr, saying he must kiss the lips from which such words flowed. Pír Máhomed Khân, however, thought it better to keep his three lákhs of rupees, and hastened to Kohât to collect what he could from the inhabitants, previously to his departure ultimately from the country. The force with Harí Singh did not exceed nine thousand men ; and had a show of serious resistance been made he would at least have been obliged to temporize ; also, had the city, although an open one, been put in a condition for defence, and the system of kúcha bandí adopted, he was scarcely competent to have forced it. As it was, with a small force he possessed himself of a country which, some years before, Ranjit Singh in person, with twenty-five thousand men, did not venture to retain. True it is, that since that period the spirit of the Máhomedans had become dejected by repeated defeats, and that there was, as there universally is, treachery in the Dúrání camps and councils. Abdúl Ghíás Khân had visited the Shâhzâda Noh Níhâl Singh, and the arrangements for his departure for Lúdíána had been fixed ; I therefore did not see the occasion for my accompanying him, as his forward journey would be safe and easy. His uncles of Pesháwer were very averse to his intended sojourn in India, and might possibly have taken upon them-

selves to have detained him, considering its object a political one. They reasoned, that the nawâb, his father, and not themselves, would benefit by it. They had, however, given me their hands, and pledged themselves to permit him to proceed, and their abrupt departure, at any rate, deprived them of an opportunity of violating their promises, while Abdúl Ghías Khân became free to follow up his father's instructions.

CHAPTER X.

Departure from Pesháwer.—March to Shékhân.—Ex-sirdárs.—Their conversation.—Fatí Máhomed Khân's civility.—Encampment.—Bára river.—Popular credulity.—Departure for Min-chíní.—Alarm on road.—Old monument.—Badragas.—Min-chíní.—Ghiljí.—Haidar Khân.—Jálawâns.—Fearful state of the river.—Consultation.—Passage of the river.—Ráhmatúlah's dexterity.—Shelmân.—Ghiljí's piety.—Plain of Shelmân.—Kotal.—Bahádar's request.—Dáka Khúrd.—Good fortune.—Congratulations.—Dáka Kelân.—Lálpúra.—Curious conversation.—Suspensions.—Precautions.—Khúrd Khaibar.—Momand's tale.—Momand's intention.—Házárnóh.—Re-appearance of Ghiljí.—Wilford's Nysa and Mount Merú.—Bássowal.—Ghiljí and his gang.—Necessity for action.—Kohistánís.—Night march.—Bátí Kot.—Súrkh Díwâr.—Chághatai castle.—Goodwill of Kohistánís.—Mírza Agâ Jân.—His surmises.—My own conjectures.—Ghiljí's evil repute.—Subsequent attempts.—Renewal of researches.

TAKING farewell of the nawâb's son, we started for the fugitive sirdár's camp at Shékhân, distant about ten miles from Pesháwer. The march was rather a hazardous one, as our Síkh soldiers did not dare to pass the limits of the city gardens, and the natives of the villages on our route were under arms. We, however, managed to pass safely through them, being considered devout Máhomedans

retiring from the city profaned by the presence of infidels ; and ultimately crossing the Bára river, we found, under the shade of its high bank, lying covered with lúnghís, the Sirdár Súltân Máhoméd Khân, with his brother, Saiyad Máhoméd Khân, Hâjí Khân, and Háfízzí, the son of the late Mír Wais. They were not, probably, in their own estimation so conveniently accommodated as in their commodious dwellings at Pesháwer, but I could not forbear thinking that to such men a little adversity is useful. When they arose, Súltân Máhoméd Khân alluded to no other topic than the perfidy of the Síkhs, apparently losing sight of his own misfortunes, or consoling himself by reviling the authors of them. Hâjí Khân, consistently enough, proposed a variety of stratagems by which the city might be recovered, and offered to execute many venturous deeds, aware that he should not be sanctioned. The sirdár replied to all his proposals, by expressions of horror and surprise at the unparalleled disregard of oaths evinced by Harí Singh. Poor Saiyad Máhoméd Khân said not a word, and appeared careless of what had happened ; Háfízzí and others, who had now arrived, seemed, by their significant looks at each other, to intimate the predicament into which they had been brought, and their wonderment as to what was to follow. After sitting some time in company with the sirdár and his circle, I repaired to the tent of one Názir Abdúl Réhim, where I was provided with quarters. Close to us

was the tent of Fatí Máhomed Khân, Popal Zai, with whom were accommodated Máhomed Osmân Khân, son of Wafadár Khân, the Sadú Zai vazír, and Háfízzí, the son of Mír Wais. Fatí Máhomed Khân, as soon as he perceived me, sent over a dish of sweetmeats and tea, and this civility he continued while I remained in camp. This was located on the Bára, at the spot where its course is intercepted by *bands*, or artificial ramparts, by which its waters are diverted into canals for the irrigation of the circumjacent plain. The water is proverbially excellent as an aliment, and as conducive to the fertility of the soil. It is believed that to its peculiar virtues a celebrated variety of rice, called in consequence the Bára rice, owes its length of grain and delicate flavour. The river has its source in the hills of Tírah, and from the benefits it confers upon the country has been from time immemorial an object of veneration; and Shékhân, or the spot where the division of its waters is effected, is held particularly sacred. The Máhomedans of the country have a belief, that if a Hindú should bathe in the stream at this particular place its waters diminish. They have therefore erected a tower on its right bank, where is constantly stationed a guard of Momands, who, besides watching over the *bands*, are enjoined to guard against the pollution of the river. Should so calamitous an event accidentally occur it is judged necessary to sacrifice a cow, when the waters, it is said, gradually increase until

they regain their usual volume. There is a grove of trees and *zíarat* here, where is a stone which, according to popular credence, if struck by a musket-ball discharges blood. As the Máhomedans will on no account fire at it themselves, and would hold it very profane in others to do so, the stone is likely to preserve its character, and their faith in its property to remain entire.

Súltân Máhomed Khân made it a point of honour to consider me his guest, and I was sumptuously entertained, eating my suppers by the glare of numerous torch-lights ; but I felt ashamed to be feeding luxuriously in a camp where the soldiers were subsisting on parched grain ; I therefore requested, after a stay of three days, to be provided with a companion for Minchíní, and the sirdár commissioned his Shéhinchí Báshí, who had business there, to attend me. We started before daybreak, and by the time it was broad daylight found ourselves on the plain, with the Khaibarái village of Jamrúd on our left hand, and to our right the village of Tákkâl, distinguished by its topes and sepulchral mounds. Here our ears were assailed by the din of the Síkh nagáras, which made us both accelerate our pace and close upon the hills. On gaining a village, called Réghí Bálla, the inhabitants were busy in removing their effects, the report having spread that the infidels were approaching. We again made for the skirts of the hills, and traced

them until we reached the large, but now deserted village of Ispind Dírí.

In our course to Minchíní we passed a monument of the olden time, a square structure, and formed rather rudely of stones. The length of each face may have been about twelve feet, and the height a little more, or about fifteen feet. Surrounding it were abundant vestiges of walls and minor mounds. With a castle, called Killa Arbâb, on our right hand, we reached the river, and crossed on a jála, or float of inflated skins. The Shéhinchí Báshí conducted me to the tent of Náib Múlla Abdúl Kerím, who it appeared had charge of the sirdár's property, &c., at Minchíní, and he immediately sent for the malek of the village, who was directed to provide me with trustworthy badragas, or safe-conductors, to Dáka, from whom a written acknowledgment of my arrival there in security would be demanded. The malek soon brought from his village two men, Ráhmát Ulah and Bahâdar, both of Lâlpúra, and in the service of Sâdat Khân, the Momand chief. The náib arranged the amount of fees to be paid, which came to eight and a half rupees, six for my three horses, one and a half for my three men on foot, and one rupee for the ferryman's hire at Abkhâna, it having been arranged that we should pass by that route. There were many people sitting with Náib Abdúl Kerím ; amongst them, on his right hand, was one Sâleh Máhomed, a Ghiljí.

Minchíní is a straggling village of about two hundred houses and huts, on the river side, and at the foot of low rocky hills. It has some eight or ten Hindú dokâns, or shops, and as many dispersed square defensive towers on slight eminences. It belongs to Sâdat Khân, and is of consequence as being the ferry by which goods and passengers are crossed, intending to traverse the Abkhâna route, also from its site being at the point where the great river of Kâbal issues upon the plain of Peshâwer.

While at Minchíní the Ghiljí whom I had seen in Náib Abdúl Kerím's tent came to me, and represented that he was of a respectable family at Maidân, west of Kâbal, and the chief of a thousand families; when the Nawâb Jabâr Khân was hákam, he had differences with him, which caused him to abandon his native seats; that he then retired to Kândahár, and subsequently to Peshâwer; that he was weary of wandering, and desired to return to his connexions at Maidân. He prayed me, on reaching Kâbal, to employ my good offices to reconcile him with the nawâb. I replied, that I would speak to the nawâb, but of course could promise nothing farther. On mounting to commence our journey I found that Sâleh Máhoméd intended to accompany us, and I had seen him, in course of the day, sitting in a neighbouring masjít, in close communion with my Momand badragas.

We had proceeded some two or three hundred yards along the river-bank when we were stopped

by some men, who affected to believe that we were passing clandestinely, and one of my Momands returned to the village, and brought the malek, who satisfied his people. About a mile further we came to a small village of about one hundred houses, the original Minchíní, which is very picturesquely seated. Hence we crossed the hills, none of them very high, for about four cosses, and arrived at the village of Haidar Khân, of about one hundred and fifty houses, placed on an extensive plateau, or tableland, and well supplied with water in a rivulet. This we crossed and fixed ourselves for the night at a detached portion of the village, inhabited chiefly by jâlawâns, people with whom we had a little to say, as they have in charge the ferry of Abkhâna. We were here provided with everything we needed, as chahárpâhís, mats, &c.; our provisions were cheerfully cooked for us, and our treatment was in every respect civil. Our badragás negotiated for our passage across the river on the morrow; and the jâlawâns, alleging that at this season of the year no one thought of taking this road, and that their massaks, or skins, were dry, engaged to moisten them, and do their best to put us over in safety. They proposed that we should employ a certain number of swimmers in addition to the men seated on and directing the jâlas, or floats; to which we readily consented; and to remunerate them gave a sheep as offering to the pír, or saint, at Réнар, a spot near Lâlpúra, who is supposed to interest him-

self in the fate of those who travel on jâlas, provided by meet oblations they prove themselves worthy of his protection. In the morning of the next day we made a smart ascent from Haidar Khân, and a descent, equally long and difficult, brought us to the river. I was astonished at its boisterous state, and the frightful scene presented by the rocks, whirlpools, and surges, with the rapidity of the current. My Momand conductors had misgivings, and regretted that they had not taken the Tâtara route. Even the jâl-awâns, while affirming that they would do their best, said they could not engage for safety. I was perfectly confused, for I never expected that such obstacles were in our way, and, incompetent to judge of the degree of safety or danger, I very closely questioned the jâl-awâns, who now held the threads of our destinies in their hands, and I thought from the statements of these honest fellows that they hoped to get over, and I felt inclined to trust myself and fortunes to their care. At the same time, I thought it becoming to consult my attendants, and pointing out to them that the river was more formidable than I had anticipated, while they had heard all that the jâl-awâns had said, I offered, if they had doubts as to the passage, to return, as no evil had been yet done, and we were still on the safe side. They, like myself, were willing to trust to chance, and the jâl-awâns prepared their float.

While the machine was being adjusted Sâleh Máhomed, who kept himself very much apart, twice

or thrice called Bahâdar aside, who as often said to me on his return, looking scornfully towards the Ghiljí, “Dár khúsh sarái dí;” That is a worthless fellow. The float was formed of eight skins; and when ready our baggage was placed thereon, above which were seated three of my servants. Four men with paddles were alike perched on it, and half a dozen swimmers accompanied. It narrowly escaped being upset on starting, and with the celerity of an arrow was borne across the river. By the great efforts of the paddlers and swimmers it was impelled upon the opposite bank, just before a spot which appeared most dangerous to me, from the tremendous whirlpools at it. Yet through these very whirlpools the emptied jála was brought back, so fearless and accustomed thereto are the jálawâns of Abkhâna.

My mîrza, the Ghiljí, and myself, now took our seats, and as the float was not overloaded with baggage, we were passed with comparative facility, and made a point higher up than the float had before gained. I observed my people on the opposite banks raise their hands in supplication, but there was no time for reflection, as the passage was the work of an instant. Before I was landed the men asked me for inâm, or reward, which, as their expectations did not exceed one rupee, I readily promised, seeing that unasked I should have given them more. The swimmers next passed my horses, and completed the transport of the party and all belonging to it.

Ráhmatúlah, one of the Momands, would fain show his dexterity, and cross with his own massak. Twice he was carried away by the stream, once caught in the whirlpools, from which he contrived to reach the same bank he started from, and the second time again engulfed by the same obstacles; on extricating himself he was fairly borne down the river. The circumstance afforded merriment to the jâl-awâns, who laughed at the notion of a man of Lâlpúra attempting to imitate the swimmers of Abkhâna.

From the river-bank we made a long, and sometimes precipitous ascent, until we reached the summit of the range, from which we descried Shelmân Kelân, the village at which we purposed to halt for the night. Our road hence was good, leading over a broken surface, until we reached the tableland of Shelmân. At its commencement was a chokí, or guard-station, where a trifling fee is exacted from passengers; we passed on, leaving our badragas to settle it. On reaching a small castle, with a few houses without the walls, we stopped until they rejoined us. Here it was decided to remain, and chahárpâhís, mats, &c., were furnished to the party, with necessaries, but at high prices. Our Ghiljí friend seated himself in the masjít, defined simply by a circle of stones, and, with his rosary in his hand, chanted many hymns. I did not at all like this man; keeping close to us, he was very reserved, and seemed to avoid all inter-

course. The elevated valley of Shelmân may be from five to six miles in length from east to west, with a breadth of about a mile and half. On the north it descends abruptly upon the river of Kâbal, and on the south a ridge of hills separates it from the Shínwârî districts. Much of its surface is cultivated, and wheat is the grain chiefly grown. Over it are dispersed some ten or twelve small hamlets, which consist of square towers, with a few houses around them. The plain is inhabited by the Shâh Mansûr Khêl, a tribe of Momands. My badragas here enjoined especial vigilance during the night, urging the proximity of the Shínwârî hills. In the morning we proceeded up the plain, and at its extremity came to a tower and chokí at the ridge of the pass, which abruptly commences. In a recess of the hills to our left at this point was a dand, or pool of water. From the chokí a comprehensive view is obtained of the valley of Jelâlabâd. We thought it better to dismount, as the road is very precipitous for some distance, when it improves, until a minor, but difficult, ascent is made, from which we descend upon Dâka Khúrd, or Little Dâka, a small village on the river. Here Bahâdar and Sâleh Máhomed, who were in advance, seated themselves and waited my arrival; and as the Momand did not speak Persian fluently, the Ghiljí, acting as his interpreter, intimated to me the necessity of giving ínâm, or reward, at the village we were about to gain. I turned to

Bahâdar, and objected to be questioned amongst hills, upon a point on which I had perfect free will, and told him that Dâka Kelân, or Great Dâka, was the place where such a demand would be considered. He instantly rose, and feeling the reproof, moved on, while I saw that the Ghiljí was chagrined the point had not been pressed.

Dâka Khúrd contains about eighty houses, and is pleasantly enough situated. We halted awhile, and enjoyed cool draughts of buttermilk, bowls of which were brought to us. Continuing our journey, the road skirting the rocks on the brink of the river, we at length found our progress impeded by the river, which had overflowed and inundated the path. There was still a track practicable to men on foot over the rocks above us, but it was necessary, unless we returned and followed some other road, to carry our luggage on men's backs, and to swim our horses against the current for a considerable distance. As our experience and good-fortune at Abkhâna had made us bold in aquatic affairs, all this was done, and our horses were brought round in safety to the village called Dâka Kelân. The inhabitants congratulated us on our arrival, and averred that there must be some holía, or sacred personage, of our party, for they had never known the Abkhâna passage to be attempted at this season, though their beards had grown white, and they had never dreamed that horses could have been swam against the current, as they had now wit-

nessed. They informed us that we ought to have taken a road which led by a *zíarat*. We were, indeed, aware of another road, which, besides being rather circuitous, winds under the kotal of *Lo-hágí*, and comes out at the extremity of the *Dara Háft Chah*, or valley of seven wells, of *Khaibar*. From *Shelmân* to *Dáka Kelân* the distance may have been about seven or eight miles. We made for a grove of mulberry-trees near the river, which was very full, with several islands in it. There are too or three small hamlets at *Dáka Kelân*, at the principal of which *Sâdat Khân*, to whom it belongs, has built a serai for the accommodation of *kâfilas*. There are several *Hindú* traders located, as the place is a constant stage to *kâfilas* and passengers travelling between *Pesháwer* and *Jelálabád*, from its site, at the entrance to the hills; and it also stands at the head of the roads both of *Khaibar* and *Abkhâna*. On the opposite bank of the river is *Lâlpúra*, a town of about eight hundred houses, the little capital of the *Momands*, and where resides their chief, *Sâdat Khân*. Ferry-boats ply between the two places.

While we were resting under the shade of the mulberry-trees four men, *Afghâns*, came, and seating themselves, set to work in making *chapplís*, or rude sandals, as is the custom of the mountaineers in these regions, of the beaten stems of a plant, the *físh*, a species of *aloe*. Very close

to me, I could but hear every word they said; and presuming, I conclude, that I could not comprehend Pashto, they talked very loudly and freely. I was not much gratified to discover that plunder was the object they had in view, and that their sandals were being made to enable them to follow me up. It was also edifying to hear the rogues chuckle over their contemplated booty, and to witness how they laughed, and fancied themselves in possession of the ducats which, they said, I had round my waist. One thing was fortunate, that I overheard them, and became aware of the danger to which I was exposed. I neither did nor said anything by which the fellows could imagine I was cognizant of their intentions, but allowed them to complete their sandals and depart in peace. I then inquired where Sâleh Máhoméd was, and was told he had not been seen since leaving Dáka Khúrd. I suspected this man intended to play me a trick; and in the neighbourhood of the Shínwâris, he could, unluckily for me, experience no difficulty in finding fit associates.

In the morning, on arrival here, I had heard that a strong party of Kohistânís had reached from Pesháwer by the Tátara route, on their way to Kâbal. In the service of Súltân Máhoméd Khân, they were returning to their homes, on the breaking up of his authority. I sent to the village to ascertain if these men were still there.

They had left it on their journey. I then ordered our cattle to be laden, and horses saddled. I called the Momands, and, making them a present which quite pleased them, expressed my wish that they should accompany us as far as Hazár Noh, midway between Dáka and Bássowal, at which place I purposed to pass the night. To this they cheerfully assented. Between Dáka and Hazár Noh the road is desolate, and there is ample room for accident; but I felt pretty certain that no one would venture to interfere with us so long as we had the Momands with us, for it is not the object of robbers to be recognised. About a mile beyond Dáka we passed Khúrd Khaibar, as it is called, where were a few kishdís, or black tents, and numerous ancient mounds and caves.

The road, heretofore along the river bank, now leads amongst low hills for some distance, until we enter the little plain of Ghirdí, a village of that name lying to our right on the river. From Ghirdí, rounding a low ridge of hill, we entered another plain, in which were two or three isolated eminences, encircled from base to summit with lines of walls and parapets. A few gaz-trees also occurred, and we did not question but that they marked sepulchral localities of the middle ages.

On reaching the cultivation dependent on Hazár Noh (the thousand canals), I told my Momand friends that they might return; and they had

taken leave, when my mírza asked Bahâdar to repeat in my hearing what he had before told him concerning Sâleh Máhomed. The tale of the Momand ran, that the Ghiljí had proposed to him at Minchiní before we started, and which explained the confabulations in the masjít there, to despoil us on the road and to divide the booty. At Haidar Khân he again urged the matter, saying that the kâs-kúrzín, which I carried on the pummel of my saddle, was full of bhútkís, or ducats, and that the larger kúrzín, or saddle-bags, of my mírza was full of Káshmir shawls. He proposed to take the ducats, and the shawls were to fall to the share of Bahâdar. He next wished that I should have been put out of the way in crossing on the float at Abkhâna; and I called to mind Bahâdar's remarks to me there, that he was a "khúsh saráí," or worthless fellow. At Shelmân he was again willing to have instigated the Momands to commit, or connive at, robbery; and I understood the precautions they at that place took to prevent it, and the recommendation they urged on my people to be vigilant during the night. The last effort he made with Bahâdar induced my stoppage on the kotal leading upon Dáka Khúrd; this having failed, he said that I should not escape him if he followed me to Súrkh Díwâr. It seems that the Momands here, who had all along been communicating to the mírza what passed, but who, in his wisdom, did not inform me, observed, that as the Ghiljí

was not “dast wardár,” or inclined to desist, and as he had it in his power to cause me evil, they would cut his throat and throw him into the river, on the road to Dáka Kelân. Whether they would have done so or not I cannot tell, but there is just a chance that they would, and Bahâdar assured me that he fully intended it. The Ghiljí, however, wisely gave them the slip, and was not seen after leaving Dáka Khúrd. He, of course, was off, to beat up for more compliant associates.

I was angry with the mírza for having concealed his information from me, as, while suspecting the Ghiljí from the first, had I positively known his designs tended to mischief, I would not have scrupled to have bound him hand and foot when in my power. As it was, he was at large, and in a neighbourhood where he could collect as many villains as he chose, while we, six or seven of us, were, ridiculously enough, unarmed, and floating about, as it were, at his mercy. However, it became necessary to do the best we could under circumstances, and I trusted at Bássowal to be able to adopt some precautionary measures, as the place was this year held by Saifúlah Khân, Bárak Zai, who was my friend, and I hoped to find some of his people there, or that the malek might be disposed to give us aid. We, therefore, dismissing our Momands, passed on to Hazárnóh, a large straggling village, seated on gentle eminences, bounding to the south an extensive plain stretching to the river. In front, or

west, the hill Már Koh, under which Bássowal is situated, and which was now visible, separates it from the plain of Chahárdéh. At Hazárnóh the first object that attracted our attention was Sâleh Máhoméd, seated, with a group of fifteen or twenty persons about him. I pointed him out to my mírza, who, ashamed of the rebuke he had recently received from me, affected to doubt that it was he. From Hazárnóh to Bássowal, a distance of about four cosses, or six miles, the high road leads over the eminences fringing the plain; a lower road leads more direct over the cultivated lands, but is more or less difficult to cattle, from the numerous cuts or canals of water traversing it, supplied from innumerable springs, issuing from the bases of the low hills at the line where they rest upon the level valley of the river, and which enable the inhabitants largely to cultivate rice. We preferred the lower road in spite of its obstacles, but it was not until after sunset that we reached Bássowal. In the distance, in a lofty hill on the opposite bank of the river, are seen the caves, with triangular-shaped entrances, noted by Wilford, and which partly induced him, probably, with the proximity of Már Koh, which he supposes to be Mount Merú, to locate the ancient city of Nysa in this neighbourhood. On this point we may not decide; caves are too numerous and too universally found, that any important deduction could be drawn from so comparatively a trifling group as is here presented, and

whether Már Koh may have any more serious etymological signification than the snake-hill, as understood by the natives, is doubtful. Still, Bássowal exhibits ample vestiges, as does the entire neighbourhood, of its ancient inhabitants. The caves in the hill on the opposite side of the river are also interesting evidences, as are the mounds and tumuli which accompany them at the point where the hill subsides into the plain. The various indications of old sepulchral localities are here very numerous; and the spot is called Chakanor.

On reaching Bássowal we halted in a grove contiguous to one of the enclosed villages, where we found a family, who, about to proceed to Kâbal, proposed to start at midnight, and we arranged to proceed in company. My servants went to the bazâr to cater for necessaries, and one of them returned with the unsatisfactory intelligence that he had seen Sâleh Máhomed, with six other individuals, sitting at a Hindú dokân. They had taken off their shirts, muffling up their faces with them, and had tâlwârs, or swords, in their hands. I questioned him as to the certainty of the person being Sâleh Máhomed, and was told there could be no question, for he had addressed him on recognizing him, and had received an answer from him. I then commissioned another servant to walk quietly up the little bazâr of the place, and without appearing to have been sent for the purpose, to see whether it was truly the Ghiljí, and by

what sort of people he was attended. This man, coming back, confirmed the other's statement; and it was clear we had to provide against the desperate scoundrel and his band of muffled villains. I directed my *mírza* to go to the *malek* of the place, and desire him to wait upon me, but I scarcely had given the direction when a large armed party came from the gate of the village close to us, who proved to be the *Kohistânís* who had preceded us from *Dáka*, and were about to make a night-march towards *Jelálabád*. I asked them where they were going, and on being informed, inquired if they would wait five minutes, or so long as our cattle were laden. They replied, "Yes;" and while the operation was in progress I was recognized by three or four of them, who had seen me in the *Kohistân*, and our understanding, therefore, became complete. I told them, in a few words, my position with the *Ghiljí*, and they much wished to have returned into the village, and to have secured him and his gang. I was not consenting, as they were *Tájiks*, and it was just possible that the people of the village might make common cause with the ruffians, as they were all *Afghâns*. I was well satisfied to be fairly out of the dilemma, and trusted that the companions of *Sâleh Máhomed*, on finding themselves disappointed, would turn about and beat him soundly for having deceived them, and brought them, to no purpose, from their homes. We marched from *Bássowal*, leaving the fellows

and our apprehensions behind us. The Kohistânís exceeded forty in number, and all carried muskets. I asked them if they were loaded, and they smiled, observing, that the lads of the Kohistân never travelled with arms unloaded. We followed a road leading through marshes to the northern extremity of Már Koh, which impinges on the river, but through which is an open narrow valley, expanding upon the plain of Chahár Déh.

On the skirts of Már Koh, overlooking Chahár Déh is a tope, which I never had an opportunity to examine. We crossed this plain diagonally, clearing the southern end of the ridge, which defines it to the west, and came upon the village of Bâtí Kot, near which we halted and bivouacked upon the plain. Before daylight we resumed our march, and crossed the extensive plain intervening between the last village and Súrkh Díwâr. It was intersected by rivulets, flowing from the Saféd Koh on the south. At the commencement of the ravines and broken ground of Súrkh Díwâr our party congregated, and we marched through them *en masse*. We were too strong to be attacked by any but very numerous and bold gangs of robbers, but the place has a very bad repute. On an eminence to our left were the remains of a large Chághatai castle, erected, no doubt, for the protection of the road,—they now serve to shelter robbers, who make them their ordinary lurking-place. We observed a solitary individual under

the walls, which occasioned half our party to rush up the hill, and we thoroughly scoured the ruins and their environs, but met with no other person. Clearing the ravines of Súrkh Díwâr, we gained the village of Alí Bâghân, or, as sometimes called, Sama Khél. We did not halt here, but continued our course towards Jelálabád.

On reaching a zíarat, about two miles from the town, the Kohistânís halted during the heat of the day, and as I determined to push on, I made them a present to enable them to regale themselves, which delighted them, and they said they should be happy to escort me to Kâbal, affirming, in their manner of expression, that they would carry me through the hills on their shoulders. Passing through the town of Jelálabád we arrived, about a mile beyond it, at the castle of Mírza Agâ Jân, where we were kindly welcomed. In the evening the mírza produced some tolerable wine, and, after the long journey we had made, I did not object to a píála, or cup of it. On hearing the tale of our adventures, he said he did not at all like the Ghiljí, and I observed, neither did I, but I expected to hear no more of him. He seemed to fear that the fellow had been commissioned from some high quarter. I thought not, for, in that case, false badragas would have been imposed upon us, and we should hardly have escaped. I accounted for the affair in another way. I had taken with me to Pesháwer the relics I had ex-

tracted from the Darúnta topes, and they were in the kâs-kúrzín, which the Ghiljí told the Mo-mands was full of ducats, and which he had fixed upon as his share of the plunder. At the desire of Súltân Máhoméd Khân, and Pír Máhoméd Khân, I had exhibited them, and around at the time were standing some hundred or hundred and fifty persons. I presumed that the Ghiljí was one of the crowd, and having seen what he considered treasure, coveted its possession, and determined to obtain it by whatever means. I subsequently ascertained that he was, as he represented, a man of Maidân, and that he had been forced to fly on account of his improper conduct. One of the crimes imputed to him being the seduction of the wife of his ostád, or teacher, amongst Afghâns a grave offence. I judged, from the stories told of him, that he had been in the employ of the sirdárs of Kândahár as a robber and assassin; the chiefs of these countries retaining instruments to execute their most desperate purposes. Some time afterwards, at Kâbal, he found me out, and was willing to have been introduced to me, but I refused to see him. In the course of 1835, five nightly attempts were successively made to enter my house by a band of muffled villains, and my thoughts naturally enough recurred to my old Ghiljí friend; indeed, so long as I resided at Kâbal, from this time my house was occasionally visited by night, and I was compelled to be pre-

pared and vigilant. After remaining two or three days at the castle of Mírza Agâ Jân, I proceeded to Darúnta, and resumed operations upon the topes, and other sepulchral monuments in that vicinity, and was for some time occupied in perfecting the examination of objects, which my journey to Pesháwer had suspended. From Darúnta I repaired to Chahárbâgh of Jelálabád, and instituted a series of labours upon the topes which studded the eminences confining the plain to the south. These disposed of, I passed on to Hidda, for the sake of verifying the analogous structures there, having previously obtained the sanction of Mírza Agâ Jân, who held the place in jâghír. The mírza sent his brother to secure us a due reception, and to enjoin the malek and his people to afford us all the assistance we might require. While engaged here the hot winds were somewhat troublesome, but we did not on their account suspend our labours.

CHAPTER XI.

Arrival of ex-sirdárs of Pesháwer. — Hâjî Khân's project. — March of Dost Máhommed Khân to Kândahár. — Feeling in the country. — Gúlístân Khân's rebellion. — His message to Amír Máhommed Khân. — Faction of Nawâb Jabár Khân. — His proposal to Dost Máhommed Khân. — Letter to the Shâh. — Imprudence of the Shâh. — Action near Kândahár. — Flight of the Shâh. — Fate of his followers. — Errors of the expedition. — Intercepted correspondence. — Abdúl Samad's villainy. — Dost Máhommed Khân's wish. — State of affairs at Kâbal. — Letter from Kámran. — Deportment of Kândahár sirdárs. — Return to Kâbal. — Death of Amír Máhommed Khân. — Shamsodín Khân. — Proceedings of ex-sirdárs of Pesháwer. — Occupation of Jelálabád. — Disavowal of their officers. — Meeting with Dost Máhommed Khân. — Letter to Ranjit Singh. — Kámran's offers to Shâh Sújah al Múlkh. — The Shâh's distrust. — Flies to Lâsh — to Sístân — to Balochistân. — Pursuit of the Shâh. — Generosity of Mehráb Khân. — The Shâh retires upon Zehrî and Bâgh. — Honesty of Samandar Khân. — His death. — The Shâh's reception at Haidarabád. — His return to Lúdíána. — Dost Máhommed Khân's letter to Lúdíána. — Reply. — Saiyad Keramat Alí's officiousness. — Dost Máhommed Khân's promise. — The Saiyad's dilemma. — His ingenuity. — His good fortune.

I was yet occupied at Hidda when Súltân Máhommed Khân, having failed by submission and entreaty to induce the Síkhs to relinquish their recent conquest, and being unable longer to subsist his followers, abandoned the plain of Pesháwer, and,

via Minchíní and the pass of Karapa, entered the valley of Jelálabád. Simultaneously, his brother, Pír Máhoméd Khân, having journeyed from Kohât, crossed the Saféd Koh range and descended upon Kajar, where Súltân Máhoméd Khân marched and joined him. With Pír Máhoméd Khân was Náib Hájí Khân. I have before noticed the sirdár's boast that he possessed three lákhs of rupees, that he cared not who knew it, and that, despite of his vaunts to employ it against the Síkhs, he thought better to preserve it. The treasure he had with him; and when from Kohât he had entered Bangash, Hájí Khân wished to have persuaded him to take the road of Khost, where, in concert with the turbulent natives, he had hoped to have secured the prize. Pír Máhoméd Khân was saved by the Ghúlám Khâna chiefs with him, who apprised him of the náib's designs, and led him by the direct road through Bangash, the Túrí inhabitants of which are Shías, the reason ostensibly urged by Hájí Khân for wishing to conduct the sirdár amongst the Afghâns of Khost.

Dost Máhoméd Khân had proceeded from Kâbal to Kândahár to assist in the repulse of Sháh Sújah al Múlkh, who for some time had invested the place, and had made an unsuccessful attempt to carry it by assault. His brother, Amír Máhoméd Khân, was left in charge of Kâbal. The march of Dost Máhoméd Khân was a hazardous step, but one called for by the crisis. It was matter of no-

tority that the chiefs of his army were well disposed towards the shâh, with whom they were in correspondence. Indeed, the Ghúlâm Khâna leaders had resolved to return from Ghazní, to secure the person of Amír Máhoméd Khân, and to proclaim the shâh. From this resolution, which, if carried into effect, would then have sealed the doom of Dost Máhoméd Khân and the Bárák Zais, they were diverted by the timid counsels of one of their number, Máhoméd Bâgher Khân, who suggested that it would be better that the Afghâns should set the example in defection. Of the feelings of the inhabitants of the country at large there was also little question, but their sympathy in the shâh's cause was passively displayed in the expression of good wishes, not in the energy of action, which might have contributed to its success. It is remarkable, that the only attempt to create a movement in favour of the shâh was made by Gúlistân Khân, the Hazára chief of Kárábâgh, south of Ghazní, at the close of the autumn of the past year; and even he did not avow himself acting in behalf of the shah, but made resistance to oppression the plea for his rebellion. He boldly engaged and defeated the Ghazní troops sent against him, and had hoped to have set the precedent for a general rising, but the apathy of the mass was not disturbed, and no one appeared to side with him. Amír Máhoméd Khân, in charge of Ghazní, conscious of the delicate state of the times, did

not press matters with the refractory chief, and even soothed him by concessions. Under pretence of conferring a *khelat* upon him, he wished to have allured him to an interview; but, if purposing treachery, *Gúlistân Khân* was too experienced in *darbâr* stratagems to place himself in the power of one to whom he had given so much cause for jealousy. His reply was characteristic. He said, that in conformity to the *sirdár's* orders he had mounted and taken the road to *Ghazní*, but had not travelled far when he met certain *maleks* (referring to *Afghân maleks* put to death by *Amír Máhoméd Khân*) with their heads in their hands, who inquired of him where he was going, and if he wished to be treated as they had been. Knowing them to be *Afghâns*, he thought it possible they were wilfully giving him evil-counsel, and he proceeded, paying no attention to what they said. He had not gone much farther when *Mír Yezdânbaksh* met him, with his head also in his hands, who exclaimed, "Unhappy man, whither are you going? Is not my fate a warning to you?" Now, he said, he could not discredit one of his own *Hazáras*, and returned. *Amír Máhoméd Khân*, however he relished this instructive communication, sent a *khelat* to *Kárabâgh*, nor insisted upon the *Hazára* chief's attendance. Now that *Dost Máhoméd Khân* had marched, a son of *Gúlistân Khân*, with a party of horse, accompanied the army. It has before been noted, that the *Nawâb Jabár Khân*

corresponded with the shâh under the idea, which beset him, that his expedition was set forth with the approbation, as it must have been with the knowledge and indirect sanction, of the British-Indian government. He had formed a strong party in Dost Máhoméd Khân's camp, and the Nawâbs Máhoméd Zemân Khân, Máhoméd Osmân Khân, and others, had bound themselves to act in respect to the shâh precisely as he might direct. The shâh, I have been told, agreed that the Nawâb Máhoméd Zemân Khân was to receive Jelálabád, and the Nawâb Jabár Khân the government of the Ghiljís, of which they had been deprived by Dost Máhoméd Khân; while Máhoméd Osmân Khân was to retain the jághír he held. The Nawâb Jabár Khân, first taking care of himself and his confederates, not desiring absolutely to ruin Dost Máhoméd Khân, aimed to procure some arrangement in which his interests might be consulted. It is impossible to conceive what plan he had devised, but at Ghazní he much entreated Dost Máhoméd Khân to permit him to proceed in advance to Kándahár, for the purpose of making terms with Shâh Sújah al Múlkh, never doubting but that the shâh would be victorious. Dost Máhoméd Khan replied, Lâla (a term of affection), there will be time enough for that when we are defeated; and addressed a letter himself to the shâh, ironically setting forth that his brothers at Kándahár were uncouth men, and did

not understand the respect due to imperial dignity; that he, more enlightened on the subject, was on the road, and on reaching them would teach his brothers their duty, and escort him (the shâh) to Kâbal, with all honour. The march from Ghazní to Kândahâr was rapid, and on his arrival there he well knew that his only chance of safety was to join battle immediately, for had he delayed but a few days he would have been abandoned by his troops. The shâh, hitherto, had been entrenched in a position resting upon the city of Kândahâr, destroyed by Nádir, and had he remained there his enemies would have been destroyed, without an effort on his part. His headstrong temper and self-will proved his ruin, for, rejecting the counsels of Samander Khân and his chiefs, on the arrival of the Kâbal army he abandoned his entrenchments and moved to the northern extremity of the hill, at whose base the old town of Hússén Khân stands, and occupied, with his troops, the gardens which abound at that point. He pretended that it was disgraceful to be pent up within lines of breastwork; but his object was clearly that of having, in case of discomfiture, his rear open to flight, for it has always been the bane of the shâh to be deficient in the actual crises of his battles, and to be more expert in providing for his personal safety than for victory.

Some of the Ghúlám Khâna chiefs actually went by night to join the shâh, but finding his position

abandoned, and ignorant where to find him, they returned to the camp. The folly of the king having done all that Dost Máhoméd Khân and his brothers could have wished, they lost no time in bringing on an action, and the shâh, seemingly with equal alacrity, precipitated his troops into battle, while, with the same breath that he urged them forward he issued orders to arrange for flight. While the troops were yet engaged the pusillanimous monarch left the field, following his treasure, which had been sent off the preceding night.

Dost Máhoméd Khân, aware of the temper of his followers, while making the best arrangements in his power, had great mistrust of the event, as was manifested by the despatch of his equipage to Killa Azem, a march in the rear. With about two thousand men, on whom he could most certainly rely, he maintained himself aloof, as it were watching the various fortunes of the field. On one occasion he drew his sword, and directed a forward movement, but after galloping some fifty yards again reined up. It is difficult to comprehend the nature of the action that took place. No two accounts agree, the consequence of all acting independently, and without concert or orders. A weak battalion of the shâh, commanded by an Anglo-Indian, Mr. Campbell, carried all before it, dispersing in succession the battalion of Abdul Samad and the cavalry of the Kândahâr chiefs, and of Máhoméd Akbar Khân; entangled at length between the

high banks of a dry water-course, it was overwhelmed, and Mr. Campbell, wounded, was made prisoner. His treatment was most handsome, and he was subsequently taken by Dost Máhomed Khân to Kâbal. Of Samander Khân, the generalissimo of the shâh's army, nothing was heard. This chief had the reputation of being a very gúrg, or wolf, in combat, and Dost Máhomed Khân entertained of him so much dread that his countenance or words betrayed it whenever his name was mentioned. Some of his relatives, however, distinguished themselves, and fell on the field victims to their zeal. A variety of causes are ascribed as producing the disaster of the shâh, but all are reducible to his own incapacity and irresolution. Had he been endued with a little sense and firmness, the treachery or cowardice of Jehandád Khân, the inertness of Samander Khân, and the want of regularity amongst his followers, might not have been evinced. Indeed, the whole expedition had been one of blunders, and its termination in failure and disgrace was but the natural result of its conception and prosecution in folly and error. Dost Máhomed Khân's sons fought, if to little purpose, but the nawâbs, the Ghúlám Khâna troops, and others, stood immoveable in line, and did not even return the fire which they received. Their eyes wandered in vain over the field to discover the shâh's standard. It had never been raised. The triumph of the Bárák Zais was followed by

the usual scenes of slaughter and plunder, and the entire artillery, stores, and camp of the fugitive shâh fell into their hands. His records and correspondence became the prize of the Kândahâr brothers, who transferred them to Dost Mâhomed Khân. He wisely took no notice of the circumstance at the time, although it is believed that he intended to have swept out his own house, and to have wreaked his vengeance upon the Ghúlâm Khâna leaders. Amongst the documents found was a copy of the treaty negotiated between the shâh and Ranjit Singh, and a variety of letters bearing the seal of Claude Martine Wade Sâhib Bahâdar, addressed to various individuals, apprising them that any service rendered to the shâh would be considered as rendered to the British government. Mîrza Samî Khân more than once told me of this circumstance, saying that one of the letters was addressed to himself. He was accustomed to add, that the shâh had a knack of forging seals, and he might have exercised his dexterity in this instance. What he believed I cannot tell. Whether the letters were spurious or otherwise, the shâh had not employed them.

Abdûl Samad, who, with the Nawâb Jabâr Khân, had corresponded with the shâh through the medium of the British agent, Saiyad Keramat Alî,—who, again, considered he was advancing the views of his government,—had, as soon as he reached Kândahâr, sent one of his battalion men with a message

to the royal camp, in which he was found on its capture. Abdúl Samad, to conceal his own guilt, without allowing time for explanation, blew the unlucky man from a gun.

The Kándahár chiefs were anxious to have pursued the flying monarch, but Dost Máhoméd Khân did not concur; and those best acquainted with his views and wishes insist that he had really no desire to secure the person of the shâh, although a very great one to possess himself of Shâhzâda Máhoméd Akbar, the king's son by his own sister, as he would thereby have had, in any crisis of his affairs, a very convenient instrument to have elevated to royal dignity. As matters stood, however, he felt the necessity of returning to Kâbal, where his brother, Amír Máhoméd Khân, was dangerously sick, while the sirdárs of Pesháwer, encamped in the Jelálabád valley, might profit by his absence. Besides, there were symptoms of discontent in the Kohistân, excited by Ghúlám Rasúl Khân of Perwân, who had left the army on its march from Ghazní to Kándahár, and judging that the supremacy of the Bárák Zais was drawing to a close, had returned to his home, and, by collecting troops, sought at once to promote the shâh's cause and to avenge his personal feuds and animosities. While Dost Máhoméd Khân was yet at Kándahár, he received a letter from Shâhzâda Kámran of Herát, professing that he was in nowise interested in the fate or fortunes of Shâh Sújah al Múlkh. No greater importance

was attached to this letter than was due to the fact of the Shâhzâda having condescended to send it; as he was not in the habit of corresponding with the Bârak Zais, whom he affected to consider as rebellious slaves. At this time it was within the power of the confederated chiefs to have annihilated the Herât ruler, but their own miserable dissensions effectually neutralised the ample means at their command. Notwithstanding the Kândahâr chiefs owed their safety to Dost Máhoméd Khân, they omitted on no occasion to treat him slightly, and to assert their superiority, while they were so mistrustful of him as not to admit him within the walls of the city. Carrying off fifteen of the guns captured from the shâh, the Kâbal chief set out from Kândahâr, and on his road picked up an addition to the number of his wives, in the person of a sister of the Thokí chief, with whom he formed a political as well as matrimonial alliance. On reaching Kâbal he found his brother, Amír Máhoméd Khân, living, indeed, but speechless, and in the arms of death. The last audible words uttered by him were instructions to sell the old grain contained in certain magazines, and to replace it with new, exemplifying in his last moments the dominant principle of thrift and gain, which had distinguished him through life. As with very many provident fathers, he had a most improvident and thoughtless son; and the youthful Shamsodín Khân, on proceeding to Ghazní to assume charge of the

property to which he had become heir, remarked to his attendants, "What an excellent thing it is to have no father!"

We have noted the arrival of the fugitive chiefs of Pesháwer in the valley of Jelálabád. As soon as they were aware that Dost Máhoméd Khân had passed Ghazní, imagining, like other people, that his defeat was certain, and informed of the alarming sickness of Amír Máhoméd Khân at Kâbal, they began to avow their intentions of possessing themselves of the province, and their several dependent officers were commissioned to occupy the various towns and villages. Mírzas Imâm Verdí and Agâ Jân, who administered the country on the part of Amír Máhoméd Khân, retired to the castle of Azzíz Khân, Ghiljí, in Khach of Lúghmân, and it quietly dropped into the hands of Súltân Máhoméd Khân and his adherents. Matters had been in this state but a few days, when tidings of Dost Máhoméd Khân's victory arrived. Súltân Máhoméd Khân recalled his officers, pretending they had acted without his orders or sanction, and repeated salutes of artillery testified to the joy he felt on the happy occasion. He next proceeded to Kâbal, which he reached before Dost Máhoméd Khân, and advanced to meet that chief to Killa Kází. He was received courteously, and was told, that, the sháh disposed of, it remained to recover Pesháwer from the Síkhs. Hájí Khân, whose fortune again brought him to confront Dost Máhoméd Khân, was assured that the past

was forgotten, the chief remarking, that if he had abandoned him he had joined another of the family, and had not connected himself with strangers. A crusade against the Sîkhs was immediately proclaimed, and letters were despatched to Ranjit Singh, calling upon him to give up Pesháwer to Súltân Máhoméd Khân, from whom he had fur-tively acquired it, while Dost Máhoméd Khân was engaged in the repulse of Shâh Sújah al Múlkh, as much the enemy of the Máharájá as of the Bárák Zais.

As we shall hereafter have no opportunity of alluding to the vanquished Shâh Sújah al Múlkh, it may be explained here, that his flight from the field of battle at Kándahár was directed to Farra, which he reached in safety. Shâhzâda Kámran on hearing of his arrival despatched handsome presents, and a letter, stating that he was interested in the shâh's favour, that his success would be agreeable to him, and in accordance with his own plans. He recommended another attempt to be made upon Kándahár, as Dost Máhoméd Khân could scarcely march a second time to its relief, and proffered to send his son, Shâhzâda Jehânghír, with four thousand horse, and guns, to assist.

Of the sincerity of Kámran those with the king did not doubt, but he, always suspicious, fancied that Prince Jehânghír would be instructed to seize him, and this idea so completely possessed his mind that he precipitately fled from Farra.

to Lâsh, the fortress and domain of Sâlú Khân. This chief, in disgrace with Shâhzâda Kâmrân, accorded the rites of hospitality to the king his guest, but did not, perhaps could not, further assist him. It is hard to determine whether the shâh was warranted in his apprehensions of Shâhzâda Kâmrân. His seizure did not follow as a consequence of the Shâhzâda's offers of assistance, but was an event quite compatible with the spirit of Afghân diplomacy. In truth, the proposal to conquer Kândahâr for him evinced more generosity than the shâh was conscious he deserved, and very probably he imagined that he was about to be made a tool of, and when the object was gained would be discarded, or placed in durance. From Lâsh, he directed his steps across the desert of Sîstân towards Kalât of Balochistân; and Rahâm Dil Khân of Kândahar, informed of his movements, made an effort to intercept him. The shâh had here need of all his good fortune. Having gained the territory of Kalât, he had encamped at the southern extremity of the plain of Mangarchar, between Mastúng and the capital, when Rahâm Dil Khân, with three hundred horse, reached its northern extremity. Thence he sent out his spies to procure precise intelligence of the shâh, of whose proximity he was ignorant. One of them, who ascertained the shâh's position, sympathized with royalty in misfortune, and informed him of his danger. Not a moment was lost; and the king, with a few at-

tendants, galloped off towards Garâní, a little village about six miles from Kalât. The spy, on his return to Rahám Dil Khân, told him that the shâh had taken the Bolan route, which induced the chief to follow smartly in that direction, but finding on his road that he was in error he returned and made his way to Garâní. The shâh had previously arrived at Kalât, where Mehráb Khân, the Bráhuí ruler, was encamped in a garden. The monarch, without ceremony, walked directly into his tent, and claimed his protection. It was instantly accorded. Dáoud Máhommed, the Ghiljí adviser of the Khân, in vain entreated his master to deliver up the defeated prince, who was fortified in his resolution by his wife, Bíbí Ghinjân. Mehráb Khân intimated to Rahám Dil Khân at Garâní that it was unbecoming in him to pursue an unfortunate Sadú Zai king with so much rancour, and, informing him that he had determined to protect him, recommended that he should retire. The khân subsequently sent the shâh to Zehrí, that he might repose a while after his fatigues and adventures; after which he went to Bâgh in Kachí.

Here he found Samander Khân, who creditably enough delivered to him a sum of money, left in his castle at Quetta, when the advance was made on Kândahár, and counselled a fresh effort for the conquest of that place. The shâh approved the plan, and commenced the levy of troops, when Samander Khân fell suddenly sick, and died. The

shâh next proceeded to Haidarabâd in Sind, where Mír Sohabdâr, one of the mîrs, thought fit to infringe the etiquette the monarch in misfortune even insisted upon, and strove rudely with his followers to enter the royal tent. The shâh gave the order "Bizan," or slay, and two or three of the mîr's adherents paid the forfeit of their chief's indiscretion. The other mîrs were at hand to moderate the king's ire, and to excuse the conduct of their boisterous relative, however it may have been evinced with their contrivance and knowledge. The shâh finally finding he could do no better, returned to Lúdíána, from whence he had started, bringing with him, as is asserted, more money than he had taken away.

Dost Máhomed Khân when at Jelálabâd, and previous to his march to Kândahâr, had written to the political agent at Lúdíána, desiring to be informed if Shâh Sújah al Múlkh marched with the support of the British Government, observing, that if he proceeded with a few followers without such support, it were an easy matter to dispose of him, but if with it, the case became different, and he could not hope to oppose him and the British Government combined. The political agent replied, that the Government had nothing whatever to do with the shâh's movements, but that they were his well-wishers.

It has been noticed that Saiyad Keramat Alí, adopting the general impression, had committed

himself by becoming the medium of correspondence between the Nawâb Jabâr Khân, Abdûl Samad, and others at Kâbal, with the shâh. His conduct was not likely to be concealed from Dost Mâhomed Khân; and as the saiyyad's licentious opinions on religion had rendered him obnoxious to many people, they urged upon Dost Mâhomed Khân the propriety of seizing him, and expelling him the country. One of his bitterest opponents, Akkûnd Mâhomed, obtained from Dost Mâhomed Khân the promise to do so should he succeed in defeating Shâh Sûjah al Mûlkh; and at Kândahâr, when the saiyyad's letters, with the others, turned up in the shâh's camp, the fulfilment of the promise was claimed, and in the temper the sirdâr was in he was readily induced to send orders to Amîr Mâhomed Khân to place the saiyyad under arrest. The Nawâb Jabâr Khân, apprised of the circumstance, also despatched a letter to Amîr Mâhomed Khân, conjuring him, if he esteemed him a brother, to respect the saiyyad's liberty, and another to his favourite wife, directing her on no account to allow the saiyyad to be taken from her house, while he urged all his influence with Dost Mâhomed Khân to have the order rescinded. The saiyyad, in this dilemma, shrewdly enough gave out that he was ordered to return to India, which, if he did not reach by a certain date his pay was to be stopped; and further, that his wife was waiting for him at Râoal Pindî. The sudden sickness of

Amír Máhoméd Khân may have saved the saiyard ; and the nawâb was enabled to represent to Dost Máhoméd Khân that it was needless to expel a man who was himself going, and whose wife was waiting for him at Ráoal Pindí.

CHAPTER XII.

Start on a tour to Khonar.—Bísút.—Tokchí.—Topes.—Púlwári.—Bazarak.—Khonah Déh.—Malek Shafí.—Kohistânís.—Khúshâl Khân.—Tope of Khonah Déh.—Killa Pádsháh.—Fatí Máhommed Khân.—Islámabád.—Saiyad Hissám and his ladies.—Mistaken for Bází-ghars.—Remains at Islámabád.—Route to Chitrâl.—Dara Núr.—Barkot and Daminj.—Máhommed Zemân Khân's failure.—Kází Khél family.—Feud.—Bílangar.—Bísút.—Return to Tátang.—Trip to Lúghmân.—Killa Káfr.—Chahárbâgh.—Kergah.—Mandarâwar.—Tírgarí.—Rivers of Alíshang and Alingár.—Múmjúma.—Namzât Bází.—Fatal accident.—Zíarat Métar Lám Sáhib.—Tomb.—Wilford's reveries.—Native traditions.—Sultân Máhmúd's dream.—Discovery of Lamech's grave.—Ancient vestiges.—Koh Karinj.—Alíshang.—Nadjíl.—Malek Osmán.—Sâleh Ráná Kot.—Rubies.—Alingár.—Dara Níází.—Revenue of Lúghmân.—Extent of cultivation.—Crops.—Eels.—Fire-flies.—Inhabitants.—Skilful agriculturists.—Amusing story.—Máhommed Akbar Khân's disaster.—Tope of Múrkhi Khél.—Conjectures.—Nokar Khél.—Múrkhi Khél.—Jájís.—Nasrulah.—Tumulus of Nokar Khél.—Departure for Kâbal.—Terikkí.—Arrival at Kâbal.

THE unsettled state of the country was unfavourable to the continuance of my researches, and I left Hidda, where I might otherwise have longer stayed, for Tátang. After resting a day or two, I repaired to my old haunts of Darúnta, and directed the examination of a number of tumuli, which abound there, some apparently connected with the topes, but many of them, it was fair to

infer, independent structures. I was occupied some time with them, when, taking my workmen, with their implements, we started on a tour into Khonar, as well to discover if there were any monuments there as to see that part of the country. We left the castle of Náib Yár Máhoméd, my headquarters at Darúnta, myself, as well as my companions, on foot, and tracing the bank of the river, crossed it at the ferry of Behár Robát, where I saw the process of washing for gold. The road for about a mile led from the ferry across a small marsh choked with reeds, filling the space between the river and a low hill to the north of it; when we crossed a spur from the hill stretching towards the stream, on which is a white tomb, called the Kabar Lúlí, and entered the plain of Bísút. A mile brought us to the village of Kerímabád; a little beyond which are the two castles of Benáres Khân. We followed the high road skirting the cultivated lands, having between us and the hills a greater or less extent of barren surface. Traversing the entire extent of the valley from west to east, we reached at night a small Afghân fortlet, called Killa Shâhgalli, north of the village of Bílangar. In the morning we moved on to Tokchí, and came upon the Kámeah, or river of Khonar, the hills on either side of it approaching. In what is called the tanghí of Tokchí are three castles, one of them a superior one, named Bínígâh, built by Abdúl Ganní Khân, one of the Bárah

Zai family. It has a large extent of good land adjacent, and on the hill opposite to it on the west are the remains of a minute tope; curiosity had led, very possibly, Abdúl Ganní Khân himself to examine the structure; and whatever else he may have found, a huge block of stone, lying amongst the rubbish, plainly informed us that it had once been more honourably situated within the monument. Beyond the castles we walked for a considerable distance through marshes and flags, until we reached a zíarat at the corner of a low detached hill, a few yards to the east of us being the small village of Abdúl Khél. Here also we found a tope, of more considerable dimensions, but of ruder construction, which, with reference to the structures on the plain of Jelálabád, would rank in the third, or inferior class. It had no signs of embellishment, and not a trace of the coating of cement with which, we may conjecture, it was once covered, was visible. It had been perforated at some former period on all sides, and although it was impossible to decide whether the relics had been discovered, there was little encouragement to employ our labour in search of them. In age the monument appeared to agree with those of Hidda. About a mile beyond the zíarat we reached the castles of Púlwârí, having passed to our right, on and about an eminence near the river, a very considerable ancient place of sepulture, evidenced by the usual tokens of

walls, mounds, &c. I have been told that there is an inscription here, but could never find any one able to point it out. From Púlwári we went on to Shéghí, an enclosed village, of about three hundred houses, where we halted for the day, in a grove of plane-trees adjacent. The following morning our route led us to Bazarak, also a walled-in village of three hundred houses. Resting awhile there, we were visited by Pádshâh Gúl, the hereditary malek, who sent an offering of pomegranates. From hence we passed on to Khonah Déh, a small enclosed village of sixty houses, seated on an eminence; behind which was a small, but very perfect tope, in style of architecture greatly resembling the tope Nandára of Darúnta, and I should judge, of the same age. The basement and cylindrical superstructure were very entire. This monument I should have been pleased to have opened, but as soon as I learned that the village belonged to Malek Shafí Khân I suspected there would be difficulty. This man had long been the petty tyrant of this part of the country, and was connected with the inhabitants of Dara Núr, amongst whom, when pressed by the authorities, he took refuge, and who, if required, furnished him with their bands. By their instrumentality he had become paramount over his immediate neighbours, and during the feeble sway of Máhoméd Zemân Khân, whom he little feared, had made himself of some notoriety. Amír Máhoméd

Khân's first care on receiving charge of the Jelálabád province, was to reduce to a due sense of their dependent situation the several maleks, who had too much presumed on the weakness of his predecessor. Malek Shafí Khân early received his attention, and, agreeably to the plan of attempering severity with kindness, was fined five thousand rupees, and then made to give his daughter to a son of the chief. I found the malek was close at hand, in the neighbouring village of Kal-latak, which he holds in jághír, and therefore paid him my respects. He received me as I anticipated, very coolly, and on starting the question as to whether he had any objection to my employing workmen on the tope, without absolutely replying that he had, his language was by no means encouraging. He was surrounded by his armed attendants, men of the Dara Núr, or Kohistânís, as here called, and they conversed with him in their own peculiar dialect, which, however, is so mixed up with Hindí, that I, and others of my people, comprehended the drift of their discourse. We understood that we might open the tope, but should not be permitted to carry off what we found in it. I therefore wished the malek good-b'ye for the present, telling him I should call upon him again, when Dost Máhomed Khân came with his troops to Jelálabád, although I doubted whether I should have the pleasure of seeing him, as he then would be, probably, off to the Dara Núr.

Khúshál Khân, Jabár Khél, of Kirgah in Lúgh-mân, one of his friends, and his surety with the Sirdár Amír Máhoméd Khân, was on a visit to him, and present at our interview. Being also an acquaintance of mine, he strove to induce the malek to be civil and compliant, but to no purpose, and following me after I arose, told me that he was involved in Malek Shaffi's faction, but must confess he was a desperate man, and not to be trusted.

The malek, about forty years of age, had a fine commanding presence; but his countenance, while expressive of ability, alike betrayed his little scrupulous and reckless disposition. My experience with topes induced me to conjecture that this one of Khonah Déh had been erected over a relic of some saint, and that we should not have found any coins in it. In the hills behind it are a number of caves, proving the spot to have been a víhára, or monastery, as there are more than would have been necessary in simple connexion with the monument. We now passed the village of Kallatak, containing, within walls, about five hundred houses, and proceeded to Shéva, another village, of three hundred houses, where we halted for the day. The river was now a little distance to the south. From Shéva we passed in the morning to Lamatak, a village of sixty houses, and thence to Killa Pádshâh, the deserted seignorial castle of Fatí Máhoméd Khân, Popal Zai. This noble-

man was one of the sirdárs and friends of Máhoméd Azem Khân in Káshmir, and had received substantial proofs of his patron's favour. He was reputed, and perhaps with justice, wealthy, and on that account, as well as others, did not venture to place himself in the power of Dost Máhoméd Khân. So long as Máhoméd Zemân Khân retained authority at Jelálabád he attached himself to his interests, and enjoyed in return a considerable revenue from Khonar. He erected the killa, or castle, which we now saw in decay, and planted orchards and gardens, making the retreat a very agreeable and commodious one. He contrived to extricate himself from Jelálabád a day or two before its capture, and escaped to Pesháwer, but Dost Máhoméd Khân seized and confiscated his property in Khonar. The Nawâb Jabár Khân was much displeased, one of his wives, and the most powerful of them, being a daughter of Fatí Máhoméd Khân; and thought that, for his sake, the castle and property might have been spared. Dost Máhoméd Khân, on his part, was glad that the opportunity occurred to annoy the feelings of his relative.

From Killa Pádshâh we moved on to Islámábád, a small walled-in village, where resides Saiyad Hissám, of the family of the saiyads of Khonar. As we were following the path people came from the village, shouting to us to retire, and driving away the weavers, plying their looms under the

shade of the trees. The saiyad and his ladies, it seemed, were about to walk to a garden and summer-house by the river-side, and, of course, no profane eyes were permitted even to look upon such sacred and reserved objects. We took the liberty to advance in place of retiring, and when we were at a due distance a report was made, and out stalked Saiyad Hissám, a corpulent, unwieldy personage, attended by a flock of chad-dered females. When they had nearly reached the garden we returned towards the village; and the saiyad, looking back, observed my companions, with their implements shouldered, and it occurring to him that they were *bází-ghars*, or merry-andrews with their poles, he bellowed with a voice like thunder for them to come down and divert his ladies; but some one, probably, informing him of his mistake, he again roared out, and motioned with his hand for them to be off.

We here inquired as to the road in advance, and found it not advisable to proceed farther, as, though we were many, we were unarmed. We had already witnessed at Killa Pádshâh that the men of the Dara Núr came into the little hamlet there, and violently helped themselves to any trifling thing they coveted, and we very nearly had a scuffle with them.

The valley hence becomes contracted, and we could see up it for about three miles, to a place called Kúndí, when it turns to the north. Im-

mediately behind Islámpúr is a hill, covered with the remains of walls and parapets, indicating a place of ancient sepulture. On one of the eminences are the remains of a very small tope, so dilapidated to the south that the interior of the building is exposed, and shows that a perpendicular shaft extended from top to bottom. At Kúndí, I was informed, were similar vestiges, but to a greater extent. At this place the valley of Khonar may correctly be said to commence, as beyond it are the petty towns and villages held by the various members of the saiyad family, for many generations established in it, as Khonar, Peshat, &c.

It would be an interesting journey to follow the course of the river from this point to Chitrál; and, while collecting all the information I could respecting it, I did not question but that, with due precaution, the route was a practicable one.

From Islámabád we returned to Killa Pádshâh, and remained there during the heat of the day. This castle is placed at the entrance of a valley leading up the hills to the north, in which are the castles of Búdialí, Súrúch, Amlah, &c., and which breaks off into the valley of Dara Núr on the east, and into the valleys of Barkot and Daminj on the west. At its upper extremity is a castle, called Killa Pádshâh, alike built by Fatí Máhoméd Khân, possibly for the coercion of, or

as a check upon, the neighbouring tribes. It was regarded by them with great jealousy, and at the time of his disasters was taken possession of. It is now held by Maleks Khodâ Nazar and Mastapha.

Dara Núr is inhabited by people calling themselves Sáfís, but speaking their own peculiar dialect, and not understanding the Pashto language. They are a straightforward, manly race, with florid complexions, light eyes, and hair. They have many peculiar customs, and retain many vestiges of ancient arts; for instance, they have bee-hives, unknown to the inhabitants of the plains. Their valley is most celebrated amongst their neighbours as being the native soil of the nerkhis (narcissus), posies of which brought therefrom I have seen. It is affirmed that there is a variety of the flower with black petals. The hills of the inhabitants yielding grapes, quantities of wine and vinegar are made by them; the few samples of the former I have met with were sour and unpalatable, and did not cause me to admire the beverage of the Sáfís. The valleys of Barkot and Daminj, to the west of Dara Núr, are alike inhabited by Sáfís, independent and lawless, but engaged in enmity with their neighbours of the contiguous dara. Barkot is said to include about one hundred and fifty families, and Daminj the same number, or a few more. The people of the two daras, unable to contend with their more numerous enemies, are strictly leagued with the inhabitants of Kâshmún,

a village high up in the hills still farther to the west.

Máhomed Zemân Khân, during his exercise of power, marched with a force to compel the inhabitants of Barkot to become raiyats, and to pay tribute. They flooded the approaches to their valley, and the sirdár retired disgracefully, after losing many of his men. He consoled himself by the boast that he had been where Nádír had never been.

Towards the afternoon we retraced our steps to Lamatak and Shéva, the road pleasantly leading along a canal fringed with trees, on which vines were spreading in festoons above. From Shéva, instead of again visiting Kalatak, we skirted the river-bank, and passing three castles, called collectively Killa Noh Júí, the property of Malek Shafí Khân, we came to a seignorial castle, belonging to Sádadín, father of Mír Saifadín Khân, the khân múlla of Kâbal. Hence we passed on to Shéghí, where we fixed ourselves for the night. In this neighbourhood are the family castles of the Kází Khél family of Kâbal, from whom the kází and khân múlla, with others of the hierarchy, are provided. Their ancestor, Faizúlah, kází to Taimúr Shâh, was a person of great influence; he was succeeded in office by his son Sádadín, now living retired in this neighbourhood, one of whose sons is the actual khân múlla. Murder has been committed in this family, one of them,

Saiyad Habíb, having been slain by his brother; consequently there is a serious feud in it; and it is probable that in a few years the ruin of the whole will follow in the train of the fratricide.

From Shéghí, on the succeeding day, we returned by the road we had come to Killa Shâhgalli, and thence moved on to Bílangar, a village of two hundred houses, where we halted. The next day, having previously skirted the plain of Bísút to the north, we took a central road through the villages and cultivated lands. This led us by the castles of Manohar Khân and Abdúl Gafúr Khân to Bísút, the ancient village, giving name to the plain. It was small, enclosed within walls, and contained a slight bazar. The neighbourhood was cheerful, from its pastures and clusters of date-trees. Thence, at a short distance, we passed the smaller village of Abdín, and afterwards the two castles of Benáres Khân, from which we made the village of Kerimabád. From that place we gained Kabar Lúli, and thence passed on to Killa Behár Robát, where we halted for the night. The following morning we crossed the river, and rejoined our head-quarters at Killa Náib Yár Máhomed. I was sufficiently pleased with this pedestrian excursion to meditate another to Lúghmân; and, allowing my companions a day or two to repose themselves, I went on to Tátang, to look after my horses, and to ascertain if aught worthy

of my attention had occurred during my absence.

Returning to Darúnta, I started with my companions to Lúghmân.

From the náib's castle, a course of nearly two miles brought us to the termination of the Síáh Koh range, through a fissure in the extremity of which the river of Kâbal escapes from the valley of Lúghmân into that of Jelálabád. This spot always appeared to me as singular as it is picturesque. On the rocks on either side there are water-marks, considerably, perhaps sixty to eighty feet, above the highest level the river now attains. On the summit of the eminence on the opposite bank are the remains of ancient walls and parapets, called Killa Kâfr, but pointing out an ancient burial-place. This eminence in composition is the same with the Síáh Koh, of which it is obviously the termination, and sinks beneath a low series of sandstone and conglomerate elevations, which stretch north of the river the whole extent of the plain of Jelálabád, resting upon Koh Kergah, and filling up the space between the valleys of Lúghmân and Khonar, as Koh Kergah defines their northern limits, so far as it stretches. Having crossed the ferry, the road winds over the point where the conglomerate rest upon the eminence; and thence we commanded a fair view of the portion of Lúghmân before us, of the villages of Chahárbâgh and Kergah, of the river of Kâbal, and the district of Khach.

Skirting the conglomerate elevations the greater part of the way, we at length reached Chahárbâgh, where we were entertained by the Hindú Diwân Jowáhír. In the neighbourhood of this village are a vast number of mounds, and beneath the hills behind it to the north we found a small but compact tumulus, arranged in the manner of those of Darúnta. Chahárbâgh is the capital of a district, and yields with it a revenue of twenty thousand rupees. It may contain five hundred houses, has a moderately-supplied bazar, and a manufactory of swords, gun-barrels, and cutlery. The next day, passing the castles of Khúshâl Khân, Jabár Khél, we made Kergah, a small village romantically seated on a rocky eminence at the western extremity of the line of hill generally designated by its name. Immediately west of it, the united rivers of Lúgh-mân fall into that of Kâbal. We crossed the former stream, and went on to Mandaráwár, where we proposed to halt, but the person we intended to honour with our company was absent. This is a considerable walled-in village, with bazar, and occupies a square of about three hundred and twenty yards. Our course from Killa Kâfr to Mandaráwár had been from east to west; we now turned towards the north, and the road tracing the line of eminences confining the cultivated lands, we left behind us in succession the villages of Haidar Khân and Kâla Kot, and in the evening reached the walled-in town of Tírgarí; to gain which we had to

re-cross the stream. At Tírgarí unite the rivers of Alíshang and Alingár, the latter bearing the name of Kow, and its source is supposed to be very remote, that of the river of Alíshang being nearer. The valley of Alingár, wide and spacious, tends eastward from Tírgarí, as that of Alíshang inclines westward. In Alingár is the castle of Múmjúma, belonging to Máhoméd Shâh Khân, Ghiljí, who has also other castles there, as well as in Tézín. In one of his Lúghmân castles, called Badiabád, it would appear, the captive ladies and officers in the power of Máhoméd Akbár Khân, were secured, previous to their transfer to one of his Tézín castles, where late accounts describe them to have been carried. Máhoméd Shâh Khân is connected by alliances both with Máhoméd Akbár Khân and the Nawâb Jabár Khân. The former espoused one of his daughters, and the latter, when governor of the Ghiljís, was affianced to his sister, represented to be a handsome and intelligent woman.

Many of the Afghân tribes have a custom in wooing, similar to what in Wales is known as bundling-up, and which they term namzât bází. The lover presents himself at the house of his betrothed with a suitable gift, and in return is allowed to pass the night with her, on the understanding that innocent endearments are not to be exceeded. The bands of the maiden's perjâmas are very tightly secured, and she is enjoined on no account to suffer them to be unloosed. The precaution is not always

effective, and whether from being inconveniently tight or from other causes, the bands are a little relaxed; and, from natural consequences, it is necessary to precipitate the union of the parties, and not unfrequently the bridegroom when he receives his bride carries home with her his first-born in a bakkowal, or cradle.

The Nawâb Jabâr Khân went on a namzât bâzí visit to the sister of Máhoméd Shâh Khân, and wishing to profit by the opportunity more than the lady's modesty permitted, received a severe chastisement from her slippers, which so disheartened him that, though often threatening to fetch her to his house, he has never summoned resolution to do so, and when I left the country she was yet pining away in celibacy and solitude at Múmjúma.

We found an Afghân friend at Alíshang, and accompanied him to his village of Pashai, about three quarters of a mile beyond it. The following morning we repaired on a visit to the zíárat, or shrine of Métar Lám Sáhib, about two miles distant from our village. In our transit we had to cross the river of Alíshang, which, like its neighbour of Alingár, while not deep, unless at particular seasons, has a rapid current, and its bed so full of loose boulders that it is always dangerous to cross. No year elapses that many casualties are not occasioned by these rivers, and while we were here, and within our observation, a fatal accident happened. A man crossing on horseback was drowned, the animal

having lost his footing and fallen. I was surprised, for there was not so much as a foot and a half of water, but I was given to understand that a man who falls is lost. Having gained the eminences edging the cultivated lands, their summits covered with ancient sepulchral vestiges, we soon reached, in a hollow, the celebrated zíarat. I inspected it,



ZIARAT METAR LAM.

and my companions strove to propitiate the favour of the holy personage supposed to be interred here. There is no very pompous or extensive establishment, yet the place is kept clean, and in a certain degree of order. It is regularly visited every Juma by the people of the neighbourhood, and in the

spring mélas, or fairs, are held here. It is considered that the fertility of the cultivated lands is due to the possession of the grave of so distinguished a patriarch, and whoever is buried within the precincts of the holy place is deemed secure of paradise; hence many noble families choose to send their dead here, as did Fatí Máhomed Khân of Khonar, and the Sirdár Saiyad Máhomed Khân of Hasht-nagár, besides many others; and the contributions of such people, no doubt, mainly support the humble establishment. The tomb, one of those of extraordinary dimensions, which has been assigned to the father of Noah, is but half of the length of that ascribed, with equal propriety, to the patriarch Lot, being sixteen yards only in length from north to south, while its breadth is about two yards and a half. In height it stands about five feet; and covered over with cement, is painted throughout in imitation of brick-work. Palls of cloth and silk are duly spread over it. Wilford had learned in some manner that the grave was provided with a small door beneath, conducting into a vault where the corpse of the patriarch, in excellent preservation, was to be seen in a sitting posture, now the favourite one of the natives of India. Whether he believed such to be the case, or wished others to believe so, I cannot tell, yet the gravity with which he repeats the tale is wonderful. I need scarcely add, that there is no such door beneath the grave, nor any such vault, and those who would

wish to see the good old patriarch Lamech, sitting cross-legged, would be disappointed if they came to Lúghmân in search of him. The traditions now current in the country vary in some measure from those related to Wilford, as indeed they differ in themselves. Some consider Métar Lám to have been the brother of Nohlákhí Sáhib, another celebrated saint, or deified hero, who with nine lákhs, or nine hundred thousand men, waged war against the infidels. The former died here, and the latter in the Káfr country, where his zíarat is held in high veneration, although, of course, inaccessible to Máhomedans.

It is universally believed that the Kâfrs, stealthily and by night, visit the zíarat of Métar Lám Sáhib. Another story relates, that when Súltân Máhmúd first entered Lúghmân, Métar Lám appeared to him in a dream, and informed him that his remains were interred in the country, and no honour was paid to the spot, from its being unknown. The apparition, farther, good-naturedly instructed him as to the manner in which the locality was to be detected. In pursuance of the lessons he had received, the súltân mounted a camel, allowing the animal to go whithersoever he pleased, and he was finally brought to the spot where the zíarat now is. The súltân, alighting, thrust his lance into the ground, whence blood instantly issued. The miracle convinced the prince of the verity of the dream, and of the facts disclosed by

it, and the sacred place became, in consequence, the object of his care and munificence. Very many of the shrines in Lúghmân are of the connexions of Métar Lám; and his grave being once found it became easy to discover the graves of his relatives. They are all of extraordinary dimensions. On our return to Pashai we examined the several zîárats at the villages in our road, and found fragments of sculptured white marble in more than one of them. There was, no doubt, at all times a town of more or less importance at this point, and the old burial-places were those vestiges we observed on the eminences contiguous. Many relics, as coins, &c., are occasionally found; but they create no wonder, for in what part of the country are they not found in similar situations? Our next excursion from Pashai was to Alishang, and to the castle of Alládád Khân, somewhat beyond it. We carefully investigated the valley, now diminishing in compass as it neared the hills, on either side, that no tope or important structure might escape our scrutiny, and we found none, although numerous caves and tumuli everywhere are common. None of the caves, however, occur in number or groups, so that we might infer they related to a place of former consequence; the contrary deduction might be authorized.

The northern limit of the valley is prominently marked by the high mountain Koh Karinj, extending from east to west along its entire length, and round whose respective extremities the rivers

of Alíshang and Alingár wind. This mountain, while snow sometimes partially covers its summits, is without the limit of perpetual congelation, and is distinguished by its vegetable, as well as animal productions. The vine flourishes on it, and monkeys rove over its sides. I have constantly heard of an inscription, said to exist at some part of the hill, but could never find any one who could point it out.

On the northern side of Koh Karinj commence the seats of the Síáposh Káfirs, who are accustomed to roam over the hill; therefore when parties visit it, as they sometimes do, on excursions of hunting or pleasure, it is necessary that they go in number, and prepared for the chances of a hostile encounter. Alíshang is a small walled-in town, of about four hundred houses, but has nothing remarkable in its appearance, or any tokens to denote it an ancient site of consequence. The contracted valley, indeed, on either side, has abundance of mounds, and in the sides of the encircling eminences are caves, but, as we have so frequently observed, such vestiges are too common to demand especial notice, unless they have in themselves something peculiar or extraordinary. The emperor Baber mentions the place under the same denomination it bears at present; and he judged it necessary to put the refractory malek to death. The actual inhabitants are reputed for their quarrelsome propensities, and there is a proverb, or saying, current in Lughmân, referring to the two towns

of Chahárbâgh and Alíshang, or rather to the manners of those who inhabit them, which runs:—

Chahárbâgh, ding, dâng;
Alíshang, jang, jang.

We followed the valley beyond the castle of Alládád Khân until it might be said to cease, and to the point where the road strikes off towards the north for Nadjíl, said to be eight cosses, or twelve miles, distant, when we returned. Nadjíl is held by people now called Tájiks, but were recently Kâfrs, and who, while professing Máhomedanism, preserve, in great measure, their pristine manners and customs. They pay revenue to the governor of Lúghmân. Their malek, Osmân, from his long standing and experience, enjoys a reputation out of his retired valley. He boasts of descent, not exactly from Alexander the Great, but from Amír Taimúr; and when rallied upon the subject, and asked how so diminutive a being can lay claim to so proud an origin, replies, that he has only to put out one of his eyes, and lame one of his legs, and he would become Taimúr himself. The tradition goes, that Taimúr procured a wife in this country. It is curious to find, on reference to the history of this monarch, not a confirmation of the tradition, but a circumstantial detail of his visit to this part of the world.

Baber notes, that in his time swine were plentiful in Lúghmân. In these days there are none, the

entire conversion of its inhabitants having effected the extinction of the unclean race. The natives of Nadjíl fatten capons, which are sent as presents and luxuries to their friends. About eight miles south-west of Alíshang is a place called Sâloh Ráná Kot, where are two or three modern castles and, it is said, some ancient vestiges. From a spring there, it is also asserted that fragments of rubies are ejected, and that parcels of them have been collected and sold to the pessáris, or drug-compounders, at Kâbal as medicaments. The opposite valley to Alíshang, that of Alingár, is much more spacious and of greater length. It is inhabited chiefly by Afghâns, Ghiljís, Arroki, and Níázís; is amply provided with castles, but has no considerable village. In one of its southern valleys, the dara Níází, very many of the usual sepulchral indications are to be found; and the discovery of treasure there when the nawâb held the government of the Ghiljís, led to the loss of many lives. The revenue of Lúghmân amounts to two hundred and thirty thousand rupees; and as the Afghâns contribute one hundred and sixty thousand, it may be judged how much of the land is in their possession; as a great part of the Tâjik revenue is derived from the towns and villages in which they nearly exclusively reside. As is customary throughout the Kâbal territories, the Afghâns and Tâjiks have their separate hákams, or governors, and the latter are dependent on the government of Jelálabád. It

is computed that there are one hundred thousand jerríbs of cultivated land in the valley of Lúghmân, exclusive of twenty thousand in Khach, or the narrow slip of land between the course of the Kâbal river and the Síáh Koh range.

The lands are very productive, and the agriculturists are esteemed expert. Two general crops are obtained in the year, as in Ningrahár and Pesháwer, the Rabbí and Kharíf, the first of barley and wheat, the latter of rice, sugar-cane, and cotton. The artificial grasses are extensively grown, and wasma, a species of indigo-plant, is reared. Formerly the extract was made, as neglected vats and reservoirs in the earth at one or two places testify; at present the leaves of the plant are dried as tobacco leaves, and the pulverized mass is sold to the dyers, who use the infusion. I observed with pleasure the fire-fly enlivening the darkness of the nights. I had previously seen an occasional one at Darúnta: here they were numerous, and in groups. In some of the canals the eel is found, called már-mâhí, or the snake-fish; it is matter of dispute whether the ambiguous animal is or not lawful food. The heat is very oppressive in Lúghmân until the month of September, when the weather becomes temperate, and the winter is delightful. The great amount of land given over to the cultivation of rice, by being inundated until the grain matures, throws out very noxious exhalations before the harvest, and to walk

amongst the fields is very unpleasant, but the same may be said of all rice-countries.

The Tâjiks of Lúghmân speak a dialect called by themselves and their neighbours Lúghmâní, but which, I presume, to be nearly the same as the Pashai, the Kohistâní of Dara Núr, and the dialect of the Síáposh Kâfrs. They also speak Persian. They are industrious, and remarkably neat cultivators of the land. The ridges between the several plots of soil are formed very precisely, the fields are weeded, and altogether are so tended as I have nowhere else witnessed. They are partial to drill-husbandry, and transplant all their rice-plants, and receive the benefit of their skill and labour in overflowing crops. They are esteemed a very cunning and litigious people, and, according to their neighbours, their agricultural proficiency need not be wondered at, considering to whom they are indebted for it. On which matter they have the following amusing story :—

In times of yore, ere the natives were acquainted with the arts of husbandry, the shaitân, or devil, appeared amongst them, and winning their confidence, recommended them to sow their lands. They consented, it being farther agreed that the devil was to be a sherík, or partner, with them. The lands were accordingly sown with turnips, carrots, beet, onions, and such vegetables whose value consists in the roots. When the crops were

mature the shaitân appeared, and generously asked the assembled agriculturists if they would receive for their share what was above-ground or what was below. Admiring the vivid green hue of the tops, they unanimously replied, that they would accept what was above ground. They were directed to remove their portion, when the devil and his attendants dug up the roots, and carried them away. The next year he again came, and entered into partnership. The lands were now sown with wheat and other grains, whose value lies in their seed-spikes. In due time, as the crops had ripened, he convened the husbandmen, putting the same question to them as he did the preceding year. Resolved not to be deceived as before, they chose for their share what was below ground; on which the devil immediately set to work and collected the harvest, leaving them to dig up the worthless roots. Having experienced that they were not a match for the devil, they grew weary of his friendship; and it fortunately turned out that on departing with his wheat he took the road from Lúghmân to Bârikâb, which is proverbially intricate, and where he lost his road, and has never been heard of or seen since. The portion of the road to this day retains the name of Shaitân Gúm, or the place where the devil lost his way.

Between it and Lúghmân is a locality called

Bâdpash, remarkable for the current of air which constantly drives there. In my time, Máhoméd Akbár Khan, with his troops, returning from a foray on the Sáhíbzâda Uzbíns, was caught in a wind-tempest at the place, and he and they were as nearly blown away as the devil had been before them. The force was overwhelmed in the elemental strife, and broken up. Several persons perished, with their horses. Many were found afterwards, and slain by the Sáhíbzâda Uzbíns.

From Pashai I made one long march to Darúnta, and thence the next day passed on to Tátang. Besides the trips and excursions I have noted in this work, I had during this year thoroughly explored the valley of Jelálabád, abounding in interesting monuments, as tumuli, mounds, caves, &c.

Having turned my attention to the side of Kabâl, before finally leaving the lower countries, I made yet another short excursion to Múrkhí Khél, at the foot of the Saféd Koh, to ascertain if it were true, as affirmed by rumour, that a tope existed there. I made one march from Tátang, passing through Nimla, and reached the place by evening, where I was civilly received by a malek, whose house was immediately adjacent to the monument. He was very willing that I should examine it; and I have ever since been much chagrined that I did not at the time do so, as this is one of the objects which, when in my power, I neglected, while subsequent events

prevented my again giving it my personal attention. The monument was in style of construction, and as regards appearance, the miniature type of the superior tope at Hidda; I therefore had little doubt as to its age; but I had hoped, from the nature of its relics, if it fortunately contained any, to have been enabled to have speculated upon the precise character of the two structures, which the costly and diversified deposits obtained from the Hidda monument scarcely permitted. I had a strong impression that the latter edifice might be due to one of those princes whose coins we possess, and which we call Indo-Sassanian, and my visit to Múrkhí Khél tended to confirm me in my conceit.

That the spot had been anciently appropriated to the reception of the dead of some peculiar race or sect, was sufficiently intelligible from the surprising quantities of human bones strewing the surface in certain places. These were in such number that the walls separating the several plots of soil were formed of them. To answer this purpose they were, of course, entire, and it was impossible to imagine that they had ever been subjected to the action of fire. They might, indeed, have been interred; and it was necessary to suppose so, or to conjecture that at Múrkhí Khél we had fallen upon a spot where the old Guebre inhabitants of the country deposited their corpses. I was inclined to the latter opinion, because some fifteen or sixteen copper coins I pro-

cured here, picked up amongst the bone localities, were all Indo-Sassanian. When I reflected for the moment that the monies might or might not be as essential a provision to a Guebre corpse as to one which was destined to cremation, another fact well explained their presence.

At Nokar Khél, about three miles north, or lower down on the plain, entire skeletons are and have been frequently found. Around their ankle-bones were originally tied trinkets, coins, or tokens of some kind; of which the present inhabitants are so aware that upon detecting a new subject they never fail minutely to examine its lower extremities, and are generally rewarded by some trifle; sometimes they obtain articles of value. In these days Múrkhi Khél is a delightful locality, comprising the two sides of a spacious glen, down which flows a fine rivulet. There is a village called by that name, of about fifty houses, and several small hamlets, castles, and towers, together forming an aggregate of nearly three hundred houses. My friend, the malek, told me that there were about one hundred vineyards. Although the temperature is low, they have two harvests, one of wheat in the spring, and another of gâll and júár in the autumn. The latter is so productive, that I was assured a chárak and half of seed yielded in return a kharwâr of grain. About two miles east of Múrkhi Khél, also at the foot of the hills, is Zoár,

famed for the multitude of its vineyards and orchards; west of it is Mámá Khél, where resides Mír Afzil Khân, who I have before had occasion to mention. Múrkhí Khél is, moreover, situated at a point where a road leads over the Saféd Koh range to the Jájí country.

During my stay here—and the spot had so many attractions that I remained three days—I saw many of the Jájís, who seemed to make the house and tower of my malek their serái. They were a shade more rude in manners than the people on the northern skirts of the Saféd Koh, and these are not very refined. Their dress is peculiar, a kind of cap being used in place of the lúnghí, or turban, and their pantaloons fitting closely to the legs, while the lower portions are highly ornamented with needlework. An intelligent youth, Nasrúlah, who knew more about his own country, or had a better way of communicating his knowledge than any other of his countrymen I conversed with, after having satisfied my inquiries, demanded in return, a távíz, or written charm, to soften the hearts of Gúl Khân and his wife Tanai, who objected to give him their daughter, his kanghâl, or sweetheart, with the musical name of Gúlsimma.

The subordinate hills of the Saféd Koh are in the neighbourhood of Murkhí Khél interesting, as containing steatite, prase, and other magnesian minerals, while they are clothed with forests of

pine-trees. From all the accounts I gathered, this celebrated range has an abrupt descent upon the plains of the opposite province of Khúram. On our return we came down upon Nokar Khél, near which is a tumulus, of large dimensions. The people of the vicinity hearing of the operations carried on upon the topes and tumuli near Jelálabád, considered it might be profitable to ascertain the contents of the edifice in question, and parties, in turns, commenced their labours at the summit. In four or five days they grew discouraged, and desisted.

From Nokar Khél we passed on to Nimla, where, the evening being far advanced, we halted for the night. The next morning we crossed the undulating country to Bálla Bâgh, and fording the Súrkh Rúd, again reached Tátang, having now nothing farther to do than to make the best of our way to Kábal. Accordingly we started, having as escort Abdúlah, brother of the malek at Jigdillik, from which place we took the route of Híra Manzí, leading over a very high hill, but the road good, so that it is not requisite to dismount, and came down directly into the valley of Tézín. Here we did not halt, but for a few minutes; on resuming our road, we crossed the Haft Kotal, and traversing the table-space beyond, eventually reached Terikkí, where we passed the night with some Ahmed Zai Ghiljís, who dwell in tents there. Here were the remains of a

Chaghatai castle, and the fragments of marly rock everywhere strewing the surface of the soil were full of fossilized shells. In the morning we passed, in the distance to our left, the village of Khúrd Kâbal, and crossed the range which separated us from the Kâbal valley, descending upon the tope and village of Kamarí. Hence we struck across the plain, and reached in safety my old quarters in the Bálla Hissár.

CHAPTER XIII.

Dost Máhoméd Khân's intention to assume royalty. — Views and opinions of parties. — Súltân Máhoméd Khân's departure. — Day of inauguration. — Ceremony. — Exhortations. — Remarks of his subjects. — Dost Máhoméd Khân's demeanour. — His justification. — Preparations for the war. — The khân múlla's dexterity. — Plunder of the Hindús. — Máhoméd Osmân Khân's address. — Dost Máhoméd Khân's intentions. — Extortion from Máhomédans. — Death of Sabz Alí. — Amount of exactions. — March of troops. — Hájí Khân's departure. — State of the season. — Mírza Uzúr. — Máhoméd Kúlí Khân. — Progress to Jelálabád. — Robbers at Séh Bábá — Jigdillik. — Necessity of Máhoméd Kúlí Khân. — Gandámak. — Darúnta. — Death of Náib Yár Máhoméd. — Letters from Lúdíána. — Equivocal nature of employment. — Incivility of the nawáb. — Saiyad Keramat Alí's departure. — His tactics. — His intentions. — His assault on Ranjit Singh. — Delicate duties. — Evils of Saiyad Keramat Ali's conduct. — Afghân notions of official etiquette.

AT Kâbal the public mind was much occupied by the preparations making for the announced crusade against the Síkhs, and by the understood intention of Dost Máhoméd Khân to assume the dignity of pádshâh. Hájí Khân, who, previous to his departure from Kâbal, proposed this step, now on his return again recommended it, as did Mírza Samí Khân, and others. The relatives of the sirdár

were unanimously opposed to it, urging, that it was unbecoming and impolitic; but since the deaths of Amír Máhoméd Khân, and Máhoméd Réhim Khân, the Amín-a-Múlkh, there were none amongst them to whose opinions he judged it necessary to pay deference. It was therefore decided upon, and the day for the ceremony of inauguration fixed. Súltân Máhoméd Khân, with his brother, Pír Máhoméd Khân, were living at Kâbal, on no very friendly terms with Dost Máhoméd Khân. The latter omitted no opportunity, by taunt or sarcasm, to annoy Súltân Máhoméd Khân; he possessed himself of his guns, muskets, and other military munitions, which were surrendered because it was known that, otherwise, they would have been forcibly taken. The two brothers, notwithstanding many defections happened amongst their followers, still maintained a large proportion of troops, and Súltân Máhoméd Khân was willing, in concert with his friends, to have drawn the sword and braved the chances of a struggle with his brother. On one occasion he actually left the city and proceeded to the Afshár castles, but admittance was refused to him. Had he been received he would have displayed his standard, and been joined by those in his interest or in the plot, and Kâbal, for a few days, whoever had been the victor, might have exhibited, as of old, instructive scenes of tumult. Now that the inauguration of Dost Máhoméd Khân was about to take place, Súltân Máhoméd Khân did not choose

either to assist or to be present at the ceremony. He therefore obtained permission to proceed to Bájor, to induce Mír Alam Khân to co-operate in the warfare against the Síkhs, and left Kâbal, having obtained a sum of money from Dost Máhoméd Khân for his expenses. The day at length arrived when the chief of Kâbal proposed to elevate himself above his brothers, by the assumption of a new title, and superior degree of rank. It was ushered in with no expressions of joy, and there were no discharges of artillery to announce to the inhabitants of the city that their chief was about to invest himself with regal authority. Towards evening, Dost Máhoméd Khân, leaving the Bálla Hissár, proceeded to the Id Gâh, near Síáh Sang, where many, but not all, of his relatives and chiefs attended, with the eldest son of Mír Wais. The latter officiated as primate; and repeating prayers, placed two or three blades of grass in the turban of Dost Máhoméd Khân, proclaiming him Pádshâh, with the title of Amír al Momanín, or commander of the faithful. Then, turning to the crowds around, and alluding to the holy war the amír intended to wage with the infidels, he informed them, it was the duty of every Mússulmân, by voluntary contribution, to assist in the promotion of so righteous a cause to the extent of his power. Abdúl Samad scattered a few rupees amongst the crowd, which then began to disperse, the amír's relatives, and other chiefs, taking the road to the city by the Derwâza

Lahorí, while he, and some half a dozen particulars, returned to the Bálla Hissár by the road he went. There were immense crowds collected from the city, both of Máhomedans and Hindús, probably in expectation of witnessing some display of pomp and ceremony, and they returned to their homes disappointed, as there really was little to be seen.

I was sitting on the summit of a small eminence, called Tappa Khâk Balkh, within gun-shot of the Derwâza Shâh Shéhîd, as the newly-created amír passed along the road, separated from the tappa by the breadth of a cultivated field. Some of his horsemen galloping over it, he cried out to them, not to ride over the raiyat's grain. One of those near me observed, "Do you hear the scoundrel? How soon he evinces solicitude about his raiyats." Another party, of six or seven persons, broke up as he came near, saying one to the other that he was a bacha Kâballi, or lad of Kâbal, and if he saw them sitting together he would fancy that each of them had a bottle of wine under his cloak. For some days after this event the darbâr was frequently the scene of much mirth, if not of buffoonery. It had formerly been the custom in addressing the chief to call him Sirdâr, it now became fit that he should be styled Amír Sâhib, and it was settled that any one who should be guilty of a *lapsus linguæ* should forfeit a rupee. The people who recommended Dost Máhomed

Khân to proclaim himself pádshâh, it was supposed, did so under the idea that he would not, a slave to etiquette, interest himself so much in the management of affairs, leaving a little more to their discretion. In this they were grievously disappointed, for not only did his plainness of manner and easiness of access continue as before, but he seemed to give more personal attention to business than ever. Inspecting some new gun-carriages, made under orders of Abdúl Samad, he inquired for the wood and nails of the old ones. Abdúl Samad submitted that it was derogatory in a pádshâh to ask about such trifles. The amír told him that he was altogether mistaken, for it behoved him to look after them as they would come into use. If the amír himself had any reasons for putting on a superior title beyond the petty ones of mortifying his relatives, and gratifying at a costless rate his own vanity, they may be found in the opinions held by Afghâns in general, that in combats, whether for political or religious ends, it is becoming to fight under the standard of a sovereign, as in that case the reward of martyrdom is certainly secured to the slain. It is also agreeable to Afghân ideas, that an individual who has discomfited a pádshâh, as Dost Máhommed Khân had done Shâh Sújah al Múlkh, should himself assume the dignity he is supposed fairly to have won. It was, moreover, alleged by his supporters that he merely revived the pretensions and claims of the Bárak Zai family, as set

forth by his ancestor, Hâjî Jamâl, who proclaimed himself pádshâh, and struck coin, previous to the acknowledgment of the Sadú Zai family, in the person of Ahmed Shâh ; and, it was asserted, that the claims of the Bárak Zais by lying dormant had not become superseded. The more cogent of the arguments advanced by his friends, however, was the necessity of the moment. As for Dost Máhomed Khân, he said, and always afterwards insisted, that Hâjî Khân, Mírza Samí, the khân múlla, with the whole horde of múllas, and of the religious classes, forced him to take up the title. There was an amusing contention amongst the ingenious mírzas to provide fit mottoes for the official seal of the amir, and for the new rupee it was intended to strike. In both instances Mírza Samí Khân bore the palm from his competitors. While these proceedings were in train, the important conflict before them was not lost sight of by the amír and his friends. They began seriously to think on the means of prosecuting it, and how and where to obtain money engrossed all their attention. It may have been hoped that voluntary contributions would have spared the amír the trouble and odium of making extortions, but it was clear that, however the Máhomedans of Kâbal were attached to their religion, they were quite as partial to their gold, and no one thought of offering it in support of the great cause of which the amír avowed himself the champion.

With respect to the Hindús, the khân múlla's sagacity discovered a sacred text admirably adapted to their case, as well as to the circumstances of the amír. It set forth, that it was lawful to seize the wealth of infidels, provided the wealth so seized was employed in repelling the aggressions of infidels. Now, as Ranjit Singh had clandestinely acquired Pesháwer during the absence of the amír at Kândahár, and to recover Pesháwer was the object of the amír's present expedition, it was clear that Ranjit Singh was the aggressor; and in engaging in a defensive war against the infidel, it became obviously consistent with divine sanction that the amír should supply his necessities from the funds of his Hindú subjects. Had the amír possessed a single doubt of conscience it must have been allayed by the sound deductions of the khân múlla. The Hindú shikárpúrís, or bankers of the city, were sent for, and being informed they were prisoners until they had arranged to contribute three lákhs of rupees, were made over to the custody of Hâjí Khân. Officers were despatched over all parts of the country in search of Hindús, and to secure those who had wealth. Shamsodín Khân was enjoined to look after those of Ghazní; and Máhoméd Akbar Khân zealously fulfilled his instructions regarding those of the province of Jelálabád. Many fell into the hands of their pursuers, many contrived to hide themselves, but the houses and visible property of all were

plundered throughout the country. In the city only the principal suffered. The petty sirdárs and jághírdárs imitated the salutary example set them by the amír. Hâjí Khân by his agents despoiled the Hindús of Cháhár Bâgh of Lúghmân; and Máhoméd Osmân Khân repaired to Bálla Bâgh, where he seized all the Hindús, having dexterously induced them, by letters assuring them of protection, to remain in their houses until he arrived. Subsequently, when the amír passed Bálla Bâgh in his way eastward, he inquired of Máhoméd Osmân Khân how much money he had procured for him from his Hindús. The reply was, none, as they had given him the slip, and secreted themselves under the Saféd Koh.

Many times afterwards the amír would ask about the Hindús of Bálla Bâgh, and Máhoméd Osmân Khân as constantly averred he knew nothing of them. In course of time, it proved that they had, all the while, been detained in close custody at Bálla Bâgh; and when they were discovered and produced before the amír, it was lamentable to witness the trim in which they appeared. The amír could not get any of the money taken from these particular Hindús by Máhoméd Osmân Khân, but he compelled him to give them bills for the amount, and soothed them by the hopes of having the sums taken from them repaid. The hunting over the country for Hindús continued long after snow had fallen, and when the

hiding-places of any of them were brought to light messengers were instantly despatched to seize the fugitives. The Shikárpúris did not long remain in durance; sensible they had no hope to escape the demands made upon them, they tendered a smaller amount, and after some debate, in which Hâjí Khân professed himself their friend, a sum a little beyond two lákhs of rupees was accepted from them, for which the amír gave them his bonds for repayment. It must be noted, that whatever monies were taken on this occasion may rather be considered as compulsory loans than as absolute extortions, it being the intention, if affairs prospered, to repay them. The amír walked in the footsteps of his profligate brother, Fatí Khân, who, notorious for the unscrupulous manner in which he replenished his coffers, and met his pecuniary exigencies, was also as celebrated for the punctuality with which he repaid the sums he forcibly borrowed, whenever able to do so; whence, although as unprincipled a man as perhaps ever lived, he ultimately acquired the honourable reputation of being a "sáhíb ítawâh," or a man of his word, and trustworthy. The financial operations of the amír were not confined to his Hindú subjects, but included within their compass the more opulent of the Máhomedan merchants, as well as many individuals politically suspected, or obnoxious. Sabz Alí, a merchant, from whom thirty thousand rupees were asked, expired under

the tortures applied to him, at which the amír expressed, and probably in truth, much regret, as he did not desire the death of the man, but his money. He was not well pleased, however, that the accident should set aside his claim, and dealing with the conjuncture in the best way he could, compelled the relatives of the unfortunate man to ransom his corpse. Neither did the amír on this occasion spare his own wives. From some of them he obtained jewels to a considerable amount; and his mode of treatment with these fair subjects varied according to their dispositions. From the timid, a slight menace, or peremptory command would be sufficient; for others, his vows to abstain from conjugal intercourse until his demands were satisfied, in the end proved successful. Besides all these various means, he levied two years' *jeziá*, or capitation-tax, on the Hindús throughout the country, and anticipated the receipt of a year's revenue on the town duties of Kâbal. It was supposed that he had made extraordinary collections to the amount of nearly five lákhs of rupees, and having expended two lákhs in unavoidable expenses, and in marching his army from Kâbal, took with him into the field funds to the amount of three lákhs of rupees. The troops had been for some time, in succession, despatched to Jelálabád, and in the latter end of February the amír followed them, leaving Mírza

Samí Khân, and the Nawâb Jabâr Khân to obtain money on jewels which he had procured from his wives; the mîrza to act as agent in negotiating the loan, and the nawâb to act as guarantee that the jewels should not be claimed before the sums advanced on them were paid.

On the 5th of March Hâjî Khân left the Bálla Hissár to join the Amír. His departure was signalized by the scattering of copper money amongst the populace, who were loud in the praises of sakhí, or generous, Hâjî Khân. On reaching the zíarat Shâh Shéhîd, whither the crowd followed him, he halted, and, extending his hands, implored a benediction; then abruptly saluting the by-standers with one of his best Salám alíkams, cantered off for Bhút Khâk. He was entirely alone, and wrapped in a postín, his people having preceded him.

This season presented a strange but favourable contrast to the last. Snow had fallen in the beginning of December, but it had gradually disappeared, and the weather was beautiful and mild. The new year, 1835, commenced most auspiciously, and spring seemed to have taken the place of winter. During the month of February the flowers of Noh Roz made their appearance, as did swallows; and it was matter of congratulation that the winter had passed. On the night of the 26th February a smart shower of snow destroyed these expectations, and some cold weather succeeded, but still

not to be compared to the rigour of the preceding year; neither did the snow fall in such quantity as to remain long on the surface.

I had for some time been thinking of proceeding to Jelálabád, and now arranged to go in company with Mírza Uzúr, Hájí Khan's chief secretary, and one of my Bámián acquaintance. The 7th of March was the day fixed, and when I sent to the mírza to inquire if he was ready to start, he replied that he wanted ten rupees to redeem his cooking-utensils, lodged with one of his creditors. As I had no mind to delay, I sent him the sum required, and presently after he came, and we rode on to Bhút Khâk, and occupied the samúches. The mírza had eight or ten small but active nags. It had rained, in a drizzling manner, all the way from Kâbal, and, now and then, a flake of snow fell. In the morning the same kind of weather continued, and I wished to move on, but the mírza said it was indispensable that he should send a man back to the city for hinna, to dye the tails and hoofs of his horses, as it was ungentle to travel with them in a colourless state. We were, therefore, detained this day at the samúches. In the evening we were joined by Máhoméd Kúlí Khân, the only surviving son of the Vazír Fatí Khân, who had a party of about forty horse, besides his laden cattle. He occupied a samúch, contiguous to ours. The weather was too threatening to allow us to march, and we were, therefore, against our wills, detained an-

other day here. In the evening, with Mírza Uzúr, I supped with Máhoméd Kúlí Khân. I found him a handsome youth, of nineteen or twenty years of age, but with a peculiar cast of features, having a long acquiline nose and pointed chin. He was very intelligent, but, it was easy to perceive, libertine and dissipated. He formerly resided with his uncles at Péshawer, who allowed him twenty thousand rupees per annum. On their expulsion, he came of necessity to Kâbal, where his excesses were not so indulgently viewed by the amír, and he was told, that, to secure favour, he must reform his course of life, and dismiss his evil associates. I suspect these conditions were rather too difficult to be complied with, and his contumacy afforded the amír a pretext for behaving very parsimoniously towards his nephew. Máhoméd Kúlí Khân is one of two brothers, the only sons the vazír had, and they were by a celebrated Kinchiní, named Bâghí, whom he married. Sirbalend Khân, the elder, is said to have been a promising youth, and met his death accidentally in the Bâgh Shâh at Kâbal, amusing himself with the jeríd, or exercise of the lance. Endeavouring to transfix an apple on the ground, his weapon rebounded and pierced his breast. He lingered a few days and died. We sat a long time in chat with Máhoméd Kúlí Khân, and on parting it was agreed that we should be companions on the road. The next day being fine and clear, we started, and taking the road of Sokhta

Chanár, we halted on the rivulet below Tézín. Just before reaching our ground we fell in with a party of robbers, but they fled over the hills leading to Tézín. During the night our *chokís*, or guards, were kept on the *qui-vive*, I suppose by these very fellows, but we lost nothing. The following morning we proceeded down the valley, and met a large Afghân *kâfila*. We learned that a band of about thirty *Sáhibzâda* *Uzbín* robbers were stationed at the *zíarat* *Séh Bábá*, a little in advance; that they had not ventured to assail the *kâfila*, the men belonging to it being Afghâns, and too numerous. We had scarcely passed these when we met a smaller *kâfila*, also Afghân, who informed us that they had been attacked, but had preserved their property at the expense of three of their men being wounded. Of this we had ocular evidence in the poor fellows bathed in blood. It was a sad pity we had not reached five minutes earlier. *Máhomed Kúli Khân*, *Mírza Uzúr*, and myself, with about fifteen horsemen, soon reached *Séh Bábá*, where we drew up, that the rest of our party might join. We descried a fellow skulking on the summit of one of the eminences in our front, but on our hailing him he decamped. He was the spy of the robbers, who, no doubt, were in ambush close by us. We were too strong to be attacked, and it is never part of the system of these thieves to commit themselves with horsemen.

Our whole party assembled, we placed our bag-

gage in front, and ascended the undulating sandstone eminences intervening between Séh Bábá and Báríkâb. We rested awhile at the latter place, and then resumed our journey to Jigdillik, where we halted in the garden. We saw none of the inhabitants here, as they had removed, for the season, or perhaps to escape the visit of troops, to a valley lower down, called *Perí Dara* (the fairy's vale). I received an intimation at this place that I should be applied to on the part of Máhoméd Kúlí Khân for money, as it appeared that the son of the *vazír* was pennyless; and I had authorized my servant, if such a request were made, without speaking to me, to give, as if from himself, a small sum. Ghúlám Alí, the maternal uncle of the young khân, in due time represented his necessities, and my servant gave ten rupees, which sufficed to procure provender, and other little necessities they needed. In mentioning this circumstance I must not be thought to convey an imputation on my companion, who, so far from being intrusive, or greedy of the property of another, was liberal to prodigality. He was destitute as to money, yet still would have given me anything of what he possessed, and I had difficulty to refuse little things he was continually sending me. From Jigdillik the next day we marched on to Gandamak; and it proved that two sisters of Máhoméd Kúlí Khân were in the vicinity, one residing permanently at Mámá Khél, with her husband, Mír Afzil Khân,

the other, a wife of Máhoméd Zemân Khân, temporarily occupying a castle near Gandamak. He had frequently boasted to me on the road that he should be at home on reaching Gandamak. The sister there sent her little boy to his uncle with a present of fruit, and shortly after came a sheep, with other necessaries. A messenger from Mámá Khél brought a gentle reproach from the sister there on account of Máhoméd Kúlí not having visited her. The next day, taking leave of the vazír's son and Mírza Uzúr for the present, I, with my party, took the road to Bálla Bâgh, and passing it, as well as the nawâb's castle of Tátang, we reached Darúnta in the evening. It was with much regret that I heard the news of my good friend the Náib Yár Máhoméd having departed this life but a few days before. He spoke frequently of me in his last sickness, and said his ill-fortune detained me at Kâbal, or had I been present I should have given him medicine, and cured him. He was succeeded as náib of the Ghiljís by his son, Ghúlám Rasúl Khân. Before I had left Kâbal I had seen the Nawâb Jabár Khân; and aware that it had been arranged that he should proceed to Bájor, I had concerted to accompany him, purposing to remain there for some time, and examine the country and its neighbourhood. The nawâb, having effected his political objects, would of course return. I had sent one of my young men to Tátang to see if the nawâb had reached from Kâbal, and he brought me a message

that one of that nobleman's kâsids, just arrived from Lúdíána, was the bearer of letters for me. This took me to Tátang the next morning, and a letter was put into my hand from Captain Wade, the political agent at Lúdíána, informing me that the government, at his recommendation, had been pleased to appoint me their agent for communicating intelligence in these quarters.

Whatever my feelings were on this occasion, it is unnecessary for me to obtrude them on public attention. I might have supposed it would have been only fair and courteous to have consulted my wishes and views before conferring an appointment which compromised me with the equivocal politics of the country, and threw a suspicion over my proceedings, which did not before attach to them. I might have also lamented that I should be checked in the progress of antiquarian discovery, in which I was engaged, and I might reflect whether the positive injury I suffered in this respect was compensated by the assurance that his lordship, the governor-general in council, "anticipates that the result of your employment will be alike useful to government and honourable to yourself."

The messenger who brought the letter for me had delivered a packet to the nawâb, from his son and the persons in his train at Lúdíána. I knew not the nature of their communications, but this nobleman, who had hitherto been so assiduous in his attentions and civility, treated me with such

marked rudeness, that I abruptly left him, and without taking leave mounted my horse. This was the first fruit of my new appointment; nor was it until some time after his return to Kâbal that our intercourse was carried on in the same friendly manner as before. To do the nawâb justice, when he found that he had been deceived, or that he had misunderstood matters, his concessions and apologies were ample.

I have before noticed Saiyad Keramat Alí, and the dilemma from which he was relieved by the death of Amír Máhoméd Khân. It appeared that, in consequence of disagreement with Captain Wade, he had requested permission to return to India, which was granted, and Mohan Lâl, the Hindú múnshí, and companion of Lieutenant Burnes in his travels, was appointed to succeed him. The saiyad, however, on the return of Dost Máhoméd Khân to Kâbal, with the view of maintaining his position until the time fixed for his departure, adopted a new line of tactics, and fell in heartily with all the projects of the politicians of Kâbal as to alliances with the British government, while he imputed his misdeeds relating to the correspondence with Shâh Sújáh al Múlk, to the known wishes of Captain Wade, however they had proved contrary to those entertained by the government. Previous to his departure he had procured a document, sealed by a number of persons, calling upon the government to depute an envoy to Kâbal, and that envoy to be

either Captain Burnes or Captain Conolly; and when he finally left he vowed that he would procure the removal of Captain Wade from Lúdíána, or be himself sent across the kâla pání (black water), that is, be transported.

He had also other wrathful intents; in consequence of which, when at Lahore, he rejected the presents tendered by Ranjit Singh, and commanded him to desist from his aggressions on the Afghâns. Finding the Máhárájá not perfectly compliant, he stroked his beard, and swore he would play the deuce with him when he got to Calcutta. The old prince, terrified, applied to Captain Wade at Lúdíána for protection against the saiyaḍ.

The first duty I had to discharge was to set the various parties at Kâbal right with the political agent—no easy matter—and “to *correct any misconceptions* which the nawâb may be *inclined* to form from his (the saiyaḍ’s) representations;”—again a difficult task—for as Captain Wade also wrote, “I could hardly have credited the accounts which I have received of his intrigues since he went to Cabúl, had I not myself acquired an insight into his *transactions* at that place, both while he was there and since his return, that clearly proves his *deceitful* conduct, and the *gross* subterfuges to which he can have recourse to serve his own mischievous designs. The impositions which he has been practising on the nawâb are, I understand, of the most glaring nature. His removal from Cabúl must be regarded as a for-

fortunate event. There is no knowing the extent to which he might have involved the interests of government had he remained. His sole object while there seems to have been to deceive the Barak Zais into an extravagant belief of his own importance, at the expense, if possible, of the just influence of his immediate superior. He was long ago warned by me not to interfere in the affairs of the chiefs, whoever they might be; that his duty was merely that of a reporter of passing events. Such an interdiction was likely to be very intolerable to his intriguing disposition; and considering his irritable temper, much of his real or affected discontent, rancour, and malice, towards every one who has at all interfered with him, may, no doubt, be ascribed to my detection of his attempts to impose on the credulity of these people." Farther, "The nawâb and all his relatives and retainers, ought now to be convinced of their extreme folly and weakness, in trusting to the specious words and promises of their unworthy adviser, Keramat Alí. The governor-general has desired me to inform the nawâb, that he cannot recognize the saiyaḍ as a proper channel of communication, and has not replied, therefore, to the letters of which he was the bearer. I have done so, and will thank you to reiterate the injunction, as well as to point out to the nawâb and his family the propriety of confining their correspondence to the prescribed channel of the officer charged

with the conduct of the intercourse existing between the two states, and to send copies, as ordered, of all letters that he may desire to send to other quarters."

It will be seen that the commencement of my official labours was under auspicious circumstances. I never took the trouble to ascertain, precisely, what the saiyad had done,—that he had done a little I have shown, and I found that he had bound the nawâb, and many other persons, to support him by oaths on the Korân. I treated the matter less seriously than did Captain Wade, and in the course of two or three months, by the assistance of friends, had succeeded to put the nawâb, and others, in a more friendly disposition. An evil, greater in my estimation than the irritation occasioned to Captain Wade, arose from the political lessons given by the saiyad to Dost Máhoméd Khân, and the principal people at Kâbal, for he instructed them not as things were, but as he fancied them to be; this was unfortunate, and so was his connexion with the Persian adventurer, Abdúl Samad; and his errors here were afterwards felt in their effects. I had also no small trouble in inculcating the propriety of compliance with Captain Wade's notions of the etiquette to be observed in correspondence with himself and the government; and I remembered that, in Saiyad Keramat Alí's time, some objections had been made to the mode in which letters were

despatched from Kâbal, it being insisted they should be put in proper envelopes, and then enclosed in silken bags. This produced some merriment in the darbâr, where many thought that, as Afghâns, their letters might reasonably enough be forwarded under felt covers.

CHAPTER XIV.

Attempt to assassinate the Amír.—His anxiety.—Letter from the governor-general. — Views of the government, and of Captain Wade. — Commencement of communications with Persia.—Máhoméd Hússén.—Allah Yár Khân's letter.—The Amír's progress. — His prayer at Alí Bâghân.—Prognostications.—Dreams.—Mr. Harlan's mission. — Súltân Máhoméd Khân's letter.—Pír Máhoméd Khân intercepted.—Deputation of the nawâb.—Junction of Súltân Máhoméd Khân. — Khaibar chiefs. — Ranjit Singh's movements. — Negotiations. — Truce.—The Amír's cunning.—Rage of Pír Máhoméd Khân. — Committal of Pír Máhoméd Khân. — Various counsels.—Arrival of Ranjit Singh. — His energy and dispositions. — Mission to the Afghân camp.—Amír decides on retreat.—Proposals to Súltân Máhoméd Khân.—Síkhs envoys made over to Súltân Máhoméd Khân. — Retreat of the Amír.—Arrival in Khaibar.—Súltân Máhoméd Khân's conduct. — Search for Súltân Máhoméd Khân.—Letters from Súltân Máhoméd Khân. — Disposal of the army. — Return of the Amír to Kâbal. — Mírza Samí Khân's wrath. — Evils of the Amír's injudicious policy.

ON our road from Kâbal a courier had informed us of an attempt to assassinate the new amír in the camp at Jelálabád. The offender proved to be a man once in the service of Fatí Máhoméd Khân, the father-in-law to the nawâb. Máhoméd Kúlí Khân justly observed, that the loss of the amír at such a crisis would be a great evil. Whatever may have been Dost Máhoméd Khân's suspicions as to

the inciters of the intended crime, he did not judge fit to express them at this juncture, and the assassin himself was, I believe, suffered to go unpunished.

At Jelálabád the amír was sufficiently employed; and Mírza Samí Khân drew up plans for the disposition of the army in the conflict which was to take place with the infidel Síkhs. There is little doubt that the amír began to distrust his vaunted power for the expulsion of his foes from Pesháwer by force of arms, and would have been glad, by any fair pretext, to have been enabled to withdraw from the contest, and on this account he anxiously looked for replies to letters he had addressed to Captain Wade and to the British government. I am not aware of the nature of these letters, but can readily imagine they were numerous enough. I sometimes saw the nawâb, but, under his irritated feelings, to very little profit; and sometimes I saw Mírza Samí Khân, who was civil, but asserted, that until informed by the nawâb he did not know that Saiyad Keramat Alí's actions were disapproved of by Captain Wade.

While the army was yet at Jelálabád a letter was received from the governor-general. It was opened with expectations far from realized by the contents. The amír merely smiled, Mírza Samí Khân felt much surprised that no answer had been given to what he considered the essential point, affirmed that the liveliest hopes had been entertained, and that the matter was one which could

have been easily arranged by the British government. The nawâb was very wrath,—avowed that the government was pleased that the Afghâns should be exterminated; and his sentiments being re-echoed by his friends about him, I was glad to get away from them.

The governor-general's letter, which would have been a very good one at another time, had now arrived *mal-à-propos*. Subsequently, after the amîr's brief and fruitless campaign had terminated, and he had returned to Kâbal, I received a letter from Captain Wade, explanatory of his own views and those of the government at this period, which now there can be no harm to disclose, and that cannot be better done than in the political agent's own words:—

“ With regard to the anxiety of the amîr and his brother for the arrival of an answer to their letter, soliciting the mediation of the British government to settle their quarrel with the Sîkhs, the letters which I despatched to them on the 6th of March will have prepared these chiefs for the *reluctance* which is felt by our government to become a party in such an affair. I regret the result *sincerely*, and endeavoured to avoid, by submitting a proposition, which if approved, would in its effects have, in all probability, secured Dost Máhomed Khân's present object, and laid the foundation of an alliance between him and our government bene-

ficial to the interests of both parties, without disgusting Ranjit Singh or compromising the obligations of friendship due to him. Government, however, has taken a different view of the subject, and it behoves us, therefore, to try and establish by *other* means that influence in Afghânistân which it is our object to obtain.

“In the letter of the governor-general, which will probably have been shown to you, a plain declaration is made to Dost Máhomed Khân and his brothers, of the desire of the British government to form a close connexion with them by an interchange of *commercial* advantages. They are not likely, at first sight, to discern the benefits which they will *assuredly* derive, in a *political* point of view, from an alliance formed on such a basis, and may, in their indignation at the apparent indifference with which our government has regarded their application for assistance against the Síkhs, think that nothing but a motive *purely selfish* has dictated the counter-proposition which we have offered; but I need not observe to you, that should Dost Máhomed Khân be disposed to encourage our *ostensible* object, a *real* advantage may be gained by him, as concerns the future importance and strength of his government, by entering *heartily* into such a connexion with our government as his lordship’s letter has indicated.

“I herewith enclose copies of the letters which

I have just addressed both to the nawâb and the amír, which will give you some insight into my sentiments. It is impossible for me to exert any *direct* interference with the dispute which is now raging between them and Ranjit Singh, without being authorized to do so by government, but my opinion is, and I have expressed it to Abdúl Ghíás Khân's preceptor and his companion, that the amír should use *every endeavour in his power* to negociate a peace with the Síkhs. He committed great precipitation in bidding defiance to the Máhárájá at the time he did. If determined on hostility, he should have ascertained *beforehand* whether there was any person on whose aid or assistance he could depend, instead of declaring war, and finding himself left to prosecute it with no other resources than his own, when it was too late to retrace his footsteps with credit. Notwithstanding this fatal error, I still anxiously hope that some *means* may be devised by Dost Máhomed Khân, who has, on several occasions nearly as difficult as the present, given such great proofs of the fertility of his genius, to extricate himself, without any serious loss of honour, from his present embarrassing position. I sympathise deeply with him, and though I cannot use the authority of government, the obligation I am under 'of cultivating a good understanding' with him and his family will not make me backward in availing myself of *any opportunities* which my personal in-

fluence may afford me, and of which I may *legitimately* take advantage, of restoring an amicable feeling between him and his ambitious neighbour.

“I generally concur in the truth of the opinions which you have stated, to justify an exertion of British mediation (to put a stop to the contest which has perhaps ere now endangered the political existence of Dost Máhoméd Khân), and shall send a copy of the eloquent appeal which you make in his favour to government, with such remarks as appear calculated, in my opinion, to throw light on the proper line of policy which it is our duty to pursue at the present crisis, but I doubt the disposition of the government to involve itself, *at once*, in such direct political alliance as the amír and his *immediate* interests require. The threat of seeking the support of a *rival* power shows that want of foresight for which the Afgháns are proverbial. If they reflect on their relative situation to the British government, they *must* see that such a step *might* prove *more* destructive of their independence than *any* which they could possibly take.”

It would be contrary to the plan I propose for observance, to comment upon this letter.

The threat alluded to of seeking the support of a *rival* power was, in some measure, attempted at this very time. Máhoméd Hussén, since memorable as having been one of the agents employed by Dost Máhoméd Khân, being about to return

to Persia, his native country, requested a letter for the shâh. Máhoméd Hússén had for some years resided at Kâbal in the Serai Máhoméd Khúmí, engaged in traffic, and bearing a most disreputable character. He had become one of the companions of Saiyad Keramat Alí, and latterly, since Abdúl Samad had been admitted to the amír's confidence, had avowed himself to be a correspondent of Abbás Mírza. I doubted the truth of this statement, and that I was justified in doing so was afterwards evidenced; for, when in Persia, he never announced in his intercourse with any one that he had been so employed, which he would not have failed to do, if only for the purpose of arrogating a little credit to himself. I was not aware of the communication made through Máhoméd Hússén at the time: and when I became informed of it I also learned that he had proceeded to Bokhára, and, not seeing his way clear into Persia, remained there. Subsequently, it was again pointed out to me that Máhoméd Hússén had carried letters to the Shâh of Persia; and supposing that those written in the Jelálabád camp were designated, I did not pay much attention to the information; and, still later, when a letter from Allah Yár Khân at Meshed apprized the amír of Máhoméd Hússén's arrival there, and of his despatch to Tehrân, I suspected it to be a fabrication, not being aware that Máhoméd Hússén had returned to Kâbal, and re-

started with fresh credentials. Notwithstanding the marked rudeness of the nawâb to me, when the first letters were given to Máhoméd Hússén, I must do him the justice to state, that he refused to be a party to them, and affirmed that he had always advocated a connexion with the British government, and would continue to do so. This fact I learned from others, as well as from himself.

On the 5th of April the amír broke ground from Jelálabád, and by easy marches reached Bas-sowal. It was clear he lingered on the road, awaiting, possibly, some overtures from the Síkhs, and at Alí Bâghân he was favoured with a letter from Attá Singh, a brother of his former acquaintance, Jai Singh. There also the festival of Id Khúrbân was celebrated; and the amír, on the occasion, offered up prayers for success in the impending conflict. He exclaimed audibly, of course that he might be heard by those around, that he was a weak fly, about to encounter a huge elephant; that, if it pleased God, the fly could overcome the elephant, and he implored God to grant him victory. Neither did he neglect an appeal to the more profane arts of divination, and Hazáras in the camp, skilful prognosticators of events to come, consulted, agreeably to the custom of their country, the blade-bones of sheep. Many, also, were the dreamers of the army; and the interpretation of their mysterious visions was necessarily made to indicate the elevation of the amír,

and his triumph over his deadly antagonist, Ranjit Singh, variously typified as a serpent, a dragon, or a devil. While such ingenious devices were imagined by the amír, or tolerated by him in others, it is just to observe, that the economy of his camp, and his management of the overflowing hosts of Gházís, were excellent.

It had been understood that Mr. Harlan was deputed from the Síkh camp on a mission to Súltân Máhomed Khân at Bájor; and, while at Básowal, a letter was received from the latter chief, stating the fact of Mr. Harlan's arrival, and that he had been put to death, while his elephants and property had been made booty. This news created a sensation in the camp, and the multitude exulted that by the act Súltân Máhomed Khân had detached himself from Síkh interests. I had the satisfaction to listen to the "Alamdillahs!" or God be praised! of the nawâb's dependents, who vociferated that, now the brothers had become one, and had wiped away their enmities in Feringhí blood. Mírza Samí Khân, however, pretended to be amazed; it was hard, he said, to believe that Súltân Máhomed Khân had committed so foul an action, yet here was his messenger and his letter. The amír, he said, would have received Mr. Harlan with honour, and have dismissed him in like manner. Whether the letter was really sent by Súltân Máhomed Khân, or fabricated by Mírza Samí Khân, I know not; but a

day or two disclosed that Mr. Harlan's reception had been most flattering, and it afterwards turned out that the amír's brother easily fell in with Sikh views. Mr. Harlan, with reference to the part he now played, said he did not deceive Súl-tân Máhoméd Khân, but allowed him to deceive himself, and, of course, he reported to his employers that the chief was gained over.

Here also joined Pír Máhoméd Khân; he had lingered behind at Jelálabád, and now dropped down the river on a float. He probably had intended to have passed on to Lâlpúra, and to have joined his brother in Bágor; but the amír, anticipating, or apprized of his project, had stationed people on the river-bank, who compelled him to bring-to. He had, therefore, no other course than to renew his oaths of fidelity to the amír, and to swear that he renounced brotherhood with Súl-tân Máhoméd Khân, should he make arrangements with the Sikhs without the amír's sanction or concurrence. Accompanying Pír Máhoméd Khân were two or three men most obnoxious to the chief of Kábal, and their countenances too plainly manifested their fears, and they were unwilling sojourners in camp.

From Bássowal the nawâb was allowed to proceed to Bágor, pledging himself to return with Súl-tân Máhoméd Khân and the Bágor levies to Dáka, where the amír proposed to halt for a few days.

When the army marched from Bássowal, I re-

turned to Jelálabád, where I resided with an old acquaintance, Mírza Agâ Jân. At Dáka, the nawâb, with Súltân Máhomed Khân and Mr. Harlan, returned to camp. The ex-chief of Pesháwer was attended by his own troops and a respectable force from Bájor, under orders of Amír Khân, the cousin of Mír Alam Khân, who was too wary to trust himself in the amír's power. Mr. Harlan did not find the amír so facile as his brother, and was upbraided for his interference in matters which could not concern him, as well as for promoting dissension between him and Súltân Máhomed Khân. Mr. Harlan found it necessary to send the amír a Korân, and to make many promises; in allusion to which Mírza Samí Khân, in a letter to Alladád Khân, the chief of Ták, who had succeeded his late father, Sirwar Khân, remarked, that Mr. Harlan had used many sweet words, but that he was aware that Feringhís were like trees, full of leaves, but bearing no fruit,—an allusion so happy that he sent a copy of the letter to me, if not for my instruction, possibly for that of the political agent at Lúdiána. Mr. Harlan, after witnessing a review of the army at Ghâgarí, was, no doubt, glad to receive permission to pass over to the Síkh camp, from whence he had come.

In the passage through the defiles of Khaibar many of the maleks, or petty chiefs of Pesháwer, who had been caressed, and appointed to lucra-

tive offices by the Síkhs, forsook them, and repaired to the amír, excusing their defection on the plea of religious zeal. The amír, with his host, finally encamped at Shékhân, in the plain of Pesháwer, resting on the skirts of the Khaibar hills.

Ranjit Singh, it is supposed, was not inclined to believe that the amír would venture to lead his forces into the plain, and, apparently under this belief, although he had left Lahore, seemed to loiter in the country east of the Indus. The tidings that the Afghâns had actually encamped and taken up position at Shékhân, made the Máhárájá accelerate his movements, and he despatched peremptory orders to his sirdárs at Pesháwer to avoid a general action, and await his arrival.

In consequence of such orders, the Síkhs renewed negotiations to amuse the amír until the Máhárájá appeared. The nawáb and one Agá Hússén were diplomatists on the part of the Afghâns; the latter commissioned to watch the conduct of the former, justly suspected by the amír. Agá Hússén, however, did more, and affirming that he had a complete ascendancy over the amír, received three thousand rupees, promising to prevail upon him to return to Kábal.

At length Súltân Máhomed Khân proceeded to the Síkh camp, where he remained for some time, and through his instrumentality a truce was agreed upon until the arrival of the Máhárájá.

The ex-chief, it is fair to observe, had proposed perfect reconciliation to his brother, provided he would affix his seal to a bond, and engage to make over Pesháwer to him, whether recovered by force of arms or by negotiation. The amír refused, acknowledging that he intended to give Pesháwer to his own son, Máhoméd Akbar Khán. Súltán Máhoméd Khán then demanded the promise of Jelálabád, which was alike denied. Without hope, therefore, from the justice or generosity of his brother, he considered himself free to further his own interests in any mode and in any quarter.

The amír, conscious of the evil likely to arise from the presence of his brother in the hostile camp, in despite of the existing truce, secretly encouraged his Gházís to attack the Síkhs, dishonestly hoping thereby to endanger him. Between the Afghân and Síkh armies were numerous ravines, and the inequality of surface was favourable to the approaches of the Gházís, and sheltered them from the fire of artillery, so much dreaded. They made several desultory attacks, and even two rather serious ones upon their infidel enemies, and brought some heads into camp, together with plunder from tents. They were probably indebted to the orders of the Mâhárájá, which reduced the Síkhs to the necessity of awaiting assault, and then merely to stand on the defensive. Pír Máhoméd Khán on these occasions was, or feigned to be, in great agony. He presented

himself to the amír, and drawing his dagger, threatened to plunge it into his own breast, denouncing the baseness of exciting the Gházís to action, with the desire that his brother might be put to death in retaliation. The amír protested that he could not restrain the ardour of his Gházís, affected to order that they should not violate the truce, and again encouraged them to do so, and to help themselves to the golden ornaments of the infidels. It was the custom daily to send out a karowal, or advanced guard, commanded by one of the principal chiefs; and when it was Pír Máhoméd Khân's tour of duty the amír made such demonstrations as engaged the attention of the Síkhs, and ultimately committed the karowal in conflict. Pír Máhoméd Khân was a brave soldier, and creditably acquitted himself; but, in receiving the congratulations of the amír, he did not forget to inveigh against the atrocity of the scoundrel.

The Afghân councils were strangely discordant. Mírza Samí Khân constantly advocated battle, and he was supported by the amír's eldest son, Máhoméd Afzil Khân, Hájí Khân, and others. Hájí Khân consistently proposed a variety of schemes, and wished, with the cavalry of the army, to describe a chirk, or circle, and to intercept the Máhárájá between Atak and Pesháwer. Abdúl Samad professed an irresistible desire to combat, and only demanded that his foe, M. Avitabile, should be

given to him, that he might blacken his face, and parade him through the streets of Kâbal on a jackass. The nawâb and his party insisted that it was useless to contend against the superiority of the Sîkhs, and the amír, whatever his boasts, showed that he felt the same.

There are some who think that, had the amír brought on an engagement, the occasion was not unfavourable, and that it was possible he might have dispersed one or two of the Sîkh camps, as, while the sirdárs individually would not obey the orders of any one but the Mâhârájá, there was a doubt whether, if attacked, they would have assisted each other.

The veteran ruler of Lahore at length appeared in camp, and his presence diffused confidence amongst his troops, and unanimity amongst his sirdárs. Disorder and confusion were converted, as if by magic, into order and regularity, and the energy inspiring the bosom of the chief was communicated to those under his command. An immediate change was directed in the disposition of the army, hitherto dispersed about the village of Búdání. The camp nearest to the Afghâns remained stationary, to disguise the contemplated movements, while upon it the rest of the army formed in the shape of a semi-circle, completely enveloping the Afghân position. The Sîkh forces were classed into five camps, their fronts protected by artillery; behind it were sta-

tioned the regular infantry, of which thirty-five battalions were present, and again behind them were the various masses of cavalry.

While arranging his troops for attack, the Máhá-rájá deputed, in company with Súltân Máhoméd Khân, Fáquír Azzízáldín and Mr. Harlan to the amír's camp, with instructions to prevail upon him to retire, and to bring Súltân Máhoméd Khân back with them. While the envoys were still urging their suit the amír became informed that his camp was surrounded, and that but one of two alternatives remained to him, to fight, or to retreat without loss of time. He was confounded for the moment. He clearly saw that his enterprise had failed, and that his vigorous antagonist had determined to bring matters to a prompt issue. To engage had perhaps never been his purpose; he was conscious of his inferiority; and when he reasoned, that, by remaining on the ground he at present occupied he ran the chance of losing his guns, munition, stores, and equipage, when he would be reduced to the level of Jabár Khân, Máhoméd Zemân Khân, or any other of his relatives, he at once determined to retire, while the opportunity permitted. Of course he consulted in his dilemma with his confidential minister, Mírza Samí Khân, and with one or other of them originated the ingenious idea of carrying off with them Ranjit Singh's envoys, Fáquír Azzízáldín and Mr. Harlan. It was conceited, that the old Síkh chief could scarcely

exist without the fáquí, who officiated as his physician, prepared his drams, and was absolutely necessary to him. It was hoped that Ranjit Singh would be obliged to cede Pesháwer in exchange for the indispensable fáquí, or that, at least, a good round sum would be gained as ransom. Resolved to act upon a suggestion so admirable, it occurred that a degree of odium might attach to a violation of the respect which amongst Afghâns, as amongst all other nations, is conceded to the persons of envoys. The tact of one or the other proposed a means of obviating this difficulty, as regarded themselves, and it was agreed to criminate Súltân Máhomed Khân. That sirdár was accordingly sent for, and the amír, exchanging oaths on the Korân, informed him of what was meditated, and expressed his wishes that, as the elchís came to the camp in his company, so he should carry them off, when everything they wanted would be obtained. Súltân Máhomed Khân, who at once perceived that the amír's object was to gain his point at the expense of his own reputation, and irreparably to ruin him in the estimation of the Síkh ruler, feigned exceedingly to approve the plan, promised entire compliance, and took all the oaths on the Korân required of him, considering them, made under such circumstances, as invalid. The amír summoned the envoys to his presence, and coarsely reproached and reviled them,—foul language with Afghâns being the preliminary step when more violent mea-

tures are contemplated. He made them over to the charge of Súltân Máhomed Khân.

Dost Máhomed Khân had too much experience in Afghân camps not to know that an orderly retreat is almost an impossibility. He did, however, his best to obviate confusion, but could not prevent the greater part of the army bazár from being plundered by his Gházís, now become a disorganized mass, and formidable only to their *quondam* friends. The regular troops were drawn up in line, while the artillery and camp-equipage was borne off, and when it had entered the defiles of Khaibar they retrograded and closed upon the rear. It was evening when the retreat was effected, and it had become dark when the amír reached the heights of Ghâgarí, within the Khaibar hills. There his ears were assailed by the reports of the Síkh salvos, discharged in triumph at his flight, just made known to them. He turned round, and looking towards Pesháwer, uttered an obscene oath, and said, "Ah! you kâfrs, I have taken you in!" referring to the capture of the fáquírs and Mr. Harlan, who, as he supposed, were in custody of Súltân Máhomed Khân in the rear.

The latter sirdár, penetrating the evil intentions of his brother, and seeing an opportunity of recommending himself to the favour of Ranjit Singh, in place of carrying off the envoys, escorted them towards their own camp, and having placed them beyond danger, retired to Minchíní, north of the

great river, there to await the decisions of the Máhárájá.

It should have been explained, that the reasons for making free with the persons of the envoys, as advanced by the amír, were, that they should be detained as hostages for the fulfilment of the terms they proposed, which were, that the amír should retire, and that half the territory of Pesháwer should be restored to Súltân Máhoméd Khân. As the amír saw no chance of obtaining the country for himself, he affected to consent to this arrangement, but next demanded some ratification, or some proof of the Máhárájá's liberality towards himself, and representing that he had been put to great expense in putting forth the expedition, suggested that it would only be considerate to give him a few lákhs of rupees by way of náll-bandí, literally, to pay the charges of shoeing his horses. He protested that he had not come to make war with the Máhárájá, whom he revered as a father, but to make peace. The fáquírs promised that the request should be considered by the Máhárájá, and the amír observed, that the claim was then admitted, and that the elchís should remain with him until it was adjusted, and until Pesháwer had been made over to his brother. The fáquíir urged that it was necessary he should return to the Máhárájá to apprise him that his propositions had been accepted, and of the claim for náll-bandí now advanced by the amír. The latter replied, it was

unnecessary, as all could be done by a short letter. Finally, when the fáquír was weary of offering argument in vain, and hinted at the indelicacy and impropriety of the step the amír seemed to intimate he had decided upon, he was told that the Síkhs were kâfrs, and unlike any other people, as they were breakers of oaths and treaties, therefore anything was fair in dealing with them or with the agents employed by them, although it would not be fair with other people. The amír's march from Shékhân was continued to Jabarghí, and in the morning he sent to enquire where Súltân Máhoméd Khân was located, not doubting but that, with his prisoners, he was in camp. The sirdár was not to be found; still the search was continued until about noon, when a courier was announced from Súltân Máhoméd Khân. The man produced a letter, addressed to the amír, which commenced with the most violent abuse, and after calling the amír everything that was bad, required that he would instantly dismiss his brother, Pír Máhoméd Khân, with his náib, Hâji Khân, and restore all the guns, muskets, and other articles of which the amír had robbed him. Another letter, addressed to Pír Máhoméd Khân, informed him that it had come to his (Súltân Máhoméd Khân's) knowledge that the amír had concerted to blind him, and that to preserve his eyes he had been compelled to retire. The amír and Mírza Samí Khân were excessively chagrined and mor-

tified, having, besides the failure of their schemes, been duped by Súltân Mâhoméd Khân, while they were exposed to odium and ridicule. Indeed, many of those who heard the letter read were obliged to retire from the amír's presence that they might indulge in laughter unrestrained.

The amír had been particularly anxious to preserve the army entire, that he might boast of having retreated with honour, but his utmost efforts could not keep it together. It broke up and dispersed. He had wished to have inspected it at Dáka, but as this was impossible he purposed to assemble it at Jelálabád, and despatched a small guard of horse to Súrkh Púl with orders to turn back any fugitives from the army seeking to reach Kâbal. The first strong body that arrived at Súrkh Púl overpowered the guard, and plundered it of horses, arms, and accoutrements. The amír, in disgust, made no farther attempt to restrain the flight of his men, and eventually reached Kâbal privately by night. For some three or four days he would admit no one to his presence; it was supposed that he felt ashamed. Mírza Samí Khân in like manner secluded himself, reviled the amír for not having fought as he counselled him, broke his kalam-dân, or pen-and-ink case, the badge of his office, and vowed that he would have nothing farther to do with state-affairs. That the amír had acted injudiciously in originating the contest so ingloriously concluded, there can be little doubt.

He had engaged, without allies or resources, in a struggle to which he was unequal, and the consequences of his failure proved a fertile source of subsequent embarrassment to him, while he had thrown away the advantages he possessed, and those which he might have derived from his victory over Shâh Sújâh al Mûlkh. He had also discovered that he could not justly calculate upon the religious ardour of the people, for although large numbers of Gházís did join his standard, they were not in the countless myriads he expected, and many of them were from countries independent of his jurisdiction. Having deceived them, as it were, in this expedition, he certainly could not expect that they would attend him on any future occasion.

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CHAPTER XV.

The Amír's reproaches.—His projects.—State of Kábal.—Intrigues and plots.—Retrenchments.—Hâjî Khân's conversations.—The Nawâb's irresolution.—Overtures from Lúdíána.—Their effect at Kábal.—Results.—Dexterity of Sir John Hobhouse.—Violence of intrigues.—Letter from Captain Wade.—Arrival of Rashíd Akhúndzâda.—Proscription lists.—Rashíd Akhúndzâda's subtlety.—Mírza Samí Khân's retreat.—Precautions of the devoted.—Danger of my situation.—Interviews with the Amír.—Rashíd Akhúndzâda opposes the Amír's plans.—Useless expostulation of the Amír.—Abdúlah Khân consigned to plunder.—Seizure and spoil of Abdúlah Khân.—The Amír's repentance.—Restitution of property.—Popular dissatisfaction.—Captain Wade's interference.—Resignation of appointment.—Cessions by Ranjit Singh to Súltán Máhoméd Khân.—Letters from Pesháwer.—The Nawâb's willingness to be deceived.—Interview with the Amír.—Events of 1836.—Series of intrigues and alarms.—The Amír's plans.—Strives to gain over Máhoméd Osmán Khân.—Sudden panic.—Hâjî Khân's recommendation.—The Khân and his Hindú creditors.—The Amír's financial measures.—Movements of the Sikhs and of Kámran.—Hâjî Khân's remarks on the times.—Departure of Pír Máhoméd Khân.—His attempted assassination.—Impediments thrown on his retreat.—Letters from India.—Resume duties.—Intercourse between Kábal and Lúdíána.—Renewed communications with Persia.—Hâjî Ibráhím.—Hússén Alí.—Ivân Vektavich.—His seizure, release, and despatch from Bokhára.—His intentions and assertions.—Abdúl Samad's projects.—His influence in the Amír's háram.—The Amír's evasion.—Journey to Tátang.

As soon as the amír recovered sufficient confidence to sit in darbár, there was but one topic

on which he indulged, and that was the treachery and perfidy of his brothers, and other relatives, who, he said, had betrayed him to the Sîkhs, and would not allow him to fight. He believed, or affected to believe, that it was essential to the success of his future plans that they should be removed, together with other obnoxious persons; and the mode and manner of compassing their degradation or destruction now absorbed his attention. As the business was a serious one, he strove, if not to procure the sanction of, to palliate his proposed measures to his brothers, at Kândahâr, and they feigning to acquiesce in the propriety of all he urged, promised to send Rashîd Akhúndzâda to Kâbal, at the due time, to represent themselves, and to assist and countenance him in the necessary acts of justice, which he had determined to carry through. Kâbal was in a cruel state of consternation, as it had been ever since the return of the amîr; the streets were the theatres of constant conflicts and slaughters, of which no one seemed to take notice, and the city appeared on the verge of delapsing into anarchy. The darbâr of the amîr was unattended, and the functions of government seemed to be suspended. The chance is, had there been a leader upon whom the mass could have confided, a change in the rule of the country might easily have been brought about. Various parties applied to the Nawâb Jabâr Khân, who, while he listened to every one, and expressed

himself as dissatisfied as any other person, was deterred by indecision of character, or perhaps prudence, from profiting by the opportunity to elevate himself. A cause of much disquietude and stormy altercation during this season of plots and alarm was the necessity the amír found himself under of reducing his army, and of providing for the increased numbers now dependent upon him, owing to the breaking-up of the Pesháwer darbár and government. There were many of his Bárák Zai relatives, and many Dúráńís of respectability, as well as others, who had previously subsisted in the employ of Súltân Máhomed Khân, whose claims even the amír did not dispute. The question was, how to satisfy them. As it was impossible to entertain both his full amount of ancient troops and these new-comers, he adopted the medium course of rejecting the inefficient, and of retaining only the effective of both classes. So much opposition was offered that he succeeded but partially to carry his point. But when he called upon his chiefs to sacrifice a portion of their allowances to meet the wants of their relatives and friends now expelled from Pesháwer, he was assailed by loudly-expressed discontent, and amongst the most noisy and querulous was Hâjí Khân, who, if he had not acquired his former influence, indulged in all his accustomed freedom of speech.

Previous to starting on the late expedition he had been questioned as to what was likely to

happen, and replied, "Nothing serious; but as long as the business is about the amír will put his arms around my neck and cry Hâjí Lâla! what is to be done? Hâjí Lâla! what is to be done? When it is over, he will think of nothing else but, by some pretext or other, to reduce my stipend." I had visited the khân in the camp at Jelâlabâd, and he asked me what I thought of pending affairs. I put to him the same question. He said, it was hardly possible to contend with the numerous and disciplined troops of the Sîkhs; that he had recommended the amír to postpone the expedition until next year. He complained that the amír placed no trust in any one but his own sons. All the brothers, he averred, should have been present; those at Kândahâr were not inclined to move; while Súltân Máhoméd Khân was at Bájor, everyone knew for what purpose. Had the enemy been Shíás, he said, being still Mússulmâns, there would have been a means of accommodation with them, as there would had they been Faringhís, who do not trouble themselves about the religion of other people; but with the Sîkhs, unclean infidels, who were neither one thing nor the other, there was no coming to an understanding. He concluded by lamenting that with such antagonists there was no room or justification for the exhibition of treason. The khân, however, proved prophetic, as regarded the fate which awaited his stipend; but he took the

amír's resolution in very ill-humour, and was anxious, by strong language, to have set it aside. One day he addressed the amír:—"If I tell you that you have surpassed your brother, Vazír Fatí Khân and Sirdár Máhoméd Azem Khân; that you went with twenty thousand men, and placed yourself in front of seventy thousand Síkhs, that you discharged your guns upon them, that you fought them, and brought their heads into your camp,—then you are angry. If I tell you, that you went and showed them your nakedness, and sneaked off,—then you are angry; there is no saying anything to please you." The amír put his turban on the ground before Hâjî Khân, and conjured him to have pity, remarking, "You know what I was when you first became acquainted with me in the vazír's camp." The reduction of allowances being general, the bulk of those affected by it wished to have broken out into rebellion, and were very earnest with the Nawâb Jabâr Khân that he should resist its application to himself, which they would accept as a signal to unsheath their swords in his support. The nawâb was irresolute; and on the amír opening the subject to him, yielded at once, and consented to the diminution of his allowances.

When the wrath of Mírza Samí Khân had become a little appeased, and he condescended to resume the toilsome duties of office, he never ceased to complain of the neglect shown by the Sâhibân of Hind. About this time I received the

letter from Captain Wade, of which I have given extracts in the preceding chapter. In other letters from the mírzas in attendance upon Abdúl Ghíáz Khân, the same officer had explained in detail the steps to be taken to bring about a commercial treaty. I could not but remark, that such information was conveyed through unofficial channels; still, as communicating the wish of the government, I had only to support it to the extent of my power. It was understood that Shâh Sújáh al Múlk, on his return to Lúdíána, had not for some time been favoured by a visit from the political agent, who reproached the unlucky monarch for having made him a daroghghwí, or liar, to his government; and it may have been supposed, that owing to that functionary's temporary ire Dost Máhoméd Khân was indebted for the present overtures. I had conferences with the nawáb and Mírza Samí Khân on the subject, and enforced the propriety of doing everything that Captain Wade seemed to intimate and desire, and after much delay answers were sent. There was a struggle between the nawáb and Mírza Samí Khân as to which of them should be deputed to Lúdíána to arrange the treaty, the former considering he was entitled to be so honoured, and the latter deeming himself to be the fit person on account of his enjoying the amír's confidence. These differences were unfortunate, as both parties had been given to understand that it was Captain Wade's wish to be invited to Kâbal

himself, and I considered this so very likely that I regretted my inability to persuade them simply to express their entire concurrence as to the advantages of the proposed arrangements, and to leave the ulterior steps to the pleasure and discretion of the political agent. Mírza Samí Khân addressed a letter to Captain Wade, in which he expressed his great desire to see him, which, however, could not be gratified without an intimation from Lúdíána. I suspected this would prove fatal to the commercial treaty, and eventually a letter was received in reply, noting that however great the mirzá's desire might be to see Captain Wade, it could not exceed that officer's desire to see the mírza; and nothing farther was heard of the overtures for a commercial treaty. The errors of the Kâbal politicians may, however, have benefited Shâh Sújâh al Múlkh, for the political agent's anger towards him moderated, and at an interview, when the Shâh lamented his ill success, he was soothed, and informed that God would make all things easy.

It became my duty to report, from the slight encouragement with which Captain Wade's overtures were received at Kâbal, as well as from the juggling to which they gave rise, that, in my opinion, the advantages of a commercial treaty were not duly appreciated, as well as that the time was adverse to the consideration of such matters; and, singular enough, I see my sentiments

at this time, 1835, brought forward in a recent debate in the House of Commons by Sir John Hobhouse, to justify the aggressive line of policy adopted in 1838.

The receipt of the letters from Lúdíána did not affect the active intrigues carried on in Kábal, which raged with undiminished violence. The nawábs, and others of the amír's relatives, were closely combined; and the Kazilbáshes wished to have made me the medium of opening a correspondence with Lúdíána, for the purpose of reinstating Sháh Sújáh al Múlkh. I, of course, declined to become the medium, and even to see their principals, as had been wished. These people were anxious to have begun the business without reference to the nawáb, and only asked my countenance. I necessarily was unable to respond to so much zeal. I, however, apprised the nawáb of part of what had been proposed, and he prayed me to say nothing which might damp the effervescence. The audacious Abdúl Samad, by a person in his confidence, offered to seize the amír and to proclaim the sháh, provided I gave my assent. The amír's eldest son, in close alliance with the nawábs and their faction, swore the amír was not his father, and stigmatized him as something worse than a knave. Pír Máhoméd Khân, with Hájí Khân, were inclined to the most desperate measures, and constantly upbraided the nawáb for his dilatoriness.

In these troubled times, when the slightest movement would have involved the country in anarchy, I preserved the same steady course, yet, as in duty bound, reported circumstances as they arose and came to my knowledge, to Captain Wade ; and the notice he took of them will be seen by the following extracts from his letters at this period :—

“ Lúdíána, 25th July, 1835.

“ I have to thank you for the zealous attention which you continue to evince in the discharge of the duties that have been imposed on you. I am well aware of the difficulty which you must sometimes experience in encountering the intrigues that at present prevail in Kâbal, and in conciliating the good-will of the different parties who are now contending for the gratification of their own views and interests at that place, but my confidence in your discernment assures me that you will be able to meet any contingencies that may arise with ability and discretion, and in a manner best calculated to secure the reputation, and promote the acknowledged designs of our government, in opening the navigation of the Indus. It will be a pleasing office to me to bring your services from time to time to the notice of government, whenever I find that I can do so with propriety, and I hope they will ultimately reap their full reward.”

In the same letter the replies from Kâbal, re-

ferring to the commercial overtures, are alluded to. "By the present opportunity I have the pleasure to send you the letter which you wished me to write to Dost Máhoméd Khân, together with my replies to two letters addressed to me by Mírza Abdúl Samí Khân and Mírza Rajab Alí, which I have left open for your perusal. Copies of two letters sent to the amír and his brother, are likewise enclosed for your information. My letters to the two mirzas are merely in reply to letters received from them, of the contents of which I conclude you are aware. It is not consistent with the usage of our government, whatever it may be of theirs, for its officers to correspond with people in the relative situation which they hold to their chiefs. The chiefs themselves, too, are in the habit of writing to the head of our government, with a frequency which is embarrassing to government, when it cannot respond to their letters in a tone agreeable to their expectations and wishes; and I approve of the discretion which you have used in discouraging the transmission of letters which appeared to you to be objectionable in principle." And again: "The present crisis of affairs in Kábal is a highly interesting one. I heartily hope with you that it may eventually tend to place our relations with that country on a better footing than they are at present. The means are equally, if not more, in the hands of the Barak Zais than our own, but as the different parties concerned

refer the consideration of their conflicting views to me, and I have no authority to favour one more than another, it is difficult for me to express any opinion as to the course which they ought respectively to take, that is not authorized in some measure by the communications which I receive from government. In the case of Shâh Sújâh's last expedition, I was obliged to reply to similar appeals by observing, that the Barak Zais ought to be the best judges of what consisted with their own welfare; and I do not feel entitled to deviate from that expression on the present occasion, though I deem it my duty to communicate everything that you report, for the information of government."

I shall not comment on these extracts farther than to observe, that there is no longer any allusion to commercial overtures, and that, as before explained, the political agent's intercourse with Shâh Sújâh al Múlk had been renewed.

Captain Wade had justly described the crisis of affairs in Kâbal as a highly interesting one, but it had not yet arrived at maturity. Rashîd Akhúndzâda, as agent to the brother-chiefs of Kândahâr, reached the city, and we had to look for the development of the projects which the amír and his adviser Mírza Samí Khân had concerted. The Akhúndzâda pretended perfect acquiescence, but was instructed by his employers to counteract the amír's plans. Lists of the proscribed were drawn up. The first comprised twelve names of

the amír's relatives and other principal men. The second contained about one hundred names of persons of minor consideration, and of all classes and descriptions, but who, being supposed to possess wealth, were deemed fit objects for plunder and slaughter. Rashíd Akhúndzâda cleverly performed his part. He simulated entire approval and compliance with everything the amír proposed, won his confidence, and became entrusted with all his secrets. The Akhúndzâda had, however, due attention to his own profit in the delicate business, and while assiduous in cultivating the good graces of the amír, he was in constant communication with those of the adverse and devoted faction, who strove, by valuable presents, to secure his favour. He alternately soothed and excited their alarms, but never allowing their apprehensions wholly to subside, contrived to keep them in that state of incertitude and uneasiness which preserved unimpaired his importance to them, and induced the necessity for them to be very liberal, and to be unable to refuse anything which he desired or coveted. The Kândahár agent, a shrewd man, was so avaricious that it has been remarked of him, that were he placed in a naked room, rather than leave it without taking something away he would scrape off the plaster from the walls. On this occasion there can be no doubt but that he greatly enriched himself at the expense of those whom the amír had consigned to destruction.

The day for the general seizure was finally fixed ; the crafty Mírza Samí Khân having arranged everything, so that, as he imagined, it only remained to act, withdrew himself to the Koh Dáman, on pretence of looking after his villages, but in reality to put himself out of the way, that he might hereafter assert that all had been done without his sanction or knowledge ; and that, in case of failure, he might return to the city with good grace as a mediator. The amír could scarcely have been ignorant that his designs had become matter of notoriety. Copies of his lists were in possession of many. The Nawâb Jabâr Khân, moreover, had openly taxed him with his dark intentions in darbâr, and upon his denial had given up his sources of intelligence, which a little confounded him. Supported, as he conceived, by Rashíd Akhúndzâda, he determined to work out his plans. The individuals exposed to danger did not neglect their precautions. They kept their retainers under arms night and day, and took especial care not to call upon the amír together, that they might not be seized in a mass ; also, when they did attend they were numerously accompanied by armed followers. In this unpleasant state of affairs my house in the Bálla Hissár was assaulted for five successive nights by bands of muffled villains. I quietly filled my house with armed men, and without taking farther notice, bided in tranquillity the course of events. It is just to observe, that I did not so much suspect the amír,

however capable he was of any enormity, as I did the unprincipled Abdúl Samad, and others. This man had been desirous of forming an acquaintance with me. Seeing no possible benefit likely to arise from intercourse with such an individual, I declined to have anything to do with him, but however civilly I excused myself he was not the less offended. Now that he might reasonably calculate upon a period of anarchy and confusion, I supposed he considered the occasion favourable to destroy me, assured that at such a time there would be little inquiry or calling to account. In this conjuncture Fatí Máhomed Khân, Popal Zai, himself one of the proscribed, represented to the Nawâb Jabâr Khân the peril which menaced me in the Bálla Hissár, and the nawâb promised to send for me on the morrow. He was too much occupied with his own cares and apprehensions to think of me, and forgot to do so. I had decided not to shift my quarters, so the nawâb's omission was unimportant. Until this year, although I had lived in the country since the spring of 1832, I had never called upon the amír, as I had nothing to say to, or to do with him, and so far as I knew, while aware of my presence, he did not concern himself about me. I had become intimate with his eldest sons, and of this circumstance, most likely, he was informed. Subsequent to my appointment, he had sent for me twice, and, to judge from the evidence of his language, for the express purpose of intimidating

and insulting me. I did not allow myself to be put down, and answered him in a tone similar to that in which he addressed me. At length the evening came when Dost Máhoméd Khân proposed, the following morning, to put into execution his long-cherished and cogitated plans of blood and plunder. He fancied himself about to be elevated above the treachery of his relatives and their adherents, while treasures were about to flow into his coffers which would enable him to wage eternal crusades and warfare with the Síkhs, and other infidels. He sat meditating on his fell purpose, awaiting Rashíd Akhúndzâda, when that important personage made his appearance. With a countenance full of dismay, he announced that all had transpired, and plainly told the amír, that he must not think of putting his designs into effect, for he had just left the nawâbs and their confederates, who had exchanged oaths, and sworn to repel force by force. The amír was sorely incensed, but the Akhúndzâda pressed his point, insisting that violence must *not* be thought of, or ruin would follow. Their conversation grew very animated, but the amír saw that he had been foiled, and understood on whose side the Akhúndzâda had ranged himself, while, left as it were alone, he had not even Mírza Samí Khân to consult. He asked the Akhúndzâda why he had come from Kándahár to deceive him and to overthrow his plans. This question brought on a discussion, which closed by the amír receiving per-

mission (I believe I rightly express the state of the case) to seize Abdúlah Khân, the Atchak Zai sirdár, on the next day. He was inimically regarded by the chiefs of Kándahár, and was personally obnoxious to the Akhúndzâda, while he was suspected of having much wealth. Being a Durání sirdár, no one felt any sympathy for him, and he was unconnected with the nawâbs and their faction. As the amír was disappointed with respect to the capital prizes he had coveted, it was judged becoming to glut his avarice with one of smaller consideration. This affair settled, at midnight the amír sent for Abdúl Samad, and made arrangements for the disposition of the battalion. Two companies were ordered immediately to the palace, for now, in turn, the plotter of so much mischief became influenced by fear. It had been proposed that the wives of the amír should invite the ladies of Abdúlah Khân to visit them, as they would in that case array themselves in their jewels, which could be secured within the háram, while their lord and his adherents were despoiled without. So flagrant a breach of hospitality found its repro-bators, and the foul idea was dismissed. In the morning Abdúlah Khân was sent for by Máhoméd Akbár Khân, and coming as unsuspecting of fraud as he was innocent of crime, was accused of corresponding with Kámran of Hérát, and made prisoner. His retinue was despoiled of horses and arms, while a company of soldiers was despatched

to take possession of his house and property. The amír's visions of gold and jewels were not realized; and after he had divided the horses acquired amongst his sons, relatives, and principal chiefs, making them, in a manner, accomplices in his guilt, and silencing their reproaches by making them sharers in the profit derived from it, little was left to his own lot beyond a few shawls, carpets, felts and copper vessels. He now grew ashamed either of the deed, or of the small advantage attending it, and ingenuously confessed his sorrow in darbár. The khân múlla remarked, that he should have thought of contrition before he committed crime. After some time Abdúlah Khân was set at liberty, his horses were returned from those to whom they had been distributed and restored to him, as was most of his other property. The amír had sold his shawls to merchants, who had sent them to Bokhára; and as they could not be recovered, a draft for their value was given. The amír had discovered that he had been duped by Rashíd Akhúndzâda, and that the seizure and spoliation of the Atchak Zai sirdár were acts rather agreeable to the chiefs of Kândahár than profitable to himself. Public opinion, which in Kâbal has a beneficial and controlling influence, and often checks the irregularities of its rulers, was loudly expressed, and the degradation of a man whose only error was fidelity to the Bárák Zai family throughout its various fortunes, was indignantly reprobated. The tale of correspondence

with Kámrán no one believed, and it was deemed absurd to expect money from a man who had been subjected to spoil but the preceding year by his employers at Kândahár.

At an early period of my antiquarian researches I had, through the medium of Colonel, now Sir Henry Pottinger, made proposals to the Bombay government, over which the Earl of Clare then presided, and they were favourably received. I had subsequently the satisfaction of receiving the assurance that my labours were appreciated, a valuable testimony, because I felt that it would not be given unless judged to be merited. Captain Wade, aware of this connexion, on requesting me to correspond with him, and before I received notice of the appointment as agent, had, on the 5th of December, 1834, in allusion thereto, accurately described it as "one of a scientific nature," and properly continued, "and will not, of course, interfere with the connexion which you have formed with me, as such a collision might prove embarrassing to all parties." So soon, however, as the duties of agent were, to use Captain Wade's appropriate term, "imposed" on me, and he considered me well within his grasp, I found that it was plainly his intention to interfere, and that he was very careless as to producing the collision and embarrassment he had formerly deprecated. From the correspondence which ultimately became revealed, as well as from other sources, I observed with

regret that he was abetted by the then Mr. Secretary Macnaghten, and that he had succeeded temporarily to embroil me with Colonel Pottinger and with the Bombay government, who honourably supported their own officer. I saw no alternative, therefore, but to tender the resignation of an appointment which was made instrumental in promoting strife and mischief, and did so with one hand while with the other I forwarded a full explanation to Colonel Pottinger. I now felt myself at liberty, as winter had set in, to retire from Kâbal; and leaving behind its politics and intrigues, repaired to the milder and serener atmosphere of Tâtang.

I was not so easy in mind as to resume old pursuits with any pleasure, and did little more than while away the winter months. About this time Ranjît Singh, finding that the occupation of Peshâwer was not only expensive but even difficult—although on the retreat of the amîr a fortress of considerable strength had been erected on the site of the old citadel, and other forts had been constructed in the country,—thought prudent to secure the services of Súltân Máhoméd Khân by giving to him Hashtnagar, and the Doâbelh, north of the Kâbal river, with the southern districts of Kohât and Hângú, which his troops could not well hold; and this prudential act gave him an opportunity of boasting that he had fulfilled his arrangements with Dost Máhoméd Khân.

Súltân Máhomed Khân's arrival at Pesháwer was followed by the despatch of numerous vaunting letters to his brother and relatives at Kâbal, and they attached more than due credit to them for the time. The Nawâb Jabâr Khân was so assured that Súltân Máhomed Khân was in a condition to act offensively that he not only entirely fell in with his supposed views, but rejected the summons of the amír to return to Kâbal. It was to no purpose I pointed out that he was in error: he was unwilling to dismiss an illusion so agreeable to his wishes. Orders after orders came from Dost Máhomed Khân, still the nawâb prolonged his stay; and finally, when he could not bring himself to obey them, he despatched his family, and I availed myself of their company to the city, and again found myself in my old quarters.

The amír had naturally kept himself informed of my movements and actions; and he appeared more satisfied than formerly as to my intentions. I had an interview with him shortly after my return; and he chose to be civil, remarking, that I ought to call upon him, as we were neighbours, and it was only seemly that one neighbour should enquire occasionally after another; and probably, in consequence of my having combated the nawâb's inclinations in favour of Súltân Máhomed Khân, would frequently observe, that I was at least not his enemy, and, moreover, listened approvingly to

the praises which many in the darbár now ventured to bestow upon me.

It is needless to detail the political events of this year (1836), as they would principally turn upon the abortive attempts of the amír to dissipate the confederacy of his relatives, and their measures to counteract him. Generally, they would practise upon his fears, which were easily excited; and the stratagem sufficed to divert his attention from them to other objects. The presence of Súltân Máhoméd Khân at Pesháwer enabled them to procure an abundance of eloquent epistles suitable to their views; and when they wanted these it was easy to forge them; and his brother, Pír Máhoméd Khân, provided with his seal, could readily affix it and make them sufficiently authentic. It must be acknowledged that the amír was not suffered to remain in repose. If disposed to be tranquil, Pír Máhoméd Khân would present himself with a letter, said to have been just received from his brother, and addressed to himself or to his mother. Prefacing the delivery by protesting that he was bound to produce any communication from that quarter, and of course that he was not answerable for its contents, the letter on being read would be full of the most opprobrious terms and menaces, and consequently extremely irritate the amír. The latter had been anxious to have carried into execution the dark plans of last year, and was desirous of doing the

business himself, without trusting to Rashíd Ak-húndzâda or others. His doubts, however, as to the results led him to endeavour to detach some of the confederacy, and he selected Máhoméd Os-mân Khân as one likely to be worked upon. When he thought him sufficiently prepared, he divulged his intentions, and said, "Let us take a knife, and cut through the flesh of our arms to the bone; and when we have mangled and mutilated ourselves, no one can reproach us with mangling and mutilating others." Máhoméd Os-mân Khân reported to his friends all that passed, and returned to the amír to listen to fresh intimations of his designs. I do not think there was much reason for apprehension this year; but on a sudden the amír was overwhelmed with letters from various persons, announcing that Súl-tân Máhoméd Khân, with a large force, was stationed in Bájor, ready to descend upon the valley of Jelálábád. All who were in the secret exclaimed, "Good heavens! what are you about? why sleep when the enemy is at your doors?" The business was so well managed that the amír was panic-struck, and although he could not comprehend the danger, feared it. He inquired what was to be done? Hâjí Khân replied, that troops must instantly be despatched to secure the passes leading from Bájor and Pesháwer to Jelálabad. The amír asked who would go? The khân replied, that he would, and that Abdúl Samad should be

sent to Khonar. Hâjî Khân ordered his peshkhâna to Síáh Sang, where it remained for a month, and was then silently withdrawn. A considerable degree of ridicule was caused by the manœuvres put into play on this occasion; and they were never clearly understood, for it soon became known that Súltân Máhomed Khân had never quitted Pesháwer. Had the amír dispersed his troops, and deprived himself of his battalion, he would have been left alone in Kâbal at the mercy of his adversaries,—a position in which they might have been pleased to see him, but one into which he was too wary to place himself. He probably discovered the futility of attempting to involve the whole of his obnoxious relatives in destruction by a *coup de main*, and henceforth his policy led him to essay their subversion by attacking them singly.

Hâjî Khân, who had been so eager to display his zeal, availed himself of the opportunity to improve his finances, and called together some Hindús of the city, to whom collectively he was indebted seven thousand rupees. They attended with alacrity, presuming he intended to settle their accounts preparatory to entering upon his campaign. He addressed them in an oration, setting forth, that he was about to engage in a war with infidels, and that, adverting to its chances, they all knew how disgraceful it would be to a Mússulmán to die in debt. That he owed them seven thousand rupees,

for which they held his bonds; they would confer a signal favour upon him, and at the same time perform a worthy action, if they returned them, and allowed him to go to battle with a clear conscience. He had always been their friend in the *darbár*, and they had made large profits in their transactions with him; and they well knew that if he returned safe and victorious they would not be losers by him. He had not a rupee to move his men from the city, and they would confer an everlasting favour upon him if they advanced him two thousand rupees at so important a crisis; in doing so, they might expect that their riches would increase vastly in this world, and they would all become cows in the world to come, for so charitable and generous a deed could not but secure its due reward. The Hindús were astounded, but the *khân* was irresistible, and procured the surrender of his bonds, with the two thousand rupees, for which he gave an order for grain on *Chahár-bâgh* of *Lúghmân*.

The large military force the amír deemed it advisable to keep up, and to which he was in some measure compelled, pressed heavily upon his finances, and a multitude of expedients were put into practice to meet the extraordinary expenses it involved. No opportunity was neglected of seizing property, and although a pretext, more or less valid, was generally urged, extreme dissatisfaction prevailed, and the popularity of the amír

diminished daily. An effort made to increase the revenues derived from the Ghiljí districts of Ghazní threw them into insurrection, and the Ghiljí districts of Kâbal were on the verge of revolt for the same reason. In both instances the amír gained a trifle, notwithstanding the Ghazní Ghiljís defeated his troops. In the autumn Máhoméd Akbar Khân marched into Taghow, and after some severe fighting, in which men of consideration were slain, possessed himself of the valley. Here also tribute was enforced. Many of the troops employed in this expedition went provided with baráts, or orders for their pay, drawn out in anticipation. Such orders are described as being on the stag's antlers, meaning that the stag must be first caught.

Abroad, while to the east the Síkhs were consolidating their power at Pesháwer, and extending their arms and influence on the western banks of the Indus, now actually occupying the level country of Dáman, in which formerly only their agents resided, while they pushed their troops into Banú; to the west, Shâh Kámran demonstrated that he was able to leave Herát; and his army spread over Sístân, which he rendered tributary. Of all men living there was no one so dreaded by the Bârak Zais as Shâh Kámran. For many years civil dissensions and intrigues had confined him within the walls of Herát, and ~~it~~ was supposed that he would never be competent to leave them. Having purified his house, agreeably to his own fashion,

by murder and banishment, he now appeared in the field, and but for the views of his minister, Yár Máhoméd Khân, which were opposed to his progress eastward, would very probably have possessed himself of Kândahár. His movements, however, prevented some contemplated seizures at Kâbal, Hâjî Khân suggesting that the times were critical, and remarking, with some propriety, that when a man was abroad who would spare none of them, it behoved them not to destroy each other.

The close of this year was marked by the departure from Kâbal of Pir Máhoméd Khân, half brother to the amír, and full brother to Súltán Máhoméd Khân. Of the amír's relatives he was the most turbulent, and therefore most apprehended. A daring and desperate man, he was particularly desirous of acting, and the more prudent Nawâb, Jabár Khân, had frequently trouble to restrain him. He had, besides, money, and was therefore enabled to keep his troops together, and of them he had as many as seven hundred, chiefly Atchak Zais and Ghiljís. The amír, constantly informed of all his plans—for it was notorious that his writers had been corrupted—thought it necessary to be rid of him, and had twice sent assassins by night to his house. They missed Pír Máhoméd Khân, but on the first visit carried off money and valuables to the amount of twenty-four thousand rupees, and on the second, to the amount of five thousand rupees. Complaining to the amír, the

sírdár was jeeringly told, that most likely the Nawâb Jabár Khân had done the evil, as every one knew he entertained robbers. Matters having come to this extremity, Pír Máhoméd Khân saw the necessity of leaving Kâbal, and after much debate and altercation did so. Many of his followers were seduced by the amír, and remained, while his eldest son even returned from Bhút Khâk. Orders were sent to the authorities at Jelálabád to obstruct his passage by every means short of actual violence; not to admit him within the town, and to tamper with his dependents. Other orders were sent to Khonar, to the Momands, and to the Khaibarís respectively, instructing them not to grant a passage through their countries either to Bájor or to Pesháwer. Máhoméd Akbar Khân precipitately gained Jelálabád from Taghow, where his brother, Máhoméd Haidar Khân, was sent from Kâbal to replace him, but, in despite of obstacles, Pír Máhoméd Khân, with the remnant of his followers, reached Lâlpúra, where he was met by Amír Khân of Bájor with a good force, and together they marched into Bájor.

Soon after my return to Kâbal in the spring, I had received letters from India; among them one from Mr. Trevelyan, in reply to a communication I had made containing the reasons which had compelled me to tender the resignation of the appointment imposed on me. I was recommended to continue to discharge the duties, and was told,

“Your sole duty, is to keep the supreme government informed of all that is going on in any of the countries beyond the Indus, intelligence of which reaches Kâbal, with the addition, whenever you think proper to offer any, of your own views and comments upon the particulars communicated by you. By doing this well, as you have hitherto done, you will render an important public service, and it will always be open to the Governor-general to employ you in any other way he may think proper.”

In deference to these sentiments, although not very satisfactory ones, I renewed my correspondence with Captain Wade, in despite of an official letter I received at the same time, with a very obsequious private one from that officer, and which would have fully justified me to have declined any farther intercourse with him, even according to his patron, the then Mr. Secretary Macnaghten, who, when informed of it in 1838, and being told that a friend of mine had characterized it as an insolent and imperious letter, remarked, that it merited severer reprobation.

During this year little correspondence took place between the authorities in Kâbal and Lúdiána. The accession of Sir Charles Metcalfe to the government in India had produced letters, indeed, from the amír and nawáb Mírza Samí Khân ; remembering that Sir Charles had corresponded with the Vazír Fatí Khân ; but no replies were received,

the policy of the government being for the moment opposed to dubious connexions with states beyond the frontiers; which events have proved was the wise policy, since a deviation from it has produced such signal disaster and disgrace.

It became my duty this year to report the despatch of fresh letters to Persia, which were sent by Hâjî Ibrâhîm, a brother of Abdúl Samad. This profligate man had amassed some money, for, besides large allowances, he trafficked, made ducats, and scrupled at no means of increasing his wealth. It was a point with him to send it out of the country, and his brother was commissioned to return to Persia, and to deposit it there. Of course, letters were procured to the shâh, if no other object were hoped from them, that the importance of Abdúl Samad might be made known. As the journey was dangerous to the Hâjî, Hússén Alí, a young man of the Bálla Hissár, who had more than once gone as far as Orenburgh, was prevailed upon to accompany him to Bokhára. I was well acquainted with Hússén Alí, and he took leave of me previously to his departure, but never mentioned that he was charged with letters for the Russian government, nor did any one suspect that he was. He had a commission to purchase furs for Abdúl Samad, and spontaneously offered to be useful to me in any way.

At the close of last year letters from Bokhára had announced the presence there of Ivân Vekta-

vich, whose name has since been sufficiently notorious. A merchant of Kâbal, then at that place, noted to his correspondent that Vektavich had been arrested as a Persian spy, when he declared himself to be a Russian, and was in consequence released by the Ghosh Begí. Thereupon presuming, he openly took notes, which being reported to the amír, that chief proposed to slay him, but the Ghosh Begí again privately sent him away, with an escort, to Mangkishlák, on the Cás pian. Vektavich had requested of the merchant to forward letters to me, and to Mr. Court at Lahore, but his sudden departure deprived us of the honour of his communications. Vektavich gave himself out as a most important personage, and declared that Russia, being at ease as regarded Persia and Turkey, intended to interfere in the affairs of Central Asia.

Vektavich was still in Bokhára when Hâjí Ibráhím and Hússén`Alí reached, and the latter went in his company to Mangkishlák. Hâjí Ibráhím, in a letter from Bokhára, reported the flight of Hússén Alí, and that he had made off with a number of his ducats, and requested his brother to confiscate his house and property at Kâbal. Abdúl Samad did not do so, and observed, that Hússén Alí had gone on his business, or, as was supposed by those who heard him, to buy furs.

In reporting the despatch of letters to Persia I remarked, that it remained with the government

to consider the value to be placed on such communications, and to treat them lightly or otherwise. In case they were seriously judged, there were ready instruments of arresting the evil, viz. Shâh Sújâh al Múlkh at Lúdíána, or Shâh Kámrán, already in the field. From the tone in which I set forth the matter, it must have been clear that my opinion was, that very little notice need be taken of them.

Amongst the consolatory events of this year, was the assurance communicated to me, by orders of the Bombay government, that the vindication, into which the subtle conduct of the political agent at Lúdíána had forced me, was entirely satisfactory.

I remained this year in Kâbal until its termination, and should most likely have passed the winter there, when I became apprised of a circumstance which induced me to accompany the Nawâb Jabâr Khân to Tátang. The amír's eldest son, Máhomed Afzil Khân, had been appointed to collect the revenue of Khúram, which for two years had been neglected, and Abdúl Samad, with his battalion, was commissioned to attend him. This fellow, it seemed, had urged my seizure upon the amír, striving to delude him with the notion of finding twenty thousand rupees in my house. I was unconscious of all this, when I received an intimation from a quarter I was not permitted to suspect, that it was necessary to be on my guard against the designs of Abdúl Samad. According to the

information given, the amír, when the subject was proposed to him, honourably affirmed that I was his guest. He therefore was not consenting. Abdúl Samad, who possessed a singular influence with the amír's most powerful wife, endeavoured to obtain her support to the step he recommended; and from this lady's control over her husband, if she really exerted it, I had reason for mistrust. The day for Abdúl Samad's march drew near, and he strenuously pressed upon the amír to proceed to extremity with me, saying, that unless he did he should not leave Kâbal satisfied. The amír replied, that he might go with his mind perfectly at ease, for he should very soon be informed how Masson Sáhib had been treated. I understood that the amír by his answer had evaded the request, and ridden himself of Abdúl Samad's importunity. I, however, informed the Nawâb Jabâr Khân of what I had heard, without making him acquainted with the source of my intelligence, and he, observing, very truly, that they were all scoundrels, and not to be trusted, proposed that I should accompany him to Tátang, to which I agreed; and in a day or two after we started.

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CHAPTER XVI.

Aggressions of Harí Singh.—Preparations to repel it.—Despatch of troops to Jelálábád.—Plans of attack.—Attempt to assassinate the Amír.—Retaliation of Máhommed Akbar Khân.—March into Khaibar.—Cannonade of Jamrúd.—Attack by Harí Singh.—Discomfiture of Afghâns.—Battle renewed by Shamsadín Khân.—Danger of Amír's sons.—Feat of Máhommed Akbar Khân.—Harí Singh mortally wounded.—Retreat of Síkhs.—Mírza Samí Khân's prayers.—Death of Harí Singh.—His intrepidity.—Disputes in the Afghân camp.—Altercation between Abdúl Samad and Mír Afzil Khân.—Retreat of Afghân army.—Hâjî Khân's deeds in the Doâbeh.—Lénah Singh's messages.—Hâjî Khân's letters to Kâbal.—Contest with Lénah Singh.—Retreat of Hâjî Khân.—His suggestions at Jelálábád.—His treachery.—Abdúl Samad's effrontery.—His degradation and dismissal.—Interview with the Amír.—With Máhommed Akbar Khân.—Mírza Samí Khân's advice.—Correspondence between Síkhs and Afghâns.—Return to Kâbal.—Adventure at Jigdillik.—Reception of Máhommed Akbar Khân at Kâbal.—Dismissal of Hâjî Khân.—His welcome at Kândahár.—His connexion with the British.—His understanding with Gúlú.—His pursuit of Dost Máhommed Khân.—His final disposal.—The Amír's displeasure with the Ghazní chiefs.—Zerin Khân's remark.—Motives of displeasure.—Removal of Shamsadín Khân.—Remonstrance of Kândahár Sirdárs.—Supposed plans of the Amír.—The Amír's exultation.

THE commencement of the year 1837 was distinguished by active preparations on part of the amír

to resent the occupation of a petty castle at Jamrúd, by Harí Singh, the Síkh governor of Pesháwer. The amír was apprehensive that the step taken by the Síkhs was a prelude to farther aggressive measures, and he saw, in the intimidation and submission of the people of Khaibar, the road laid open to Jelál-abád. Jamrúd, it may be observed, is at the very entrance of the defiles of Khaibar. The amír did not on this occasion himself leave Kâbal, but deputed his confidential minister, Mírza Samí Khân, to superintend the operations, his son Máhoméd Akbar Khân commanding the troops. It was not the actual intention of the amír that collision should take place, but it was judged necessary to make a display of force, and to secure the Khaibarís, endangered by the proximity of the Síkhs. For this purpose Mírza Samí Khân was provided with money, and instructed to arrange the payment of annual allowances to their principals. It was also determined, if possible, to erect a castle and to establish a garrison in Khaibar. Five of the amír's sons were present with the army collected on this occasion; Máhoméd Afzil Khân, Máhoméd Akbar Khân, Máhoméd Azem Khân, Máhoméd Haidar Khân, and Máhoméd Akram Khân. With them were the Nawâbs Jabár Khân and Máhoméd Os-mân Khân, Sújâh Dowlah Khân, son of the Nawâb Máhoméd Zemân Khân, and Shamsadín Khân, the amír's nephew. Of the high military chiefs, were Náib Amír Akhúndzâda, Náib Múlla Momind

Khân, Máhoméd Hússén Khân, Arz Begí, Zerín Khân, and Názir Diláwar. Hájí Khân, who had previously been sent on a mission to Mír Alam Khân of Bájør, and who had returned reporting that he had settled everything, was despatched again in that direction for the purpose of invading, in conjunction with the Bájør and Momand levies, the districts of the Doâbeh, and Hashtnagar, north of the Kâbal river.

No sooner had the preparations to resist Síkh aggression been determined upon, than it was followed by one of the usual attempts to remove the amír by assassination. At midnight some one introduced himself into the apartment of Ghour Kinchíní, one of the amír's wives. Not finding him there the assassin went to that occupied by the mother of Máhoméd Akbar Khân. There alike unsuccessful, he found his way into the chamber of Azzíz Khân, Ghiljí's sister, where Dost Máhoméd Khân was sleeping. Fortunately, he was aroused, and calling upon a kaníz, or slave-girl, to bring a light, the villain made off, contriving, however, to carry off some articles of apparel, and six hundred rupees in value of trinkets from the apartment of Ghour Kinchíní. In the morning the amír consulted with Mírza Samí Khân and Múlla Momind Khân, and arrested several individuals of the Bálla Hissár, while he removed the katwâl from office. Nothing farther transpired, and the prisoners were released ; but the amír publicly asserted he knew the instigators, and would settle his

accounts with them when the expedition terminated.

Subsequently Súltan Máhoméd Khân complained that assassins had been sent by Máhoméd Akbar Khân on several occasions to Pesháwer; and it proved that he had not complained without reason; and so closely was he beset that he never moved abroad but in daylight.

Mírza Samí Khân, with the amír's sons, marched into Khaibar, and one circumstance leading to another, they advanced to the castle of Jamrúd, when becoming bold by the non-appearance of Harí Singh, a cannonade was commenced upon one of its faces. In the course of two or three days the weak defences of the place were destroyed, and the Afghâns were congratulating themselves on its being about to fall into their hands when, on the morning of the 30th April, Harí Singh unexpectedly attacked their position, and for the moment carried all before him.

The divisions of Náib Amír Akhúndzâda, Múlla Momind Khân, and Zerín Khân were broken and dispersed, being those upon which the attack bore, while their leaders were severally wounded. The unattacked divisions dispersed and fled, leaving the amír's sons, and the Nawâb Jabár Khan on the field, with a few individuals adhering to them. Máhoméd Haidar Khan, a boy, who had never before seen battle, retired weeping. Máhoméd Afzil Khân, who, at the head of two thousand men, was sta-

tioned on the plain, alone stood firm, and kept his troops together. Harí Singh, in the first instance, appeared to have the intention of attacking this body, but, observing its steady attitude, suddenly wheeled round, and fell upon the divisions ranged amongst the small eminences skirting the plain. The amír's sons, and the Nawâb Jabár Khân, while scorning to fly, were in ravines and hollows separated from each other, unconscious of what was passing around them, and fearful, lest they might be detected, to ascend the eminences to ascertain. Fourteen of the Afghân guns had been captured, and the Síkhs, supposing the victory gained, committed themselves in pursuit, when they were met by a large body of horse under Shamsadín Khân, who, not present at the attack, was on his way to the field; nor did the flight and discomfiture of his friends induce him to check his progress. Very many of the troops who had fled without combat also returned with him, and the Síkhs in turn became fugitives.

While these events were passing a small party of Sîkh horse galloped over an eminence into the hollow where Máhoméd Akbar Khân was placed, and, of necessity, a conflict took place. The noise brought his brother, Máhoméd Akram Khân, from a contiguous ravine, where no one knew he was, and together making up about one hundred men, they repulsed the Sîkh party, and Máhoméd Akbar Khân, assisted by two or three of those near

him, killed one of his infidel foes, on which account he arrogated to himself high credit. The Nawâb Jabâr Khân and Sújah Dowlah Khân had also united, and on the arrival of Shamsadín Khân made a successful charge, and recaptured a couple of guns. Máhoméd Akbar Khân, who detested both of them, hastily came and struck a spear into the ground, thereby attributing to himself the merit of the affair. At this crisis Harí Singh, who might or might not have been able to remedy the confusion which had spread amongst his troops, received a fatal wound, and was carried off the field. The Síkhs retired under the walls of Jamrúd, and entrenched themselves. Máhoméd Akbar Khân, elate at the sudden and happy change in the fortunes of the day, proposed, possibly without intending so much, to march upon Pesháwer; when Mírza Sami Khân appeared, and crying that his prayers had been accepted, and his good name preserved intact, entreated the boasting young man to be satisfied with what was done.

As soon as the action commenced the mírza had secreted himself in some cave, or sheltered recess, where, in despair, he sobbed, beat his breast, tore his beard, and knocked his head upon the ground; now, he asserted, that he had been offering up prayers, and was willing it should be believed they had been efficacious. The results of the struggle were, that the Afghâns recovered eleven of the fourteen guns captured from them; they also possessed themselves of three belonging to the Síkhs,

who, in like manner carried off the same number belonging to the Afghâns. Amongst the latter was a very large cannon, much prized, whose fellow, the Zabâr Zang, was at Ghazní; Harí Singh, remarking its superior dimensions, had directed it to be borne off upon its capture. The Afghâns had really not much to boast of in this action, although Máhoméd Akbar Khân plumed himself on a transcendent victory. The Síkhs scarcely acknowledged defeat, but their loss in the person of their chief was irreparable. That gallant leader expired, and was burnt the evening of the action. Harí Singh was possessed of great personal intrepidity, but, whether from want of judgment or from undervaluing his foes, had frequently been placed in critical situations, and at length fell a victim to his temerity. He held the Afghâns in bitter contempt, ever affirming that they were dogs and cowards, and that he knew them well.

Born in the same town as Ranjit Singh, he had been his playmate in boyhood; in mature age he became the most faithful and able of his chieftains. It is said, the ruler of Lahore was seriously affected by the tidings of his death. After the action grave disputes arose between Máhoméd Akbar Khân and the Nawâb Jabâr Khân on the propriety of moving forward; but ere they could agree powerful reinforcements had arrived for the Síkhs, which compelled the Afghâns precipitately to retire. The retreat was effected by night, and, as usual on such

occasions, as soon as the signal was given the army bazár was plundered. On reaching Dáka, Máhommed Akbar Khân wished to pass the troops under review, to prove that he had retreated in perfect order,—neither disliking, perhaps, to show that he could manage better than his father had done, nearly similarly situated. Some few of his relatives, and of the chiefs, paraded before him. The greater part refused to do so; which increased the animosity, already too prevalent, in the camp. At this place, also, high words passed in the darbár, between Máhommed Afzil Khân and Abdúl Samad; the former placed his hand on his sword, when his brother, Máhommed Akbar Khân, said to him, in Pashto, “Let the dog alone, he has often addressed more abusive language to myself.” The profligate Persian, with his battalion, had been ordered to join Máhommed Akbar Khân, and should have reached before the battle, but he had lingered on the road, and contrived to arrive after it had been fought. In the subsequent trifling operations, he was observed to be so partial to the covering of shélas, or ravines, that he acquired, in witty allusion to the Persian words of command, dosh fang, &c., the appropriate sobriquet of Shéla-fang. From Dáka the Afghâns retired to the skirts of the Saféd Koh, Máhommed Akbar Khân locating his troops along the valley of Chaplíár, while he fixed himself at the head of it, in Aghâm. The Nawâb Jabár Khân retired to Tátang.

We have stated that Hâjî Khân had been despatched towards Bâjor, it being intended that, in co-operation with the Bâjor and Momand troops, he should make a diversion in the Doâbeh north of the Kâbal river. In that district was a castle, held by a small Sîkh garrison, and the Sirdâr Lénah Singh, with a thousand horse and two guns, had been detached for its protection. Hâjî Khân found himself in command of five or six thousand men, including his own retainers, being attended by Mír Alam Khân of Bâjor, Sâdat Khân the Momand chief, and Saiyad Bábabá Jân of Peshatt, in Khonar. Procrastinating amongst the hills, Lénah Singh sent him a letter, stating that report gave him credit for being a great warrior, if so, —and he had come expressly, as he avowed, for kazzâh (or to devote himself in the cause of religion,)—why keep under the shelter of the hills. The Sîkh recommended him to advance upon the plain, where his object was likely to be attained. On another occasion, Lénah Singh sent a man to see what kind of a person Hâjî Khân was, whether fat or lean, tall or short. The khân exhibited himself, and then pointing to a man in armour sitting by his side, said, This is Mír Alam Khân, of Bâjor. He next showed the fellow Sâdat Khân Momand, and Saiyad Bábabá Jân of Khonar, with others, and dismissed him to report what he had seen. While this farce was playing Máhoméd Akbar Khân arrived at Jamrúd, and learning that

no assistance had been given to Harí Singh, saw there was just a chance of effecting a decisive impression upon Pesháwer, and desiring the khân to leave objects of minor consideration in the Doâbeh, earnestly besought him to cross the Kâbal river and join him. Hâjî Khân, who had a game of his own, wrote to the amír that Máhommed Akbar Khân had requested him to cross the river, but how could he do so with an enemy in front, and until he had exterminated him. Ultimately, advancing on the plain, the Afghâns encamped close to the castle, under which Lénah Singh was entrenched. The Momands attacked the ramparts, and it is believed would have forced them had not Hâjî Khân compelled them to desist. During the combat one of Lénah Singh's guns burst, which enabled the khân to write to Kâbal that he had won a great victory, killing one hundred to one hundred and fifty Sikhs, and capturing a gun. The annihilation of Lénah Singh was promised. His next letter was dated from Gand-âb, and announced that, influenced by letters from Súltân Máhommed Khân, the Bájor, Khonar, and Yusaf Zai chiefs had abandoned him, and that he had no alternative but to retire with Sâdat Khân Momand. The amír was sorely incensed, and the khân was next heard of at Jelálabád, where he was urging Máhommed Akbar Khân to send him and Abdúl Samad to Jamrúd, where they would renew hostilities. As the Sikhs now mustered nearly forty thousand

men at Pesháwer, it is difficult to imagine what the khân's object may have been, unless to have inducted them into the valley of Jelálabád. Súltân Máhoméd Khân, with his brother, Pír Máhoméd Khân, during these operations were both at Lahore, in attendance upon the Máhárájá. When apprised of what was passing, they sent letters to Hâjí Khân and Mír Alam, with all the presents they had received from Ranjit Singh for themselves, and instantly set out for Pesháwer. Popular rumour accused Hâjí Khân of receiving a sum of money from Lénah Singh; it was possible, but not likely. Of his treachery no one doubted.

The day of the degradation of the notorious Abdúl Samad at length drew nigh. Perceiving his influence had declined, and that his dishonesty had become known, he resolved by some manœuvre to recover himself, or by some desperate deed to free himself from embarrassment. His battalion was in arrears of pay for some months, and he profited by the circumstance to put into play a stratagem, in which the men were to perform a part. As concerted between Abdúl Samad and his captains, they arose, cut down their tents and his own, and on foot led him to Chahár Bâgh, in their way to Kábal, where they said they were going to clamour for their pay. Máhoméd Akbar Khân, with a few horsemen, rode after them, striving to prevail upon them to return. Four shots were fired at him, when he retired. The

battalion continued its route; on reaching Gandamak Abdúl Samad was seated upon a horse. When they neared Kábal he was again made to walk, and the battalion finally marched to the meadow in front of the amír's palace, where they placed their vagabond commander on the summit of a mound. His friends pitched a tent over him, with the amír's permission. Aga Saiyad Máhoméd, the amír's sandúkdár, sent to the battalion, was unhorsed and maltreated.

Towards evening Abdúl Samad was summoned to the amír's presence. He went, accompanied by twenty of his men, armed with carbines. The amír had prepared for any violent attempt, by placing a party of Afghâns at the head of the stair-case leading to his apartment, with orders to allow no one but Abdúl Samad to enter. When the fellow had passed, his followers made a vain effort to force a passage; two or three of them were wounded and all were despoiled of their arms. Some were secured, others fled. Amongst the former was one who had fired upon Máhoméd Akbar Khân, and he was ordered to be hanged forthwith. Abdúl Samad pretended that his battalion had revolted on account of arrears of pay. The captains affirmed, that they had merely obeyed his own orders, and had done what he suggested to them. Ismael Khân, Merví, the amír's mírâkor, becoming guarantee, he was suffered to go to the house of one of his disolute companions, called Shâh Sáhib, in the Arabah.

An inventory was taken of his effects, which were afterwards confiscated, and he sought refuge in the house of Khân Sherín Khân, in Chándol. Ultimately he left Kâbal and reached Bokhára, where his impudence and dexterity enabled him to secure a tolerable footing. There were many curious circumstances attending his dismissal, which I never rightly understood. It is almost certain that after his disgrace the amír's ruling lady sent him a rich dress, worked by her own hands.

When the army marched from Jelálabád towards Khaibar I returned to Kâbal, and the amír hearing of my arrival sent for me, and I breakfasted with him. He was very civil, and laughingly said, that he did not think the nawâb would be so anxious to pass the next winter at Tátang, as he certainly never would have gone there this year had he dreamed of what was to happen. When the tidings of the engagement at Jamrúd reached I congratulated him, not on the victory which had been gained, as I was not quite sure of its nature, but that his five sons had escaped accident. He noticed my qualified congratulation, but received it cordially, and I sat with him during the day. Subsequently I had business which took me to Mírza Samí Khân, at Aghâm, under the Saféd Koh at Jelálabád, and intimating to the amír my intention of visiting the camp, he approved of it. On reaching Aghâm I had an interview with Máhoméd Akbar Khân, who dilated on the recent

victory, and particularly explained that it was not owing to the wound of Harí Singh. Mírza Sami Khân had previously assured me that the sirdár had become so intelligent that it was a pleasure to converse with him, while in valour he surpassed Rústam. He prayed me to turn the conversation on military affairs and battles, averring that the sirdár delighted to commune on such topics. Máhomed Akbar Khân was affecting a little ceremony and state more than usual, particularly civil, and I was considered his immediate guest so long as I remained in camp. Desiring to see the correspondence which had passed between the sirdár and the Síkhs subsequent to the retreat, a variety of letters were read to me; amongst them was one addressed to Ranjit Singh, informing the old rájá that they knew Harí Singh occupied the castle of Jamrúd without his orders, therefore they did not mean to make war upon the Máhárájá when they marched to Jamrúd. Harí Singh was their only enemy. They would have been satisfied with the demolition of the obnoxious castle, but the sirdár attacked them, and of the consequences the Máhárájá was aware. The moment they heard of the arrival of Shâhzâdá Noh Níhâl Singh (the Máhárájá's grandson), they retired; as, with reference to the chances of war, exemplified in the fate of Harí Singh, it would have been considered a great misfortune, (and what was impossible!) that a similar accident should befall a prince so dear to the Máhárájá. I

could not forbear to smile at the display of such delicate sympathy, which Mírza Samí Khân observing, put his arms around me, and said, "Masson Sáhib, you are a lion. We were obliged to come back, because we had nothing to eat. This is what we write to Ranjit Singh." The correspondence altogether was a queer one, and Máhommed Akbar Khân directed my attention to be especially directed to a letter addressed in his name to the young Síkh Shâhzâda; he said that it was "mazzardár," or very delightful. It was so, but I do not now remember much of it.

From Aghâm I crossed the country to Tátang, where I found the Nawâb Jabár Khân. On asking him whether I should congratulate him on the recent victory, he replied, "For God's sake, do not mention it." At this time news arrived from Khonar of the decease of Fatí Máhommed Khân, the nawâb's father-in-law, which compelled that nobleman to make a journey to Khonar. I therefore started for Kâbal, and reached Jigdillik. Being well known here, I halted amongst the people of the place, who dwelt in tents, about a mile off the road, up the valley. In the evening, seated on the pinnacle of a moderately high mound, with one of my servants by my side, while on the opposite side of the valley, about eighty or one hundred yards distant, was a tree, with a rivulet flowing beneath it; I observed a man running, with a musket in his hand, and crying audibly, so that

we heard him, "Dár Feringhí lár dí?" or Is the Feringhí gone? Briskly moving under the tree, he knelt, placed his musket on the bank of the rivulet, and deliberately took aim. I remarked, "That fellow means to fire." My servant replied, "No, he can hardly mean it." "By heavens, he does!" and as the words passed my mouth the shot came, striking about a foot beneath us. We secured him before he had time to reload, which he made no offer to do, as now he appeared quite stultified. Taking his musket from him, we led him to the tents, where he proved to be one Akram Khân, a resident inhabitant there, and the youngest of three brothers. I sat up until midnight, in the hope he would reveal the instigator of the act, but both he and his brothers said that was impossible. The man was at my mercy, and had I reported the case to the amir he would undoubtedly have ordered his slaughter, even though he had been commissioned by himself, which, however, I did not suspect. Still, reasoning, there was little use in sacrificing the poor stupid fellow, when the person who prompted him would escape; I dismissed him, with the recommendation not to try his hand at such experiments again. The next morning the three brothers went off, armed to the teeth, and I quietly pursued my road to Kâbal.

In the middle of July Máhoméd Akbár Khân, with the forces from Jelálabád, reached the city; and his arrival was honoured by a grand procession

of the military. A vast deal of powder was expended. Seated on the same elephant with him was Máhoméd Osmân Khân, who had not particularly distinguished himself at Jamrúd, where he restrained his men, willing to have fought, by crying "Zentilák," or May his wife be divorced who draws a sword. Having at Dáka paraded his men before Máhoméd Akbár Khân, it was inferred his compliance, in that instance, procured him so much distinction.

Hájí Khân arrived with the rest, and in a day or two received orders to quit Kâbal. The khân became a suppliant, placed his turban on the ground before the amír, and entreated that he might be allowed to remain in his service, even upon a reduced salary. The amír was inexorable; and the khân left for Toba, with his horsemen, leaving his wives and family, who were to follow him, in the Nawâb Jabár Khân's castle at Chahâr-déh. Had the amír been capable of acting as the Vazír Fatí Khân most likely would have done on such an occasion, he would have replaced the turban of Hájí Khân upon his head, have raised him from the ground, and have forgiven him, while, instead of reducing his salary, he would have augmented it some ten thousand rupees per annum. By such procedure there was a chance that he would have compelled the khân to be honest for the future; if he failed he would then have been justified to proceed to extremities with him. The amír, no

doubt, was surfeited by his continual treason, and argued, that if he were to put him to death, however he might merit his fate, every one would join in condemning the measure, remembering that Hâjî Khân had been serviceable to him in his advancement to power. He therefore suffered him to depart, although aware that he would combine with those hostile to him, and that he was a person capable of doing much mischief. It was a common remark, that the amír was so fearful of him, and desirous to be rid of him, that he would have distributed a lách of rupees in charity in the morning if sure that Hâjî Khân would have died in consequence a natural death during the day. Some time after, it was found that the khân had made his way to Kándahár, where the sirdárs received him with *all honour*.

The khân was destined to play a prominent part in the proceedings of the British army in Afghânistân. Sir Alexander Burnes had no sooner reached Bakar than one of the khân's agents was with him, and an advance of some thousand rupees secured his good-will and services. Sir Alexander told me of the fact, and I observed that, while he was worth the money, he was a great villain, and it was necessary to be cautious with him. Before the army reached Kándahár Hâjî Khân joined it, and his defection precipitated the retreat of the brother chiefs.

. The long stay made at Kándahár probably in-

duced the khân to suspect that his new friends were not so invincible as he had supposed, and he meditated to profit by their weakness, and therefore engaged in plots with Gul Máhoméd, Ghiljí, or Gúlú, as commonly called. Having recourse to his old game of pádshâh and vazír, he proposed that Gúlú should be pádshâh and himself vazír, and that they should set up on the spoil of the British army. While this arrangement was concluded, Hâjí Khân was the confidant of the unsuspecting envoy and minister, and nothing was done without his knowledge and concurrence. The shâh, moreover, had rewarded his treachery by creating him nasír-adowlah, and Sirdár Sirdârân.

On the flight of Dost Máhoméd Khân from Arghandí, Hâjí Khân was despatched, with Major Outram, in pursuit of him. The result was, as might have been expected, for whether the khân were competent or not to have seized his former chief, few persons but the envoy and minister would have despatched him on such an errand. The khân on his return was seized and sent to India for his treason. It would have been well for the unfortunate envoy and minister had he been sent with him, for his lack of sense, and he deserved to have been. Dost Máhoméd Khân since his capture, it is said, admits two errors in his career, one that he dismissed Captain Burnes, the other that he did not slay Hâjí Khân.

Very soon after the departure of Hâjí Khân the

amír evinced symptoms of displeasure with Náib Amír Akhúndzâda, brother to Rashíd Akhúndzâda of Kândahár, and employed under Shamsadín Khân, the hákam, or governor of Ghazní; also with Zérín Khân, Bárák Zai, a colleague of the Akhúndzâda. Their jághírs were resumed, and an inquiry instituted into the accounts of Náib Amír. Zérín Khân was ordered to leave Kábal, and a message was conveyed to him that if he remained longer than two days his effects should be confiscated. The Dúrání placed his hand upon his beard, and swore, "that if he remained one day the amír was at liberty to shave it and do what he pleased with it." Mírza Samí Khân then was sent to soothe and pacify him, and to induce him to stay. It was not understood at the time why the amír should have selected these two individuals for degradation or for insult, because, while justly angry with many others for their conduct in the action at Jamrúd, he had nothing to reproach them with on that account, as both had been severely wounded. The train of events developed the amír's secret motives, and it proved that his pretended harshness was but a *ruse* to humble them, preparatory to taking the government of Ghazní from his nephew, Shamsadín Khân.

On the death of Amír Máhomed Khân the amír assumed a control over the administration of Ghazní; still the ancient officers were continued in

employment, and Shamsadín Khân succeeded his father as governor. Amír Máhoméd Khân's widows, and their families, resided constantly in the citadel, and the governor of course generally made it his place of abode. Now the amír determined to remove them altogether, to deprive Shamsadín of his government, and to place therein his son Máhoméd Haidar Khân. The measure was entirely offensive to the several members of the family, who beheld in it another instance of the amír's contempt of all family claims; but they said very little, and Máhoméd Haidar Khân, after some slight demurring, was installed in his new government.

The sirdárs of Kándahár also regarded the step with aversion, and even remonstrated with the amír. They plainly saw that the policy of the amír would ultimately lead him to Kándahár, and the occupation of Ghazní they regarded as a preliminary measure. As he would only trust his own sons, they were aware that they had a year or two of grace, until Shír Jân, now eleven or twelve years of age, should be held competent to replace Máhoméd Haidar Khân at Ghazní, who would be commissioned to Jelálabád, when Máhoméd Akbar Khân, disengaged, would be brought to Kándahár, and established there. They well knew that they had hitherto escaped because he had no son that he could spare to take up their authority, and it did not accord with his views to confide in any other than a son.

The amír was so gratified with the induction of his son into the fortress of Ghazní that he publicly avowed his exultation, and remarked, that now he felt secure, and convinced that his government had firmly taken root.

CHAPTER XVII.

Intercourse between Kâbal and India.—Letters to Lord Auckland.—Announcement of Captain Burnes's mission.—Letters from Captain Wade.—Replies.—Lúdíána Akbar.—Farther letters from Captain Wade.—Replies.—Persian Envoy.—Russian letters.—Máhomed Shâh's firmân.—Hâjî Ibrâhim's private letter.—Captain Wade's letters.—Kamber Alî's difficulties.—Kâdahâr treaty.—Lieutenant Vektavich.—Máhomed Hússén's arrival at Kâbal.—His ridiculous conversations.—Letters from Captain Burnes and Captain Wade.—Interview with the amír.—Favourable dispositions of Ranjit Singh.—Night interview with the amír.—The nawâb's counsel.—Lieutenant Pottinger's departure from Kâbal.—Remarks on his presence at Herât.—Siege of Herât.—The Governor-General's warning off.—Results.

IN September of this year, 1837, Captain Alexander Burnes reached Kâbal, on a mission from the Governor-general of India. As the consequences flowing from this diplomatic essay have been sufficiently serious, it may be useful to revert to the causes which led to it and to its progress, so far as my situation at Kâbal gave me the opportunity of observing.

It will have been noticed, that intercourse, more or less, had subsisted between the authorities at Kâbal and the political agent at Lúdíána; moreover, that Lord William Bentinck had been accus-

tomed to send letters to Dost Máhomed Khân. During the interregnum of Sir Charles Metcalf such intercourse had been interrupted, and Captain Wade was reduced to frame excuses that the letters from Kâbal were not answered. In the winter of 1835-6 the unofficial mîrzas attendant upon Abdúl Ghíás Khân at Lúdíána had reported, as they said, by Captain Wade's desire, that the British government could not treat with the Bárák Zais in consequence of their dissensions with each other. In the spring following, it became known at Kâbal that a new Governor-general had arrived in India, and nearly at the same time a letter from the mîrzas suggested, on the part of Captain Wade, that a letter should be addressed to him from Kâbal. It had been no pleasant task for me to reply to the remonstrances I was obliged to hear respecting the uncourteous withholding of replies to the amír's letters, and when I heard of Lord Auckland's arrival at Calcutta I told Mîrza Sami Khân that he might probably now write with a better chance of success. Whether he would have written or not I cannot tell, but as Captain Wade's suggestion was to the same effect, I of course supported it, and it was agreed to despatch letters of congratulation to his lordship. They were written in the usual flowery style, and sent off.

In October 1836 the amír received letters from the Governor-general, informing him, in reply to his communications, that a mission would be de-

puted to him, and letters from Captain Wade instructed us that Captain Burnes was to conduct it. The letter from Captain Wade to myself on this occasion, I give entire, as best explaining the nature and objects of the mission.

“ Lúdíána, 30th September, 1836.

“ SIR,

“ A Qasid of Nawâb Jabbar Khân accompanies your own, with letters from the Governor-general and myself to the nawâb and his brother, the amír, the purport of which I hope will be satisfactory in some degree, if not altogether to them. His lordship has determined to depute Captain Burnes on a commercial mission to the countries bordering on the Indus, with a view to complete the re-opening of the navigation of that river. He will proceed, in the first instance, to Hydrabad, to negotiate for further facilities for the trade in the territory of the amírs of Sindh; whence he will proceed to Mit-hankot, where I am instructed to meet him; and he and Lieutenant Mackeson, in concert with myself, are to devise a convenient point on the Indus for the establishment of an entrepôt, and annual fair; after settling which, Captain Burnes will proceed up the river to Attak, where he will disembark and proceed, *viâ* Pesháwer, to Kabúl, thence to Qandahar, and *viâ* the Bolan Pass, to Shikarpur, and back again to Hydrabad. The mission is declared to be strictly of a commercial character, and the object of it is to collect commercial information, and to

make known to the merchants residing beyond the Indus the measures which have been adopted with a view of re-establishing the trade by that river. Circumstances may arise to require my continued presence here; in which event Lieutenant Mackeson will meet Captain Burnes at Mithankot, and be directed by me to accompany that officer during his passage through the Síkh possessions. In your reports, subsequent to intelligence of these measures reaching Kábal, it is desirable that you should note how it is received, and any measures that the amír and his advisers may contemplate in consequence.

“I am, sir, &c. &c. &c.,

“SD. C. M. WADE,

“Political Agent.”

“To C. Masson, Esq., &c. &c. &c., Kábúl.”

From this letter it will not fail to be observed that there was little notion entertained at this time of convulsing Central Asia, of deposing and setting up kings, of carrying on wars, of lavishing treasure, and of the commission of a long train of crimes and follies.

The Governor-general's communications were received with cordiality and satisfaction, which I reported to Captain Wade.

In a succeeding despatch from that officer, dated 11th November, 1836, was the following extract:—

“It might be important to ascertain if the letters

alleged to have been written to the amír from his brothers and others at Qandahar, were actually fabrications or not, and what had transpired between Máhoméd Sháh of Persia, and the envoy from Qandahar to his court, regarding the reported intention of the Persians to advance during the ensuing season against Herát."

In a letter of 31st December, 1836, Captain Wade wrote:—"With reference to the items of intelligence contained in your letter of the 30th of August last, regarding the designs of Máhoméd Sháh against Herát, I am desired to observe that, by information received from other quarters, the Governor-general of India, in council, is led to believe that there may be more foundation than is supposed by you for the rumour relative to the chiefs of Qandahar; and as his lordship, in council, is anxious to be kept constantly informed of the affairs of Afghânistân, I have been directed to call on you to furnish me with the earliest intelligence of all important occurrences in that quarter, for the immediate information of government."

The loss of my manuscripts and papers at Kalât in 1840, incapacitates me from presenting to the public copies of my correspondence with Captain Wade for the period in which I filled the situation of agent at Kâbal, which I would have gladly done, since Sir John Hobhouse has the modesty to make me an accessory in the evil measures so lauded by him. What my opinions were, may readily be

learned from the letters and extracts I have quoted, and may quote. In reference to this letter of 31st December 1836, the recovery of a letter-book at Kalât allows me to insert part of my answer to it.

“1st February, 1837.

“Of course I have not the opportunity of knowing from what other channels the Governor-general of India in council is led in some degree to credit such rumours, but I have observed that the public prints of India have, during the last twelve months, teemed with the most fallacious statements and absurd rumours relative to Máhoméd Shâh and the Afghân countries, which must necessarily have had origin in some quarters, but that they were due to pure invention, or a desire to mislead, seems proved by subsequent events having shown their falsity.

“That Máhoméd Shâh may entertain designs upon Herât is most probable, but the tenor of all information would lead to the supposition that his means are not so matured as to allow him to march on that place.”

I may be excused to point out that a Persian paper, called the “Lúdíána Akbar,” was printed at Lúdíána, under the direction of Shamat Alí, the confidential múnshí of Captain Wade. Items of intelligence frequently appeared in this paper, certainly never put together by the múnshí; and as it was industriously forwarded to Kabal, I was often annoyed, for the statements regarding Dost

Máhoméd Khân were not only false, but so personal and insulting that they were not innocent, and that chief, while he would indignantly reject the paper, when some one officiously presented it, was wont to observe, that I wrote the lies about him. The evil corrected itself in time, for the statements were so egregiously absurd that it was admitted I should not write such nonsense, and the crime was placed on the right shoulders. In consequence of the unfounded tales and rumours I could not but notice in the Calcutta prints, I wrote to a literary friend at that presidency, asking if he knew how they originated; and although I received no direct reply to this particular question, subsequent issues of the paper, in which they appeared, revealed, that they were borrowed from the "Delhi Gazette," and that they were translations from the "Lúdíána Akbar." However, as Máhoméd Shâh was represented, about this time, to be carrying fire and sword through Afghânistân, the government grew alarmed, and applied to their officers on the frontiers for intelligence; and owing to this panic I was indebted, I presume, for the above letter from Captain Wade.

Before my reply had reached, Captain Wade would seem to have suspected he was searching for a mare's nest, for in a letter of 1st February he writes, "The reports regarding the intercourse alleged to have taken place between the Bárák

Zais and the King of Persia, and the advance of the latter on Hérat, are certainly too vague to justify any confidence in them; at the same time, in the present state of affairs, it might not be altogether right, on our part, to neglect the means of being well informed of any political events of interest that may be passing on the frontiers of Persia and Turkistán."

In a letter, dated 7th April, he replies to mine of 1st February, and the extracts I give from it are curious, on more accounts than one.

"Copies of such parts of your letters as have related to the supposed designs of the King of Persia, and the overtures said to have been made to that monarch by the reigning members of the Bárak Zai family, for the expulsion of the Síkhs from their country, have been forwarded without delay to government, as well as a copy of your report regarding the preparations of Dost Máhoméd Khân to repel the Síkhs from the occupation of Jamrút.

"If the amír seriously contemplated such a step as the last, he has lost the favourable opportunity of carrying it into effect, which the late assembly of the greatest part of the Máhárájá's troops at Amratsir, to join in the celebration of Kour Nao Nahál Singh's marriage, presented. No sooner have these festivities passed than Ranjit Singh has ordered his forces to move on Pesháwer, and their concentration in that quarter will, no doubt, render

it extremely difficult for the amír to resist their encroachments.

“I entirely concur in what you state regarding the delusive nature of the reports which are constantly appearing in the newspapers, on the subject of the designs of Máhomed Sháh on Afghânistân; yet, however fallacious they may appear to be to near observers, there are not wanting interested persons to mislead the sháh with false hopes of success in an expedition to that country, and, as it would appear from your letters of the 20th September, 13th October, and 7th and 30th November last, that Dost Máhomed Khân, or some of the Persian party in Kabâl, had been endeavouring to open a correspondence with the King of Persia, having for its object an offensive and defensive alliance with that ruler, the impression received by government would seem to have had some foundation.

“Accounts have lately arrived confirmatory of the report, that appears to have reached you by the way of Bokhára, of the entire defeat of the Persians by the Túrkmán tribes, a result which I fully expected. It is easier to speculate than to calculate on the facilities to Persia of carrying her arms into Afghânistân, so long as the British government maintains its place among the nations of Europe and the east.”

In my Lord Auckland's memorable Simla declaration one of the imputed crimes to Dost Máhomed

Khân is, that he profited by the opportunity of the presence of the Síkh troops at Amratsir to celebrate the marriage of the Máhárájá's grandson, to attack the detachment at Pesháwer. We here find Captain Wade rebuking the amír for neglecting the occasion.

I hold this letter farther valuable, as demonstrating the little value and importance attached by me to Persia, or Persian intrigues. It is fortunately in my power to give extracts from a letter of mine, dated 2nd February, which, while clearly setting forth my sentiments, will also show that I was alive to the interests of the Indian government, and not indifferent to the designs of other powers.

“I believe that the Government of India may be confident that no Persian emissaries have yet appeared beyond Herát; the ci-devant zirghar (goldsmith) of Kândahar, and such people as Abdúl Samad at Kabál, who, without being authorized, talk largely on public affairs to increase their own importance, I presume are not to be considered such.

“While the various reports circulated in these countries the last two years, such as the arrival of Máhomed Shâh at Meshed, or its neighbourhood, with an impossible amount of forces, were not entitled to belief at the time they were current,—and experience has since proved them to be false,—reports at times have reached here, of some in-

tended operations upon Khiva from Mazanderan, which looks like acting in concert with, or at the suggestion of, the power whose vessels can command the Caspian. Among these rumours one has been frequently repeated, that the shâh was felling the forests of Mazanderan. This may be true, or not; but if he could be persuaded to destroy the best defences of that province, it would, of course, be so much the more open to invasion. *The conquest of Orgenj by either Persia or Russia is probably not the easy matter some suppose*; but if the latter power have any designs upon it, it would greatly facilitate their chances of success by engaging the former to co-operate in the attempt, while both powers, it must be conceded, have tolerably good reasons for desiring the destruction of the Orgenj state. The government of India must certainly be in receipt of constant intelligence from Tehrân, where such plans would probably be partly concocted, and must become known, and perhaps it might be subject of reflection, whether it ought not to be determined beforehand what course would be best to be adopted, in the event of a possible contingency; for one of the necessary consequences of the occupation of Khiva by the Russians, or by the Persians under their influence, would be, the distribution of their agents in all countries intermediate between them and British India."

In July of this year it became known at Kâbal

that Máhoméd Hússén, who had carried a letter from the amír to Máhoméd Shâh, had returned to Kândahár, in company with one Kamber Alí, a Ghúlám Shâh, and the bearer of letters and presents to the Bárák Zai chiefs.

In a letter of 8th July, I noted the circumstance to Captain Wade:—"A day or two after I last addressed you, and when I was still at Tátang, I received an intimation from Kâbal that Kamber Alí, the Persian envoy, had reached Kândahár, and that Abdúl Samad's property had been confiscated by the amír, and that he had taken refuge in the house of Khân Sherín Khân at Chándol. Having occasion to address Captain Burnes at that time, I forwarded a copy of the communication, and requested him, when he wrote you, to transmit it, or a copy, for your information. I proceeded immediately to Kâbal, and in course of two or three days letters were received from Máhoméd Hússén, who accompanies Kamber Alí, copies of which I have also the pleasure to forward with this communication."

A little while before this, and previously to my departure from Kâbal for Jelálabád, the amír informed me of a letter sent by his other agent, Hâjí Ibráhím, the brother of Abdúl Samad, and purporting to be from the Russian envoy and minister plenipotentiary, Count Simonich. As it was forthcoming at the moment of Abdúl Samad's degradation, most people supposed it to be a fabrication,

and the amír evidently leaned to the same opinion. As he had sent it to Mírza Samí Khân, I could form no judgment upon it, but when I saw the mírza at Agham he showed it to me, and wished to give me a copy of it, but, aware that Captain Burnes would shortly arrive, I affected to treat it as a matter of no importance, as I had done with the amír, and observed, that it could be shown to Captain Burnes when he came. I, however, reported the matter to Captain Wade.

“The letter is written on pink-coloured paper; has no signature, but a seal stamped on it, with a legend, as Mírza Samí Khân reads it, ‘Graf Ivan Simonich, Wazír Múkhtahar Béhi Rússí.’ The letter is addressed to Amír Dost Máhoméd Khân, and states that Hâjî Ibráhím, after his dismissal by the shâh, waited on the writer; that favourable reports of the amír and the Afghâns had frequently reached him; and that he was their well-wisher. But for the seal, and Hâjî Ibráhím’s explanation, there is nothing in the letter to judge who wrote it; and, if genuine, it would seem intended to give weight to the shâh’s firmân. Of neither, however, has any notice been taken.”

I should have remarked, that Kamber Alí despatched from Kândahár a firmân, addressed to Dost Máhoméd Khân, notifying to him that his petition had been received, and that His Majesty the King of Kings had enrolled him amongst his faithful subjects.

Never was a man more enraged than the amír;

he swore that he had sent a letter, not a petition, and vowed dire vengeance on Máhoméd Shâh, not even intending to spare the graves of his forefathers, or of Nádír. There was hearty mirth displayed by the súnís of Kâbal, who thought their ruler deserved such a firmân, and they rejoiced that his face had been blackened.

A translation of the above letter from Count Simonich is given as enclosure 1 in No. 2, in page 5, of the Correspondence relating to Afghânistân, presented to Parliament by her Majesty's command. Succeeding it, and designated as enclosure 2 in No. 2, is a letter to the amír from Hâjí Ibráhím.

The latter document was intended by the Hâjí to be read in darbár. Accompanying it, was a very long one for the amír's private information, which, of course, neither the amír nor Mírza Samí Khân would wish to be made public. However, at the time of its arrival, having heard of it, I contrived to get a copy, from which I forwarded other copies both to Captain Wade and to Captain Burnes,—and I presume one or the other must have sent it on to government. To have published this letter would not have accorded with the views of her Majesty's ministers, as it would have demonstrated both the character of the miserable agents whose proceedings have been made the pretence of so much alarm, and would besides show how ridiculous were the apprehensions to be entertained from Persia. I have still a copy, but it is too long to be

introduced; however, amongst many other things, the Hâjî sorely complains that Máhoméd Hússén was provided with a better letter than he was; explains how the shâh was well beaten by the Túrkomans; and details Máhoméd Hússén's behaviour in the camp at Shâhrúd, where, on the occasion of a review of the troops, he took occasion to lecture the shâh. The monarch was too dignified to reply; but when he withdrew, Hâjî Mírza Aghâssi, the prime minister, said to Máhoméd Hussén: Fellow, who are you that presume to admonish the shâh? You are not an envoy, but the bearer of a letter. It is said, that the Afghâns are asses, and now we know it, or they would not have sent such a fellow as you here.

Captain Wade, in a communication, dated 19th June, 1837, wrote: "The nature of the information contained in your letter regarding the communications received by Dost Máhoméd Khân from Persia, is highly interesting, and would have fully authorized you in making an immediate report, as there seems great reason to believe that both Hâjî Ibrâhím and Máhoméd Hússén *were* accredited with letters to the Persian court, in *some form*, from the amír, though it may now be convenient to him to deny that they were acting on his authority; and much allowance may be made for the importance which has been attached to these envoys in Persia from the probable intrigues and exaggerations in which they have no doubt been indulging."

In a letter of 29th August, 1837, Captain Wade wrote : "The Governor-general, in council, to whom I have considered it my duty to submit every part of your letters which relate to the politics of that quarter, is anxious to receive every information on these subjects, and I feel assured that you will not relax in your vigilance and activity in keeping me *regularly* informed of passing events, at a juncture when it is of the highest consequence to the British government that I should possess every means of forming a correct opinion. In a despatch, which I lately received from government, adverting to the interesting nature of the information that I had communicated from you, his lordship in council seemed desirous that you should continue to report, without delay, every event of interest ; I beg, therefore, that your despatches may be more frequent than before."

On the 15th September, 1837, Captain Wade wrote : "The new proofs you have afforded of your zeal and intelligence, in the performance of your special duty of keeping me regularly informed of passing events in that quarter, continues to engage the favourable notice of the Governor-general in council, and I trust that your continued industry and discrimination may secure for you a continuance of the favour of a liberal and discerning government.

"Your report of the impression at Kâbal as to the reply that is likely to be given to Kamber Alî Khân, is in coincidence with the *national* prejudices

and *true* policy of the Afghâns, — Dost Mahomed Khân's *real* object in laying his grievances at the foot of his Persian majesty's throne, and the causes which gave rise to it, are obvious. An opportunity is now afforded to the amír of removing those causes by conciliating the Síkhs, who are ready to bring their quarrels with him to an amicable adjustment, on reasonable terms, in accordance with our wish for a mutual state of peace."

Captain Wade wrote, in a letter of 13th October, 1837: "The information contained in your several Reports, now acknowledged, is very acceptable. I am enabled to confirm the intelligence which you mentioned having received of the deputation of Fatah Khân to the court of Persia, on the part of Shahzadah Kamrán. The envoy in question had arrived at Téhrân."

On the 19th October following I received an intimation from Captain Wade as follows: "Until Captain Burnes shall have quitted Kabúl it is considered desirable that you should be subject to his orders, and discontinue your direct correspondence with me, and I beg that you will act accordingly. Captain Burnes will convey to me every week, if necessary, such information as he may collect either by his own means or those of yourself." This letter was in consequence of instructions from government, communicated by the then Mr. Secretary Macnaghten.

Captain Burnes had reached Kâbal in September.

The Persian, Kamber Alí, had not been allowed by the sirdárs of Kândahár to come on to Kâbal; Rahám Dil Khân, one of them, avowing, that if he left the city for that purpose his throat should be cut. The Persian had, moreover, disgraced himself by his revels, and was finally in an unpleasant predicament. His companion, Máhomed Hússén, had borrowed of him some eight hundred rupees, and, being asked for payment, devised a plan to evade it, and clear himself of his creditor—quite worthy of him. He recommended Kamber Alí to feign sickness, and to keep his couch, while he went to Kâbal for some of Dost Máhomed Khân's people, with whom he would return and fetch him. Máhomed Hússén, after a violent dispute with Hâjí Khân, now at Kândahár, was permitted to leave, and, forgetting the celerity which he had promised to use, came leisurely on to Kâbal—was sent by the amír to the Nawáb Jabár Khân's house, and never thought of returning to Kândahár. Poor Kamber Alí, in great terror, urged his departure upon the sirdárs, particularly as he had received letters from Máhomed Sháh's camp, directing his return if no good was to be done; and the result was, that the sirdárs dictated a treaty, which is published with No. 3, letter from Captain Burnes to W. H. Macnaghten, Esq., page 6 of the Correspondence, and which Kamber Alí was too glad to seal, to get away. A child ought not to have been deceived by such a document, however Captain Burnes may have chosen to

attach importance to it, or the Indian government to have fallen into his error. Kamber Alí was so apprehensive of being waylaid on his return that he left all his property behind, and decamped "jer-rah," or slightly equipped, as Lieutenant Vektavich, who succeeded him, set out from the Persian camp. There is a remarkable circumstance attending the despatch of Lieutenant Vektavich, viz. that he left the camp the morning after the return of Kamber Alí, seemingly in consequence of the latter's failure to reach Kâbal, without which there is a possibility we might not have been honoured with the presence of the Cossack lieutenant. I have always doubted whether he came from St. Petersburg, and whether he passed through Téhrân. If he did not, the silence of Count Simonich to Sir John M'Neil, of which the latter complains, would be accounted for, as the count would at that time be ignorant both of his arrival in the camp before Herât and of his mission to Kâbal. Attached to Kamber Alí was a Saiyad Mobín, who, it is said, was in the receipt of a salary from Count Simonich as news-writer. It is lamentable to be obliged to confess that such was the imprudent conduct of the British mission; and so flagrant the reports in consequence circulated of their plans and intentions, that Russia, or any power, was justified to send persons to ascertain the nature of their proceedings—the principal object, I suspect, confided to Vektavich. That such a man could have been expected to defeat a British

mission is too ridiculous a notion to be entertained; nor would his mere appearance have produced such a result had not the mission itself been set forth without instructions for its guidance, and had it not been conducted recklessly, and in defiance of all common sense and decorum.

Máhomed Hússén on reaching Kâbal was, of course, introduced to the amír, and gave an account so extraordinary of his sayings and doings in Persia that the chief and his nobles were obliged to rest their hands on the ground, while they were convulsed with laughter at the egregious lies he told. On points of business nothing could be gained from him, and the amír, confessing his inability to make aught of his story, intrusted Mírza Samí Khân to question him; but with no better success. The amír then regretted that he had taken the fellow from his dokân, or shop, in the bazár, and asked for a horse which Máhomed Hússén had written from Persia he had purchased for the amír, and which was so excellent that Nádír had never one equal to it in his stables. The elchí would fain have denied the letter to be in his writing, but this being proved beyond doubt, he remembered that the Turkomans had chapowed the shâh's camp, and carried off two hundred of his majesty's best horses. By the same accident he lost the noble animal procured for the amír. The amír silyly quartered him upon the Nawáb Jabár Khân, the Feringhí's friend, and occasionally sent for him, when

inclined to be mirthful and to laugh at the monstrous tales he related.

While Captain Burnes was on the way to Kâbal he had addressed a letter of remonstrance to the amír respecting the action at Jamrúd and the warfare carried on against the Síkhs. Captain Wade had done the same; moreover, addressing Máhoméd Akbar Khân. The latter was not displeased at his letter, because he was recommended having shown his ability in making war, now to display it in making peace. But the amír was sorely incensed at the letter addressed to him by Captain Burnes. I had to bear the weight of his resentment, and he was absolutely savage.

I was always sorry that Kamber Alí had not found his way to Kâbal, for not only must he have failed, but the proposals he was instructed to make were of that nature that either he must have suppressed them or it would have fallen to my lot to shield him from insult. But for the mismanagement of Captain Burnes he might have had the credit of doing as much for Vektavich.

As Captain Burnes drew near to Kâbal he had written me, in a letter from Daka, dated the 4th of September: "The view which you have taken of Pesháwer being passed over to Súltân Máhoméd Khân, is to me very satisfactory. I am not without hope that we shall, in course of time, be able to work out this matter, but it would be presumption in the extreme to hope for it if certain circum-

stances, which I shall unfold, did not lead me to have a well-grounded hope. I should like to have the amír's own views,—Súltán Máhoméd Khân's I have, and, if I am not deceived, an inkling of those of Ránjeet Sing."

It will be observed, that Captain Wade, on the 15th September, informed me that the "Síkhs are ready to bring their quarrels with him to an amicable adjustment, on reasonable terms, in accordance with our wish for a mutual state of peace."

It appears that the máhárájá was so confounded at the death of Hári Singh, that he informed Captain Wade that he should be glad to give up Pesháwer, preserving his pardah, or his honour. Nothing could be clearer than that the máhárájá, was willing, at the request of the British government, to have abandoned his unjust conquest,—such request would have saved him the appearance of having been forced to give it up, and have preserved his pardah. Farther, no person acquainted with the state of the country and its relations, could have doubted but that he intended to restore it to Súltán Máhoméd Khân, who already enjoyed half the revenues—and from whom it was taken. Its restitution to Dost Máhoméd Khân was a measure neither to be conceived with any propriety nor to be demanded, with any justice, from the máhárájá. The disposition of the máhárájá was so unhopéd for, and so favourable to the success of the mission that it is no less extraordi-

nary than unfortunate that Captain Burnes should not have seen the matter in the light every one but himself did.

While Captain Burnes was at Pesháwer, where his pleasures and his business detained him a few days, the amír began to imagine he might stay altogether there, and grew alarmed. He had recourse to me in this juncture, and in a manner characteristic of him. Very late at night two of his men came to my house, saying, the amír wished to see me. I observed, the hour was unseasonable; however, as I was still up, I would go. At his house I was introduced to Máhoméd Akbar Khân, who desired me to follow him, and led the way into a dark passage. I called to him to give me his hand, as I was not a cat that could see in the dark, and he laughed, and did so. After groping our way through a variety of passages, we came upon the roof of an apartment where were sitting the amír, Mírza Samí Khân, Mírza Imâm Verdí, and Náib Amír Akhúndzâda, around a far-nús, or paper lanthorn. I seated myself by the amír, and Máhoméd Akbar Khân sat by the side of Náib Amír. The reasons for sending for me I found were to ascertain, first, whether Captain Burnes was really coming to Kâbal, and secondly, what were the objects of his mission. To the first point I answered, that Captain Burnes was deputed to him and not to Pesháwer; and to the last, that I could not tell him what I did not know myself.

That envoys were provided with instructions (in which, however, in this case I was wrong), with which he would become acquainted when Captain Burnes arrived. The amír was scarcely satisfied. However, as I had nothing to communicate to clear up his doubts, he said, Burnes must please himself: and I, saying it was late, took leave, and was again escorted through the dark passages by Máhoméd Akbar Khân. With reference to this interview I may remark, that the tone of the amír had been so high that the Nawâb Jabár Khân had recommended me to advise Captain Burnes to stay for a few days at Pesháwer, as well as to send Súltân Máhoméd Khân to Bágor; when, as he said, the amír would be reduced to call on me, with the Korân in his hands, and implore me to persuade Captain Burnes to come on. This manœuvre was a good Afghân one, and I doubt not would have brought the amír to the necessity of being a suppliant, but I hardly thought it honourable that it should be put in play by ourselves; and while mentioning what the nawâb advised to Captain Burnes, I stated that I thought it needless to act upon it, as matters without it were likely to go on smoothly. The amír very possibly heard of all this, and therefore sent for me.

In May of this year Lieutenant Eldred Pottin-ger arrived in Kâbal, and in July, without acquainting me, or even the Nawâb Jabár Khân, in whose house he resided, departed for Herát, by

the route of the Hazárajât. With reference to the extreme jealousy entertained by the Bárak Zai chiefs of Shâh Kámran, I had to contend with a good deal of ill-will on this account, as they could not be persuaded that I was innocent of Lieutenant Pottinger's departure, or that it was not owing to a concerted plan between us. This officer had procured twelve months' leave of absence, to explore the passes west of the Indus; and when his uncle, Sir Henry Pottinger, heard of his journey to Herât, he wrote to me, desiring I would spare no expense in transmitting letters of recal, pointing out that he would be compromised with the government, who, at his solicitation, had granted the leave of absence. I have always thought that, however fortunate for Lieutenant Pottinger himself, his trip to Herât was an unlucky one for his country; the place would have been fought as well without him; and his presence, which would scarcely be thought accidental, though truly it was so, must not only have irritated the Persian king, but have served as a pretext for the more prominent exertions of the Russian staff. It is certain, that when he started from Kâbal he had no idea that the city would be invested by a Persian army; in proof of which I have letters from him soon after he reached; the first alluding to no such expectation, and the second describing the Persian advances as sudden, and wholly unlooked-for by the authorities.

Kámrân's army, in the early spring, had threatened Kándahár, and advanced to the Helmand, from which it moved upon Lâsh and Jíwand, and then spread itself over Sístân, where the horses of the cavalry perished from disease, and the finest force which for some years had marched from Herát became disabled. In this state, the surrender of the frontier fortress of Ghoríân, through treachery, reduced Kámrân to the necessity of enduring a siege.

The results are well known. The Governor-general of India, to employ the official term, *warned off* the Persians, who, nevertheless, paid so little attention to the *warning off*, that after they received it they made their last and most desperate assault on the place, when, being foiled, and sorely pressed by famine, and desertions from their camp, they retired in compliance, so they say, of his lordship's *warning off*.

Colonel Stoddart, the British representative in the Persian camp, and Lieutenant Pottinger, joined in their congratulations to the Governor-general, and ascribed to Providence the deliverance of the capital of Kámrân. God forbid that I should write profanely! but if Providence had aught to do in the matter, by all human calculation, it had intended that the Persians should have left their guns and equipage behind them, and perhaps that Máhoméd Shâh, Count Simonich, M. Goutte, and

the rest, should have been picked up by the Turkomans in their flight towards Téhrân. So much good, or so much evil may have been prevented by Máhomed Shâh's compliance with the Governor-general's *warning off*.

CHAPTER XVIII.

Captain Burnes's notion of his mission.—Fallacy of opening the Indus.—Remarks on commercial missions.—My correspondence.—Letters from Captain Burnes.—His arrival in Kâbal.—Defect in instructions.—Captain Wade's jealousy.—Obstacles.—Advantages.—Statement of my views.—Favourable concurrences.

IN the preceding chapter I have explained the origin of Captain Burnes's mission, and shown Captain Wade's notions of its object; in the present I shall exhibit Captain Burnes's opinions, which may be best done by recourse to his letters.

“Hydrabad in Sinde, 2nd February, 1837. The growing demand for markets to the merchant throughout the world has stimulated the government, no less than the mercantile community, to make one grand attempt to open the Indus, and the countries in and beyond it, to commerce; and the government of India have reposed their confidence in me to try and work out this great end. The objects of my journey are, primarily, commercial; and my political powers cease on leaving the Indus; but we would ill discharge our duty to ourselves if we did not look to the right and left. But you

will much oblige me by giving currency, as far as is in your power, to the fact, that the main and great aim of government is to open the Indus, and to inform the chiefs in Afghânistân, and the merchants of that country, of the arrangements which have been entered into. I cannot adduce a better proof of the sincerity of government in this great national undertaking than that after I had been directed to set out, Runjeet Sing threatened Sindé, and was alone prevented by British influence from attacking it. The government said, justly, that if the balance of power on the Indus is destroyed our commercial hopes are ruined, and we have therefore concluded a treaty with the ameers, taking them under our protection, and fixing a British agent in Sindé ! We have no wish to extend our political relations beyond the river, but a great one to enter into friendly commercial ones with all the chiefs between this and Persia. I might write to you very diffusely on this subject, but I think I have placed before you, in a short compass, all that is interesting, and enough, I hope, to enable you to form a judgment on the prospects of success, on the kind of reception we shall experience, and on other points ; of which your local knowledge and long acquaintance qualify you, above all others, to judge. If you will favour me with that judgment, I need not assure you of the thanks which I shall owe you."

In the commencement of this letter Captain Burnes intimated his wish to be informed of the

“state of parties in Afghânistân,” and, while I promised to write on that subject, I replied at once to the matter of the above extract.

The main, and great aim of government, is declared to be to open the Indus. Was the Indus ever closed, or farther closed than by its dangerous entrances and shallow depth of water? Another object was to open the countries on and beyond the Indus to commerce. Were they also ever closed? No such thing: they carried on an active, and increasing trade with India, and afforded markets for immense quantities of British manufactured goods. The governments of India and of England, as well as the public at large, were never amused and deceived by a greater fallacy than that of opening the Indus, as regarded commercial objects. The results of the policy concealed under this pretext have been the introduction of troops into the countries on and beyond the river, and of some half dozen steamers on the stream itself, employed for warlike objects, not for those of trade. There is, besides, great absurdity in commercial treaties with the states of Central Asia, simply because there is no occasion for them. From ancient and prescribed usage, moderate and fixed duties are levied; trade is perfectly free; no goods are prohibited; and the more extensive the commerce carried on the greater advantage to the state. Where, then, the benefit of commercial treaties?

However, these were points on which it would

have been unnecessary for me to catechize Captain Burnes ; my duty led me to do my best to facilitate his objects, such as they were, and I answered him in the following manner.

“I have no idea that the amír, or any one here, fully appreciates the advantages of a strictly commercial treaty,—all, no doubt, look forward to some political advantages, if no other than the security of their own dominions, from a connexion of any kind with the Indian government ; and although your mission be avowedly a commercial one, it may easily be brought to be considered as the step to something that may be approved of even by themselves, and to which, in the natural course of things, it must lead.

“About two years since Lord Bentinck, in a letter to the amír, first suggested some kind of commercial arrangement ; his letter was not understood as it ought to have been, and the amír's reply was not so satisfactory, perhaps, as to induce his lordship to put forward a mission ; but I may note, that with Lord Bentinck's letter Captain Wade addressed me, stating, that it was unnecessary to point out to me the advantages that would in consequence of such a treaty arise to the amír in the stability of his government, and so forth ; and Captain Wade to the amír, either directly or through the medium of Abdúl Ghías Khân, explained, that one of the benefits of such treaty would be, that every one should know his own boundaries. If

these advantages, held out two years since, may be held out without exceeding your instructions at this period, in case such matters should be started, there would be nearly an end to discussion. These observations, and those preceding, I make in allusion to the sole topic, upon which I apprehend you may not be prepared to reply in the manner that may be wished, but by no means intend them to be discouraging. Lord Auckland's letter on this point was even satisfactory, for, alluding to the Síkh aggressions of which the amír complained, he mentioned, that if the British government were a party between, such aggressions should or would cease,—or something to that effect,—upon which the amír observed, that was something to the point, and then added, idly, however, laughing and rubbing his hands, that he had been better pleased to be ordered to attack the infidel Ranjit."

In the reply to the letter of which the above is an extract, Captain Burnes seems to have been set into a blaze by letters from Mr. M'Neil. He writes: "It gave me very great pleasure to receive your letter of the 16th April from Jelálábád, which reached me at Bhawulpore on the 10th of May. For your luminous view of the state of affairs in Cabool, believe me, I feel deeply indebted. I would have replied to your communication instantly, being quite alive to the necessity of letting the ameer, and all concerned, know of our approach, but a most important despatch, no less than the one containing

all the views of the Governor-general on Afghânistân, was sent, by the mistake of Captain Wade's moon-shee, to Mr. Mackison, and I resolved, at all hazards, to await it. It reached me late last night, and I cannot now regret the delay, as in half an hour after I received an express from Persia containing matters of the first importance. The despatch of the Governor-general I enclose, and also the confidential express from Mr. M'Neil, well assured as I am, in putting you in possession of these important documents, I am but advancing the interests of government, and shall be able through you, even before I get to Cabool to elicit information to guide my proceedings.

"To proceed, however, step by step in my inquiries and observations, it is first necessary to observe, that about ten days before I received your letter from Jelâlabâd, I had become cognizant, through Candahar, of the fact that Dost Mâhoméd Khân had opened a communication with Persia. I forthwith despatched the information to Lord Auckland, but I was not prepared for so rapid a confirmation of the circumstance as that which I received from you. You may imagine I lost no time in despatching extracts of all parts of your letter relating to public affairs to the private secretary. I observe what you state, that the ameer's hopes from Persia have since he opened that communication greatly abated, but it was the circumstance of his opening the communication at all that appeared to me important, and to

be a subject for our serious consideration. What then was my surprise to read the communications from the King of Persia to Dost Máhoméd Khân, of which Mr. M'Neil has with such dexterity possessed himself.

“ The enclosed despatch of the supreme government, written to Mr. M'Neil on the 10th April, will show you that our policy in Afghânistân engages the anxious attention of government. What then, now must be the anxiety when such intrigues are brought to light? Before I heard of them I had addressed a letter to government, of which I enclose you a copy. It is not an official letter, but to the private secretary, and I do not forward to you the enclosure, which I hope soon to converse with you in person. From all these communications you will be put in the possession of the views of government, of Mr. M'Neil, and myself, and your competent knowledge, and great local experience will, I am sure, prove at this critical juncture of great service. I beg of you to favour me by writing your most unreserved sentiments. Nothing will gratify me more, and though I have published a book, and printed and written various views, no one will be more glad to alter those views than myself. I have no system to uphold but one, which is an ardent wish to place our relations in the west on such a footing as will best serve the interests of India. As yet I have no authority beyond that of conducting a *commercial* mission; but various hints

and letters, together with the chain of events now in progress, have served to convince me that a stirring time of *political* action has arrived, and I shall have to show what my government is made of, as well as myself. Waving, therefore, all what is called ‘political humbug,’ I have placed all matters before you. The next point to be attended to is the state of politics at Candahar, a Russian letter to the chief, and presents from the Czar. Why, zounds! this is carrying the fire to our door with a vengeance.—Nothing can come out of that scheme; but it also shows that we must be on the alert there.”

On the 25th of June Captain Burnes had become more composed as he then wrote from Dera Ismael Khan: “After I last wrote to you, and four or five days had elapsed, I received an express from Lord Auckland’s secretary on the first news of the intentions of Dost Máhommed Khan (to attack the Sikhs). These, as you may well imagine, gave cause for alarm, and I was instructed to delay my advance till I got instructions, which would follow in a day or two. These instructions have now reached me; and though prudence dictates a cautious line of procedure, still I am left at liberty to advance if I choose; and the government hope *I may do good*. I have, therefore, addressed Dost Máhommed Khan, and a copy of the letter I enclose for your information. The original I send; also letters for the nawáb and Mirza Sami Khan, which you will very much oblige

me by delivering, in the way which you may judge most suitable. You will see that I have been very explicit with the ameer; and if he could but see his own interests he would make terms with the Seiks *from himself*, and leave us unfettered; in which I see to him much good. The British government contemplate no employment of its *power* in Cabool, though it ardently wishes for peace on its frontier; and it is also most anxious that no further injury should be done to the Afghâns; but this must depend on the Afghâns themselves. You will well imagine how anxiously I shall look out for replies to these communications. I feel myself gifted with much more latitude since I last wrote to you, but I must see with my own eyes before acting, or recommending action, and it will never do to offend Runjeet Sing, whose alliance we court, and must cherish."

Captain Burnes's next letter to me, on the 25th July, was alike moderate. The collision between the Sikhs and Afghâns had passed over; with reference to which he wrote: "It really seems to me that matters have subsided into a better form than was to be anticipated, though I quite agree in the observation made by you, in one of your letters to Captain Wade, that a very free use of the name of the British government seems to have been made."

"I shall not fail to inform Captain Wade of the arrival of the elchee from Persia by the first packet. The designs from the west require to be sedulously watched, though I have received

much support to my opinions from finding you so strong upon the improbability of Shia ascendancy in Cabool. I always looked upon it as highly improbable."

On the 6th August Captain Burnes wrote from camp, near Attok:—"At Hasan Abdall, on the 1st, I had the satisfaction of receiving your communication of the 16th, by my own cossids; and if I have already felt myself obliged by your full exposition of the state of affairs in Cabool, I must say that you have, if possible, increased my obligation by this most valuable communication. You have laid before me the rocks which endanger every movement; and so foul is the path that I much fear, with such a beacon, I shall yet be involved in great embarrassments. I have only one sheet-anchor left, which is, that they will be roused in Calcutta to make some decided exertion, at variance with our late sleepy policy; and if they act not thus, I even question the propriety of their having ever deputed me to Cabool. The ameer's letter which you enclosed is the counterpart of the original. I looked upon it as satisfactory, but there was still a tone and tenor in it which I do not like, and which your letter completely explained. I do not think the British government is in a humour to be trifled with; and if the ameer hopes to play off the offers of Bokhára and Persia, to quicken us in our movements, he may fail. If, however, government attaches importance to the communications from Russia (and I shall won-

der much if they do not do so) their proceedings may be very different, for I do not apprehend we should ever submit to a Russian intrigue near our own frontier without seeking to counteract it, and that had we not been already sent, some one of our nation must have followed, or they must have sent you yourself powers.

“The audacity of Máhoméd Hussein, whose letters you enclosed, astounds me; he is, however, a very Persian. I translated the epistles, and sent them on to the private secretary. They require no comment. This letter is by no means meant as an answer to your last communication. That I have studied, and reperused with great care, and it has instilled into my mind some doubts, which are always wholesome. It seems, however, certain, that we must form some connexion with Cabool, and it is more the way in which that should be brought about that puzzles, than the kind of connexion—so conflicting and various are the interests.

“It will interest you to know, that Captain Shiel, the secretary of legation at Téhrân, has accompanied a Persian elchee to Khiva and Bokhára, to put down slavery—*accompanied* I say, because it has been so communicated to me, but I question the good which can arise from such a journey—we should look nearer home. My opinions on Persian politics are very fixed. Without Mr. Macneil there we should have been soon ousted—with him the evil day only is postponed, and our connexion with the country

will end in signal discomfiture and disgrace. Taking a general view of things at present, I should not be surprised if government followed one of two views,—one is, to invest me with full powers; the other is, to direct me to stay in Cabool till I can communicate with them;—the last, and most improbable of all, is, to suspend my movements.”

From Pesháwer, on the 22d of August, Captain Burnes wrote: “It gives me great pleasure to acknowledge your letter of the 12th, which reached me yesterday afternoon. At all events, your present letter sets my mind at ease regarding the feelings of Dost Máhoméd Khân. The change of tone in the ameer is what I very much desired, and what I certainly hoped for, but I had also quite made up my mind to let him know at once that the British government were not likely to permit any coquetting on his part. The honour of having any agent, however humble, deputed to confer with him is by no means a small one, and if nothing took place but mere conference, and he saw his position properly, he might so strengthen himself, that in a year or two he would have no equal near him. Such at least are my sentiments; and with them you may imagine that we are not likely to be taken by storm. In fact, if Dost Máhoméd Khân continues to contemplate attacks on the Seiks, and to increase his duties on the merchant, we may very well ask the utility of holding any communications with him.”

“The approach of the bursting bubble of Má-

homed Hussein's mission is highly amusing. While seated on Hindoo Koosh, drinking tea and laughing at the said Mirza's fibs, which Ferdinand Mindez Pinto ne'er outdid, I little thought I was holding converse with the future ambassador of the ruler of Cabool to the King of Kings! Among other curiosities to show you on the affairs of nations, I have a very *morceau* in the shape of forged credentials from the ameer to Lord Auckland in behalf of Hajee Hussein Khân!! I possess the original, and a rarer bit of Hajee Babaism I have not seen."

Captain Burnes next wrote me from Dáka, on the 4th of September, when, having cleared the Khaibar Pass, he had entered Dost Máhomed Khân's dominions. He then said, "I have no means of doing justice to your many and considerate letters. Lying before me are those of the 14th, 17th, 23rd, and 26th of August, and yours of the 27th has just been put into my hands.

"The view which you have taken of Pesháwer being passed over to Súltán Máhomed Khân, is to me very satisfactory. I am not without hope that we shall, in course of time, be able to work out this matter; but it would be presumption in the extreme to hope for it if certain circumstances, which I shall unfold, did not lead me to have a well-grounded hope. I should like to have the amír's own views; Sooltan Máhomed Khân's I have, and, if I am not deceived, an inkling of those of

Runjeet Singh. Had we not had to pull the *Khal-sa's* rein in Sinde, I should have said, that the adjustment of it amounted to a certainty; and I now believe that the drain which Pesháwer is upon his finances, his wish to please us, and other things combined, will, in the end, tend to adjustment.

“The non-arrival of the Persian elchee is amusing enough. I suppose he has had his *coup de grace*, for the ameer cannot surely put any reliance after such an exposure of Máhomed Hoosein's fabrications. We have no late news here of affairs to the west.

“Your letter to Captain Wade I perused, and sent on by the cossid from Ali Musjeed. I really do not comprehend Captain Wade's allusion to the state of affairs in Persia being favourable; my accounts, as I interpret them, speak to the contrary. I am glad the panic, from the contents of his letter, has been removed, and I am a good deal amused at what he says about the ‘Governor-General and I have both been inculcating peace, &c.’ Had I known such *inculcation* I need not have written, as I did, from Dera Ismael Khan; but I hope soon to read a lesson *in propria persona* to Dost Máhomed Khân, and let him know what are and what are not the views of the British government, though it would indeed be gratifying to myself if I were better informed on them than I am. My last accounts from Calcutta are, in plain English, as follows: that Lord Auckland looks with great anxiety to hear from me in Cabool

after I have seen *about me* ; the meaning of which is clear enough, that they are to act after I have reported. This looks like *toasting* our toes at Cabool for the winter."

From Chupreeal, on the 9th of September, Captain Burnes wrote : " I am glad to say that an important express has reached me since I last addressed you, which will not make me afraid to meet Dost Máhoméd Khân, for I have it now in my power to be of service to him, but I shall not speculate at length on the subject now. I am very anxious to have the ameer's own views of his own affairs, for on them a good deal will depend. I need only tell you, in confidence, that the adjustment of Pesháwer is nearer than ever, if not mismanaged, and you well know how easy it is to do that, even without Afgháns, and their proverbial stupidity.

" I do certainly consider Dost Máhoméd Khân has it in his power to become a great man, if he can resist the pressure from without (as the politicians say at home) of his own family, and act for himself.

" I have had my attention most especially called to the affairs of Candahar ; and, more opportunely than I could have hoped for, I have just received a despatch from thence, old in date certainly, but full of particulars of the way the sirdárs went about their communications with Russia, which bear the stamp of truth, and confirm much of what Mr. M'Neil writes. My account of the el-

chee's revels coincide with your own ; and in preparing my despatch I shall note the coincidences between the information. I imagine the elchee will not come to Cabool ; but what think you of the sirdárs having sent other letters, and another envoy to Téhrân and the Russian minister ?”

From Tézín Captain Burnes wrote, on the 16th of September : “ The accounts from Candahar are really perplexing. The information you convey tallies well with what I have received ; only that the Candahar sirdárs have, I hear, of themselves, detained Kumber Ali, and got him to write to the shâh, as they have themselves done, that Cabool is of no use to his Majesty, and Candahar is the ground to work upon !!! *Tant mieux*. In the same truth, Kohan Dil Khân writes me a more than friendly letter, and his brothers are equally amicable.”

On the 18th of September Captain Burnes reached Bhút Khâk, where I paid him a visit, and remained with him the following day. Our conversation was nearly exclusively on political matters ; and I must confess I augured very faintly of the success of his mission, either from his manner or from his opinion “ that the Afghâns were to be treated as children,” a remark that drew from me the reply, that he must not then expect them to behave as men. On the 20th of September I returned to the city, after breakfast, and Captain

Burnes being met on the road by Máhoméd Akbar Khân, was escorted with all honour to the presence of Dost Máhoméd Khân.

I have not judged it necessary to make any comments upon the various extracts I have submitted from Captain Burnes's letters. If Captain Wade may be charged with doing too little, I think it may be conceited that Captain Burnes was inclined to do too much. What I conceived my duty had led me, as will have been seen, at the earliest period of my correspondence with Captain Burnes to press upon him the necessity of having clear instructions, and of being prepared to meet the proposals likely to be made to him. I had reasons to suspect that the then government of India was a weak government, and I was aware that missions are put forth in a loose manner. I also foresaw the evils which delay would excite with impatient people, and I could but know that in less than four months no answer from Calcutta to any communication could be received. It was therefore clearly proper, as well as essential to success, that Captain Burnes should come as well prepared as possible. I was, moreover, conscious of the jealousy of the political agent at Lúdhána, who had informed the authorities at Kâbal, through Abdúl Ghíás Khân, that he would have been a fitter person than Captain Burnes for the mission, and would have done more for them than he could do, on account of his

influence with Ranjit Singh. I also knew that Captain Wade could depend on the support of Mr. Secretary Macnaghten. On the other hand, Captain Burnes was agreeable to Lord Auckland, and had the privilege of constant communication with the private secretary, Mr. Colvin,—sufficient to protect him from evil influences, had he used it wisely.

In conformity to the request of Captain Burnes, I sent him a paper on the state of parties in Kâbal. I afterwards did more, and entered into a detail of the conflicting interests in Afghânistân, and the mode in which, in my opinion, they were to be approached and reconciled. When at Bombay, in 1841, I wrote to Sir Alexander Burnes at Kâbal, hoping he would not object to send me copies of these two documents. I sailed for England before his reply, if he made any, could have reached me, and since no letter of his has been forwarded to me. Nothing would have given me greater satisfaction than to have been enabled to publish these papers, for not only would they have shown my views and opinions, but I may fancy they would have established that the Afghân affairs were capable of settlement, and that the settlement was in our power at that time. My proposal was simply, that Peshâwer,—the assumption of which by Ranjit Singh had brought on all our evils,—should be restored to Súltân Máhomed Khân; in fact, that a mere act of justice should be done.

By this the chiefs of Kândahár would be at once reconciled, while Dost Máhoméd Khan would have no alternative but to acquiesce; still, as to his exertions, in some measure, the restitution might be held due, I proposed that Súltân Máhoméd Khân should pay annually a sum, more or less, not exceeding a lách of rupees, from his revenues, which I did not doubt he would gladly do, as the price of being relieved from Síkh control, and of the possession of the entire country. The Síkhs, having built a capacious and strong fortress at Pesháwer, I foresaw they might either propose to leave a garrison in it or wish to dismantle it. It appeared to me better that it should remain an Afghân bulwark; and as the expense in the construction was not considerable, and I was well aware that Súltân Máhoméd Khân had no funds, I submitted, that the government might advance the one or two láchs which would be required, unless indeed the restored sirdár should pay it off by instalments. To see that these arrangements were carried into effect and duly observed, I proposed that a superior agent should reside at Kábal, and subordinate ones at Kândahár and Pesháwer, as checks upon the conduct of the chiefs, and for the purposes of seeing what was going on, but without exercising any kind of interference in other matters.

I never once alluded to Persian and Russian intrigues; I hold them now ridiculous; I held them

so then ; but while removing effectually the only causes which could make them of any import, I suggested (seeing, from the jealousy the Barák Zai chiefs entertained of Kámrân, it would be imprudent that the agent at Kâbal should have anything to do with him or his affairs,) that Herát should be placed in correspondence with the envoy at Téhrân, and that an officer to that state should be furnished from the mission there.

While perfectly aware that the occupation of Pesháwer was unprofitable, and the constant source of alarm and inquietude to Ranjit Singh, and satisfied that he would relinquish it, if solicited by the Indian government as a favour to do so, I had not hoped that he would voluntarily come forward, and express a desire to be eased of it. As he did, it was only by the mismanagement which Captain Burnes, in his letter from Chapríâl, deprecated, that our relations with the Afghân states were not placed on as fair a footing as it was needful they should be ; for my experience had brought me to the decided opinion that any strict alliance with powers so constituted would prove only productive of mischief and embarrassment, while I still thought that British influence might be usefully exerted in preserving the integrity of the several states, and putting their rulers on their good behaviour.

Another unexpected piece of good fortune happened about this time, inasmuch as Kámrân, in

his intercourse with Mr. M'Neil, consented to acknowledge the independence of the Bárak Zai chiefs, in return for being secured against the attacks of Persia, so that nothing was wanting to the success of Captain Burnes's mission but his own ability to avail himself of so great and unexpectedly concurring advantages.

CHAPTER XIX.

Captain Burnes's conversations.—His humility.—Visit of Mírza Samí Khân.—Resolutions of the amír and his advisers.—Their disclosure.—My dissent.—The nawab's opinion.—Nature of the question.—Captain Burnes's notice of proposals.—Recommendations to Lord Auckland.—Unnecessary alarms of Persia.—Captain Burnes's delusion as to the amír.—Captain Burnes's neglect.—Dispute on prerogative.—Arrival of Vektavich.—His suspicious credentials.—Dismay of Captain Burnes.—His imprudent admissions.—Hússén Alí.—Opinions at Kâbal.—Replies of Government.—Despatch of Lieut. Leech to Kândahár.—Rejection of Dost Máhoméd Khân's proposals.—Perplexing state of the mission.—Absence of nawâb.—Rage of Dost Máhoméd Khân.—Unpleasant stay in Kâbal.—Letter from the Chairman of the Court of Directors.—Interview with Mírza Samí Khân.—His remarks.—Intimation to quit Kâbal.—Darbâr conversations.—Determination to leave.—Proposals to seize Captain Burnes.—Assault on my house.—Good-will of the inhabitants.—Parting interview with Mírza Samí Khan.—Remarks on the mission.—The Afghânistán correspondence.—Delusive intelligence and reports.—Object of Vektavich.—His reply to Dost Máhoméd Khân.—His return to Kândahár.—Abú Khân.—Hâjî Hússén Alí Khân, the Persian ambassador.

THE day after Captain Burnes's arrival he placed before me the official documents relating to his mission. I observed, after reading the instructions, so called, that they were really none at all. He replied, that Dr. Lord on joining him at Haidarabâd had made the same remark.

Captain Burnes repeatedly saw the amír; and his conversations were not of the most prudent kind, at least as I thought, for I considered it very unadvisable to excite expectations not likely to be realized, and to instruct a man, disposed to be sanguine enough, how essential his alliance was to the British government. The amír and Mírza Samí Khân were satisfied to listen to Captain Burnes; and did not explain their pretensions; alleging, that after his long journey a few days repose was required: their objects being to ascertain the temper and habits of the envoy, as well as to agree amongst themselves on the terms to be proposed to him.

The amír had every reason to exult in the humility of his new guest, who never addressed him but with his hands closed, in the attitude of supplication, or without prefacing his remarks with "Gharíb nawâz," your humble petitioner, which acquired for him in Kâbal the sobriquet of Gharíb Nawâz. My friends used jocularly to tell me, I might as well leave; and the amír himself was well pleased to find Captain Burnes more compliant and obsequious than I had been. The Nawâb Jabâr Khân, however, took the liberty of remonstrating with the envoy, and pointed out to him, that an agent of the British government had no occasion to fear, and that he might possibly repent having assumed so submissive a tone.

Nothing could be more certain than that British reputation was highly considered in Kâbal; and it

was supposed that a British mission would be conducted with a certain degree of decorum. It excited universal surprise to witness the contrary, and that the revels of Kamber Alí at Kândahár were surpassed by the amír's new guests at Kâbal. The amír, while receiving continual reports of what was going on, forbade any notice to be taken, rejoicing perhaps that the envoy's intrigues were of any other than a political nature, and well satisfied that the mission should disappoint public expectation.

Mírza Samí Khân observing how matters stood, honoured me with a visit at my house, the first he had ever made me; and after a few long-winded observations, proposed that I should imitate the example of my illustrious superiors, and fill my house with black-eyed damsels. I observed, that my house was hardly large enough, and he said that I should have Shâhzâda Ashraf's house, near the amír's palace. I then asked, where the damsels were to come from; and he replied, I might select any I pleased, and he would take care I should have them. I told him, his charity exceeded all praise, but I thought it better to go on quietly in my old way,—and he dropped the subject. I related to the nawâb and others what had passed, and we had a good laugh at the mirza's expense, though all agreed it was well that one of us should refrain from committing himself, as strange things were likely to happen. The subject of the intercourse with Captain Burnes naturally occupied the atten-

tion of the amír and his friends ; and Mírza Samí Khân and Mírza Imâm Verdí were selected to conduct it. The next step was to consider the terms for proposal to the British government ; and these being resolved on, I was favoured by a visit from the two mirzas. They reminded me of the solicitude I had shown that the reception of the mission should be honourable and becoming, and appealing to me that they had done all that was required, entreated, in return, that I would support their interests. I had only to reply that, by representation to Captain Burnes, and I could do no more, I would support them, if I could with a clear conscience do so ; and I prayed them, for the sake of impossible or unlikely advantages, not to neglect what was in their power to gain. They then revealed the proposal they had agreed upon, which was, that Pesháwer was to be made over to the amír, as the *sine quâ non* of any understanding with the British government. I at once told them, that Captain Burnes might do as he pleased, but that I should dissuade him from listening to any such terms. Mírza Samí Khân was now anxious to show me that his proposition originated with Mírza Imâm Verdí, and not with himself, and made the latter say so, who maintained that such an arrangement was only due as a consequence of the victory at Jamrúd. I set my face entirely against the proposal, and regretted that they should have determined upon it ; and they left me, Mírza Samí Khân

always exculpating himself from the charge of having originated it.

The Nawâb Jabâr Khân strongly pressed upon Captain Burnes the necessity of firmly rejecting the proposal about to be made to him, on which so much depended. I did the same, in the most forcible manner I could ; and showed him how Mírza Samí Khân, anticipating his rejection, was ready to excuse himself as being the author of it, and to cast its blame upon Mírza Imâm Verdí ; or, in fact, that the proposal was not expected to be received. I submitted to Captain Burnes that his course was a very clear one. The pleasure of Ranjit Singh to give up Pesháwer afforded the opportunity of settling the Afghân question in a manner which could not have been looked for. It might be made to benefit the brothers at Kândahár and Pesháwer equally with Dost Máhomed Khân, and the British government would, at all events, have done its duty to them, and have fulfilled its wish to benefit the Afghân nation. Captain Burnes urged that Dost Máhomed Khân's pleasure might not be consulted, were Pesháwer made over to Súltân Máhomed Khân. I replied, that I believed it would whatever he might say to the contrary, but if not, let the arrangement be made without him ; he would soon crave to be admitted a party to it, as he would not venture to avow interests in opposition to those of all his countrymen, and could not afford to stand in the

light of a proscribed person. Captain Burnes did not intimate what course he would pursue; but in due time the interview with him and the mírzas took place. After it was over I received a note from him, which will at all events prove he was not taken by surprise.

“ I have had Mirza Samee and Imam Verdee with me since breakfast, and they have just made known to me what you wrote, and I shall tell you my answer when we meet you in the evening.”

Before the evening came I had learned, from rumour, what the answer had been, and a more unfortunate one could not have been made. It had spread over the city, and become the talk of the bazár; and an expression of the envoy's, that Ranjit Singh would be so delighted when he heard the amír's proposal that he would fire a shelyek, or salvo of artillery, was repeated by every one in ridicule.

When I saw Captain Burnes he explained, that the mírzas had proposed, in return for the cession of Pesháwer to the amír, that one of the latter's sons should reside at Lahore with the máhárájá as a hostage for his father's good behaviour. He said, that he was so astonished that he made the mírzas thrice repeat what they had said, to be sure there was no mistake; and that, satisfied there was none, he had told them all would be settled as they wished. I could only express my fears that the worst results would follow.

By this stroke the chiefs of Kândahár, who had suffered Kamber Alí to depart, began, in self-defence, to renew their correspondence with Persia. The Nawáb Jabár Khân, and principals of the Súní party at Kábal, ceased to interest themselves in the success of the mission, and either seldom visited the darbár, or, when there, never talked on business. No person of any respectability or character ever called on Captain Burnes, and the mission was left to follow up its irregular career, and to sink into contempt.

Captain Burnes, as soon as he reached Kábal, had intimated to Lord Auckland the advisability of making the offer to Dost Máhomed Khân of guaranteeing to him the possession of Pesháwer on the death of Ranjit Singh; he had now to forward his new proposals. In less than three months, under any circumstances, replies could not be expected. Dost Máhomed Khân, for the moment supposing that Captain Burnes would not approve the proposal unless certain it would be acted upon, was satisfied; but the restlessness of the Kândahár sirdárs a little disturbed the leisure which Captain Burnes had gained. The correspondence with them led to an offer by him to supply them with three lákhs of rupees to repel any attack from Persia. I remonstrated as much as I could against this offer, and Captain Burnes finally apprised me he had made it, observing, "Masson, I have gone the whole hog."

It may be right to notice that, in the absence of special instructions for his guidance, Captain Burnes considered it was the intention of government that he should do what seemed to him best, when, if he chanced to do what was thought proper, he would receive unbounded applause; if the contrary, he would be wigged. Agreeably to his purpose of magnifying the danger to be apprehended from Persia, and of attaching importance to transactions at Kândahâr, he contemplated the despatch of Lieutenant Leech, one of his assistants, to that place. I opposed the measure, thinking that, unless matters were settled at Kâbal, it would only increase embarrassment. I moreover felt certain it must be totally at variance with Dost Máhoméd Khân's wishes, an immaterial point, if any benefit were to accrue from it; still, what might be attended to, when, as I clearly saw, evil was likely to arise from it. Captain Burnes most positively affirmed that the amír was consenting, or that Mírza Samí Khân so assured him, which made me suspect that the amír and his mírza might be pleased to witness the farther complication such a visit would occasion. There was some delay, however, in the departure of Lieutenant Leech.

I had from the beginning cautioned Captain Burnes not to be deceived by Dost Máhoméd Khân. He argued, "Oh, Masson, he is so shrewd—he talks so sensibly." I admitted that he could do all that; still he was to be taken care off. I had no better

success than had the nawáb, who alike endeavoured to persuade him that Dost Máhoméd Khân was anything but an angel. From my knowledge of the amír, I could smile at receiving such notes as this: "I never had so kind a reception—he is everything to us!"—"All went nobly on last night; he was quite pleased," &c. A very little time, however, sufficed to permit the growth of doubts in the amír's mind, whether the confidence of Captain Burnes as regarded Pesháwer would be shared in by his superiors at Calcutta, and he began to pay him much less attention and respect, and Mírza Samí Khân ceased to call upon him so frequently and so regularly as before. Indeed the conduct of the mission was often discussed in the darbár, and many expressed their opinions that the amír had deceived himself. Still, the infatuation of the envoy seemed as strong as ever; and he was apparently secure in the conviction that government would not fail to adopt his recommendations. On one occasion, Dost Máhoméd Khân being told he did wrong to expect Pesháwer from Captain Burnes, Mírza Samí, present, said, he would step over to him and ask. He represented to Captain Burnes that certain monáfikân, disaffected persons, had said, the amír reposed foolishly on his promises. The envoy replied: "Only wait till Lord Auckland's letter arrives, and, by the grace of God, the faces of the monáfikân shall be blackened." With this answer the mírza returned in great glee to the darbár.

Conscious that Dost Máhoméd Khân's proposition would not be supported by the government, and equally aware that its rejection would give rise to violent anger and disappointment, I much strove to induce Captain Burnes to urge upon government the advantage of ascertaining exactly Ranjit Singh's wishes as to Pesháwer, that we might be prepared to meet the storm we had to encounter at Kâbal by counter-propositions. Not suspecting that government would object to his recommendation, Captain Burnes did not think this necessary, and neglected it for a long time, and until too late. He was in correspondence with Captain Wade, but it was of a kind rather to delay than to promote business. In a note to me Captain Burnes writes: "Here are all—You'll see Wade has got it again from government for 'commenting' on my letters. I am astounded at his not having told Ranjit Singh a word of what has passed here. No wonder he is surprised."

That the máhárájá was surprised is beyond doubt, for with his news-writers at Kâbal he could not but be aware of Captain Burnes's intercourse with the amír, and of what had passed between them, for that was known to every pumpkin-seller in the bazár. He in consequence addressed a letter to the envoy, warning him that the Afghâns were interested and bad people, and that Dost Máhoméd Khân was a very wicked man, and a liar, but that Súltán Máhoméd Khân was in the sirkár's service, and had

been useful to him. I thought the purport of this letter was very plain, but Captain Burnes showed it to the amír on the idea that it was intended to be shown to him, and informed the máhárájá he had done so. I ventured to predict Ranjit Singh would not again address him, nor did he.

Captain Burnes, in place of urging upon Captain Wade the necessity of ascertaining the máhárájá's wishes, entered into a discussion about "prerogative,"—a note I have will explain its origin. "Read you ever such insolence. The man talks of prerogative!" Captain Wade had declared, that to comment on Captain Burnes's despatches was his prerogative. Captain Burnes retorted, that prerogative was only enjoyed by kings; and Captain Wade answered, that he was mistaken, and sent him the meaning of the word from Johnson's Dictionary! Two months were wasted in this very profitable discussion.

On the 19th of December Lieutenant Vektavich reached Kâbal, and rather suddenly, for we had scarcely heard of his arrival at Kândahár when he made his appearance. The sirdárs of that place were willing to have detained him, but he threw his papers on the ground, and menaced them with the Emperor of Russia's vengeance should they do so; when, finding they had a very different kind of a person than Kamber Alí to deal with, they permitted him to proceed. His arrival at Killa Kází was announced to the amír, and some one

was sent to inquire his rank, that his reception might be regulated. He replied, that he was no elchí, but a messenger, or bearer of letters. Count Nesselrode has since made him a commercial envoy; if so, it was entirely unknown to himself, or denied by him. Mírza Samí Khán inquired of the amír, where he should be lodged, and receiving a very careless reply, again submitted that it was proper he should be informed. The amír said, "lodge him with Máhomed Hússén at the nawâb's, and there will be two lútías, or buffoons, together." The mírza had difficulty to get a better reply, but it was finally settled that the mírza himself should look after him, as, under his eye he could hold no improper communications.

The sirdárs of Kândahár had written to the amír that they did not know what to make of the Cossack, or of the letter he had with him, which wanted signature and seal. Múlla Rashíd did the same, but also sent a show-letter, published in page 7 of the Correspondence relating to Afghânistân, which, for want of something better, has found a place there, although it explains, in the postscript, its object to "rouse the mind of Alexander Burnes."

The letter, dated 23rd December, 1837, from Captain Burnes to Lord Auckland, recording the former's views and recommendations, and of which extracts are given in page 9 and 10 of the Correspondence, is too curious a document for me to

pass over in silence, particularly as I must state, once for all, that Captain Burnes never showed me any of his despatches to government at the time they were sent, the reason I knew to be that I should have protested against them. On the other hand, all despatches from the government, and even private letters from India and England, were sent to me as soon as received. This explanation is necessary with respect to this letter, No. 6. The reports of Vektavich's conversations with the amír are absolutely false. Captain Burnes gives them on the authority of two sources, both of whom were instructed by Mírza Samí Khán to delude him, the object being, like that of Múlla Rashíd, to "rouse the mind of Alexander Burnes."

The arrival of Vektavich completely overpowered the British envoy, and he abandoned himself to despair. He bound his head with wet towels and handkerchiefs, and took to the smelling-bottle. It was humiliating to witness such an exhibition, and the ridicule to which it gave rise. The amír called on the disconcerted envoy, and Mírza Samí Khán brought over the letter said to be from the emperor, for both of them had suspicions, in common with the Kándahár sirdárs, that it might not be genuine, and so they told Captain Burnes, who, however, at once assured them it was genuine, and that there could be no doubt of it. After this imprudent admission, the amír was at liberty to play off the Russian and the Imperial letter. The latter, however, was

left with Captain Burnes to be copied. I unhesitatingly expressed my opinion that the letter was a fabrication, as far as the emperor was concerned, but that it was very probably got up in the Persian camp before Herát, because without some such document Vektavich would not have dared to show himself in Afghânistân. Captain Burnes pointed out to me the large exterior seal on the envelope, on which were the Russian arms. I sent for a loaf of Russian sugar from the bázár, at the bottom of which we found precisely the same kind of seal. Captain Burnes shrugged his shoulders, elevated his eyebrows, and rolled his tongue round his cheek, but he had done the evil in not allowing the amír and Mírza Samí Khân the benefit of their own doubts. Count Nesselróde, in acknowledging the mission of Vektavich, may be supposed to have adopted this letter, although he does not expressly do so; I still, however, believe it to have been a fabrication, while admitting the Russian minister's dexterity in relinquishing projects he never entertained. It may be further remarked of this document, that it was not written by the count at the emperor's command, but purported to be from the emperor himself, another proof, in my estimation, that it was not genuine,—however, on that very account well calculated to deceive Dost Máhoméd Khân. The arrival of Vektavich with his letter astonished the amír, particularly as he was unconscious of having written a letter to Russia, and for

the moment did not remember Hússén Alí, and he required to be told that he was the son of Bájí Múrwârí. He then observed I gave him no letters, and Mírza Samí Khân explained that he had written one, and claimed to himself much credit for having procured the amír the honour of a reply from the emperor. Whether the amír believed his mírza or not, I cannot tell.

It was known that Hússén Alí had accompanied Vektavich from Bokhára to Orenburg. His non-appearance with the Cossack officer was considered in Kábal badly accounted for by the pretence stated of his being sick at Moscow, and the general opinion was, that Vektavich had murdered him—and this I state not wishing to belie Vektavich, but to show the little respect in which he and his mission were held by all, alas! but the British envoy—Vektavich indeed had a musket with him which was known to have belonged to Hússén Alí.

The reception of Vektavich was not such as he had reason to boast of, and in the house of Mírza Samí Khân he resided, in fact, under surveillance.

Replies to Captain Burnes' letters, and to his proposals to the government had begun to arrive. The government was then in possession of sobriety of judgment and honourable feeling, from which it since so strangely wandered. To the proposal that a promise should be made to the amír, of Pesháwer on the death of Ranjit Singh, the reply was dignified and

proper, deprecating the delicacy of speculating on the death of an individual. To the proposal to elevate Dost Máhomed Khân to great dignity and power, the reply was, wisely, that it was not the policy of the government to establish a great Máhomedan kingdom in that quarter.

Immediately after the arrival of Vektavich, Lieutenant Leech was sent to Kândahár; he was furnished with no instructions, for none could be given to him; his presence was to create what is so vaguely termed a moral influence. I entirely disapproved his mission, but Captain Burnes persisted it was with the pleasure of the amír, which I, nevertheless, could not believe. There can be no doubt that Lieutenant Leech signalized himself at Kândahár. With his method of establishing a moral influence I have nothing to do, but a note to me from Captain Burnes may throw a little light on his political proceedings. "Here is a letter from Leech. He has done I think quite right to advise Meher Dil to come here and to raise Ghazees—and I am glad to see he knows our footing with Persia so well." In the evening when I saw Captain Burnes I told him that I thought Leech had done quite wrong, and suspecting it might be so, in his despatches to government he *suppressed* all that had been written about the Ghazees, or so he informed me.

At length a reply was received from government to the despatch of Captain Burnes reporting

the offer of a sum of money, — three lákhs of rupees — to Kândahár for the purpose of repelling Persia. The Governor-general in the strongest terms expressed his regret and disappointment, and directed Captain Burnes to rescind his offer which, as very correctly stated, involved the grave questions of peace and war. The despatch was a very long one, and a letter from the private secretary apprised Captain Burnes that it was specially dictated by the Governor-general. His lordship here omitted to do what was farther necessary — to recall the envoy whose acts had the tendency to commit and embarrass the government. The folly of sending such a man as Captain Burnes without the fullest and clearest instructions, was now shown, and to do him justice, he observed that had a similar exposition of the government views been furnished to him in the first instance, he would never have committed himself. Recovering a little from the alarm it occasioned him, he still affected to believe his own judgment of affairs the right one, although it now became his painful task to undo all he had done, and to destroy all the expectations he had so unhappily raised in the bosom of the amír. He made a curious remark on this occasion to me, that it was strange that Lord Auckland, the Nawâb Jabár Khân and myself, held the same opinions on Afghân affairs, never I suspect conceiting that we might be right and he wrong.

The proposal to give Pesháwer to the amír, Ran-

jit Singh receiving in return one of his sons, had never been made to the máhárájá, Captain Wade denouncing it, and I am sorry to say, justly, as “insidious,”—the government thought so too. Captain Wade, however, had not ascertained the máhárájá’s intentions as regarded Pesháwer, and when directed by the government to learn them, was obliged to report that the rájás had returned to Lahore, and his influence was set aside. The máhárájá’s wishes were, therefore, never known, and we had no means of softening the disappointment of the amír, which any arrangement about the disputed territory might have enabled us to do.

Captain Burnes, as soon as he perceived a crisis had come on, asked where that old fool the nawáb was. He was at Tatang, where Captain Burnes a month before had sent him. The nawáb had a long time before sent his family there, but waited in Kâbal until his lordship’s replies should arrive. Captain Burnes was sometimes told that he kept the nawáb from his ladies, which he took ill, and insisted that the nawáb should go down to them. I saw the old gentleman before leaving, and he laughingly said that Sekander had turned him out of Kâbal. He asked me what I thought of affairs, and I put the question to him. He said they were *ganda* or rotten. I observed, I fear so, and bantered him on getting so nicely out of the way. He promised that whenever the despatches from government reached, he would, on being informed, be in Kâbal

the day after. Captain Burnes now sent an express for the nawâb, who immediately returned to the city, after which he communicated to the amîr, the contents of the letters he had received, at the same time delivering a letter to the amîr's address from the Governor-general.

The conduct of Captain Burnes in this state of things was, in my opinion, neither the correct nor the judicious one. That he had approved the proposals of the amîr there can be no doubt; instead, therefore, of acknowledging his own error in having done so, he adopted the strange course of calling the amîr to task for having made them. A very pretty interview necessarily passed, which a note from him to me written immediately after, will, perhaps, show. "It is impossible to write all, and for me to come to you or you to me before dinner might show our funk. I gave it fearfully and left him in a furious rage, but not a word was forgotten of which I prepared for him. He gave the old story — no benefit — no one cares for a falling nation — I offered my wares for sale, and you would not buy."

I may observe that Captain Burnes had not been a month in Kâbal before Dost Máhoméd Khân began to look upon him with very slight respect, and the remarks he made could scarcely be concealed from Captain Burnes. The latter alike grew to think less amiably of the amîr, and used frequently to appeal to me as a witness that his opinions had

changed. God knows both the nawâb and myself had abundantly cautioned him to be on his guard from the very first. His present violent behaviour had consequently something very annoying to the amír, who in truth hardly deserved such rude treatment in this instance, which the nawâb also lamented, while wishing Captain Burnes had commenced his negotiations in a firmer tone.

From this period Captain Burnes' residence in Kâbal had become more disagreeable than before; and I do not doubt but he would have retired, had not Doctor Lord and Lieutenant Wood been some time previously sent to Kúndúz, and the latter officer had gone thence to Badakshân. It is certain he ought to have left Kâbal, for his presence was only productive of increased mischief and disgrace, —although he justified his stay to government by the common-place plea of moral effect. Dost Máhommed Khân was very uneasy, and even at times so undecided, that he once signified he was willing to accede to whatever the government wished, —another time Mírza Samí Khân proposed that the throat of Vektavich should be cut, and again promised to renounce connexion and intercourse with the west if assured of protection against Persia. I would not vouch that these offers were sincerely made, but they were made. Captain Burnes would listen to nothing, — one of his notes to me may explain why. “ This brings the ameer to ask in what way he has *not* met the wishes of government. I

might have asked in return in what way *has* he? but I am sick of the matter, and visited him for three hours and never touched on business. Why should I?—Vektavich is here, and has no intention of moving,—the good ameer declines all preliminaries for peace with Ranjit Singh, and writes to Candahár, and also tells me that he has no hope from our government,—but enough.”

Captain Burnes did not cease to press on the attention of government the danger from Persia and Russia; and his desire for action was admirably seconded by letters he received from England. I have a note in which is written, “I send you a letter to read from the chairman of the directors, who in truth wishes to *walk on*. I wish they would be moved who are nearer.” This letter from the chairman was certainly a singular one, for it announced no less than a determination to take the Panjáb, Captain Burnes being promised the conduct of the expedition. Sir John Hobhouse, in his speech to the House of Commons on the 23rd June, 1842, states that a despatch to Lord Auckland “at the end of October, 1838, instructed his lordship in council to pursue *very nearly* the same course, which it afterwards appeared he had adopted without knowing our opinions.” It appears, therefore, his lordship did not pursue *quite* the course recommended by Sir John Hobhouse and the Secret Committee, and it is not impossible the slight error was made of marching to Kâbal instead of to La-

hore,—at least, such may be inferred from this letter of the chairman, who was one of the Secret Committee. This letter was sent by Captain Burnes to Lord Auckland through the private secretary, Mr. Colvin, and came back with the expression of his lordship's approval.

My intercourse with the Amír and Mírza Samí Khân had ceased altogether, the latter, seeing the bad turn affairs had taken, now wished to see me. Captain Burnes recommended me to call on him. I was with him nearly the whole day. He commenced by setting forth that his relative, Mírza Jáfar Khân, had purchased land, had built castles, had planted orchards and vineyards, and wished to keep them,—and left me to apply the meaning of what he said. I observed that I thought I understood it, that every one desired to keep his own, which I believed was so exactly what our government wished, that I was surprised there should have been any misunderstanding on the matter. The mírza agreed that I was right. He then, with reference to the negotiations with Captain Burnes, urged that I must have known better, and I pointed out that he was well aware of my opinions from the first. I had dissuaded him from making obnoxious proposals, and Captain Burnes from listening to them. More was out of my power. He asked how could Captain Burnes, unauthorised, sanction the proposal, and how could so great a government as that of India depute a “hillah mirdem,” frivolous man, as

he had proved to be? I replied that the government had sent him, believing him to be the person who would be most acceptable to them, and I prayed Mírza Samí not to allow any presumed defect in Captain Burnes' manner to make him lose sight of that officer's good intentions, for, however he had erred, and I regretted he had done so, it was still in the wish to serve them that he had incurred the displeasure of government. He next alluded to the despatch of Lieutenant Leech to Kândahár, and said the amír was much pleased with me for having remonstrated against it. I urged that Captain Burnes constantly assured me that the amír was delighted at his going. The mírza said on the contrary, but that they assented, lest Captain Burnes should take it ill. I then remarked that here was the cause of all our evil,—you say what you do not mean; but, unluckily, Captain Burnes has not had sufficient experience of you to know it, and he takes you at your word, but again you are to blame and not he. But what a *ghúl* to send! remarked the mírza. He then mentioned the despatch of Dr. Lord and Lieutenant Wood to Kúndúz, and said they did not go to cure Máhommed Morád Beg's brother's eye, but to visit Badakshân; and further, that Badrodín had received a letter from Mírza Badía telling him that Dr. Lord, instead of curing the diseased eye, had put the sound one out. Lieutenant Vektavich and his letter were discussed, the document being displayed before us. I persisted

that I had little faith in it, explaining for what reasons, and most certainly the mírza was as little credulous as I was. He inquired whether the Russians would do such a thing as to send a fabricated letter. I at once exonerated the Emperor, but thought it very likely Goutte and such people would. This led me to explain to him that any hope of benefiting by a collision between England and Russia was ridiculous; for not only did friendly relations exist between the two states, but should differences arise they would be adjusted in Europe, not in Kábal. We talked a long time about Herát and Persia, and I endeavoured to convince him that it was nonsensical to have any apprehension from Máhomed Sháh, for he could never dream of coming into Afghânistân unless positively invited, which, again, were any of the chiefs there to do, the mass of the people would reject both them and him. If by any infatuation, contrary to all probability, he should advance, it would only be to be lúted, or plundered. The question of Pesháwer was then broached, and he said that if it were given to Súltân Máhomed Khân, it would be right to recompense the amír for having maintained him and his adherents in exile. I did not tell him that I had recommended a sum annually to be given to the amír on this very account, but contented myself by observing the amír had a claim on that head to consideration.—He then said that many of Sultân Máhomed Khân's old servants now in the amír's service

would leave it; I remarked that it would be better they should, the amír's finances would be eased, and at Kâbal they would only do harm by their intrigues. I spoke in the most unreserved manner of the danger of their position, and repeated to him what I had before told him on more than one occasion, that the present state of affairs in Kâbal could not endure, and that the government, embarrassed as it was, must fall to pieces unless supported by the aid and countenance the British government in deputing Captain Burnes had tendered. Mírza Samí Khân did not deny the truth of this, but he asked, "To what are we to agree?" No question could be more perplexing. My reply was, "By heavens! I know no more than you, but I am certain you will not be required to agree to anything hurtful," and then added, "We must agree to everything without knowing what, and then we shall find out." Before we separated, it was arranged that Mírza Samí Khân, who had discontinued his visits to Captain Burnes, should call on him the next day, and I was to attend. The next day I heard nothing more, but on the following I was sent for. Mírza Samí Khân was disgusted at Captain Burnes' declamation, and I must confess I was no less so. It was clear enough it was no longer wished to settle matters.

Both the amír and Mírza Samí Khân had intimated to Captain Burnes that business was over, but that he might, if he chose, remain a month or so at Kâbal, which was understood, by every one but

himself, as a wish he should leave, but it was not convenient to do so until Dr. Lord and Lieutenant Wood returned.

This delay brought about many unpleasant circumstances and discussions. Some of the people, who had kept aloof since the arrival of the mission, one evening ventured to ask the amír what he was doing with Sekander. He replied that he did not know. He had told him to go, but he stayed; he was ignorant for what object. They suggested he should send for me. He said he would, and if satisfied with what I said, he would throw himself on the government. Two messages were brought to me that the amír was in the humour to have a conversation with me, and informing Captain Burnes, I remained at home, supposing I might be sent for. It did not happen so; when the darbár was over, interested persons contrived to draw his attention to other things, and it was forgotten. I could have seen him at any time, but refrained from troubling him, for I well knew, however I might be able to bring him to think reasonably, Captain Burnes would spoil what would be done.

Some indelicate exposures, affecting some of the suite of Captain Burnes, probably accelerated his departure, for suddenly he determined to move without waiting for the arrival of Dr. Lord and Lieutenant Wood, who were on the road to join him. I never knew the exact reason for the pre-

cipitancy, and thought, as he had waited so long, he might have remained another two or three days for his companions.

The contempt into which the mission had fallen, indeed, prompted certain persons to propose to the amír the seizure and spoil of the envoy, and while proffering to commit the deed they had repeated the *fátíha* in his presence. The amír did not sanction the measure, although he did not rebuke the proposers. A very general report spread over the country, that Captain Burnes was to be made a victim, but I understood the intention, never perhaps entertained by the amír, was abandoned; indeed, at that time, it would have been perilous in the extreme to have attempted such a thing, and there were plenty of us in Kâbal to have made it recoil on those who imagined it.

I had, during my residence at Kâbal, been favoured with many attacks on my house, the last I experienced about this time. I was sitting alone in my room with the door open, and had just time to close it against a party coming up the stairs. In their flight they fell one over the other, and then over some water-jars at the bottom of the staircase. After leaving Kâbal, I became informed of two of the men employed on this occasion, although such knowledge did not enlighten me as to their employers.

When it was known in Kâbal that we were about to leave, there was a wish on the part of

many of the inhabitants to present me with an address, which I declined; it was suggested it might serve me with the government, but I protested against any favour from the government to be gained by such an instrument.

I was wholly unprepared for so abrupt a departure as we made; three of my servants were in the Kohistán, and unable to have my effects packed, I was compelled to distribute more than half of them to my neighbours. On the 26th of April Captain Burnes preceded me to Bhút Khâk, and I followed him. On the morning of the 27th, Mírza Samí Khân, who had come to the camp, asked Captain Burnes if it were possible to renew negotiations. He was told it was not. He then came and embraced me, and seemed quite surprised to learn I was going, saying he had hoped I would remain, that there was no occasion for me to leave, that no one was angry with me, that I had lived many years with them in credit, and that nothing could happen to lessen me in estimation, and so forth. I had only to say I was sorry to leave in such a manner, but, as they thought proper to reject Burnes, I had no option. We then mounted our horses, Captain Burnes saying to me, "Your leaving them, Masson, is 'the unkindest cut of all.'"

Thus closed a mission, one of the most extraordinary ever sent forth by a government, whether as to the singular manner in which it was conducted, or as to the results. There was undoubt-

edly great blame on all sides. The government had furnished no instructions, apparently confiding in the discretion of a man who had none. Captain Burnes I always thought was very wrong in not having insisted upon being provided with them; his vanity and presumption led him, perhaps, to despise them, or even to rejoice that they had been omitted—his best excuse for the series of blunders he committed. Dost Máhoméd Khân and his friends were, I think, most to be pitied. They had, indeed, shown the cloven foot, but it was the general opinion in Kâbal, and was mine, that had they been properly treated, they would have done as much as could have been hoped from them.

Of this mission a very inadequate idea would be formed from the printed correspondence—in truth, scarcely any at all. It is deplorable to read the worthless evidence there adduced, and the erroneous impressions of the deluded envoy. The intelligence from Kândahár, so frequently cited, was from the communications of one Máhoméd Táhir, a servant to Mohan Láll, and these were, clearly enough, written at the dictation of Meher Díl Khân himself, to “rouse the mind of Sekander Burnes.” The communication, enclosure No. 28, dated 19th July, 1838, is from a Frenchman named Carron, in Kâbal. The sad manner in which Captain Burnes misrepresented facts, I cannot better show than by allusion to No. 13, a letter to Mr. Macnaghten, page 14, in which my name happens to be mentioned.

He states that he has more grounds for believing that Captain Vektavich, the Russian agent at Kábal, is charged with letters for Runjeet Singh, &c., &c. "In the course of yesterday, Mr. Masson was informed that the Russian agent had letters for the Máhárájáh, and the purport of them was to the effect, that if his highness did not withdraw from Pesháwer, the Russian government would compel him." Now I never was informed that Vektavich had letters for Ranjit Singh, but I was informed that, at the amír's request, he was going to write letters; and that Captain Burnes knew more than this may be doubted from the following note to me. "V—— has agreed to write to Runjeet Sing and tell him the amír is under R——n protection, also to Allard!" I, moreover, at the time remarked to him, why should not Vektavich write? what does he care to whom he writes, or what he writes? certainly attaching no importance to anything he wrote. I was, therefore, surprised to find my authority quoted in his letter. I have another singular note, with respect to Vektavich, which may be worth while giving, as exemplifying the plan on which Captain Burnes fed the alarm of the government. He had just seen the amír, and writes, "I will tell you all when we meet, but the most *astounding* intelligence I had given me by him on the Russian's authority was, that Russia had sent four thousand men to the east of the Caspian, to keep the Toorkmans in check while the

shâh attacked Herat." This report went to government without any remark that it was utterly unfounded. That it must be false I pointed out, saying that Vektavich was sent to tell lies, that he kept himself in Kâbal by telling lies ; still it was more than pity that Captain Burnes should be deceived, or that he should lend himself to deceive the government. On fifty occasions I had to protest against the delusive intelligence he forwarded without explanation ; his excuse, indeed, was that he merely sent reports as he received them, and was not responsible for their truth ; yet on some of these very items of intelligence, which the most arrant blockhead in Kâbal would have rejected as fallacious, and which no one, I venture to say, would have dared to make to me, a government of India and a British ministry justify the monstrous policy they followed, nor feel ashamed to impose them upon the ignorance of a British parliament, and to stultify the nation as to the character of their wanton proceedings !

We left Vektavich in Kâbal. I had always thought his object was merely to see what Captain Burnes was doing — that he achieved more was owing to the folly of Captain Burnes himself. As soon as the mission disappeared, Vektavich had no longer a motive in staying, and he thought of returning, which, luckily for him, the arrival of Meher Dîl Khân from Kândahâr enabled him to do. Dost Mâhommed Khân asked him for the money he had

promised; he very properly replied he was no banker who carried money about with him;—that the amír must send his envoys with him to the Persian camp where they would get it. Had not the Kândahár Sírdár been at Kâbal, the chance was that Vektavich might in reality have had his throat cut. As it was the amír despatched one Abú Khân, Bárák Zai, with Vektavich, and he, as will be seen in enclosure No. 38, page 32 of the Correspondence, accompanied him to Kândahár, and then “disappeared.” In the same enclosure, No. 38, the name of Hâjí Hússén Alí Khân figures as the Persian ambassador; this was the same man who at Calcutta presented forged credentials from Dost Máhoméd Khân. Do governments deserve contempt or pity for being influenced by the movements of such impostors and scoundrels?

CHAPTER XX.

Progress to Pesháwer.—Captain Burnes summoned to Lahore.—Letter of Captain Burnes.—Reply of government.—Unsatisfactory employment.—Letters of Captain Burnes.—Letter of Mr. Macnaghten.—My recommendations.—Plans of the government.—Their development.—Mr. Macnaghten volunteers his services.—His career and fate.—Jew.—Dr. Lord's Russian spy.—Captain Burnes' representations to Lord Auckland.—Mr. Colvin's note.—My submission.—Offensive communications.—Resignation of service.—Excursion.—Journey to Lahore and Ferozpúr.—Passage down the river.—Mr. Macnaghten's letter.—Interview with Sir Alexander Burnes.—Lord Auckland's offers.—Captain Burnes' insincerity.—Dr. Lord's account.—Sir Alexander Burnes' account.—Application of Mr. Macnaghten.—Squabbles.—Conclusion.

FROM Kábal we were escorted to Jelálabád by Názír Alí Máhomed, and thence on jálas, or floats, we descended the river to Pesháwer. Here we were soon after joined by the Kúndúz party, and Captain Burnes received orders to proceed to an interview with Mr. Secretary Macnaghten, deputed on a mission to Máhárájá Ranjit Singh. It may have been collected that I was by no means satisfied with the relation in which I stood to the government of India—indeed, on the arrival of Cap-

tain Burnes at Kâbal, I represented to him that I thought there was no longer occasion for me to continue in hopeless and unprofitable employment. He, however, had addressed a letter to government which I may be excused inserting, and prayed me to await the result.

“ Cabool, 9th October, 1837.

“ SIR,

“ Before proceeding further with my communications on the state of affairs in this quarter, I feel it a duty incumbent on me to report, for the information of the Right Honourable the Governor-general in Council, the great aid and cordial assistance which I have derived from Mr. Masson, not only since my arrival here, but from his constant correspondence since I left Bombay.

“ If I shall be fortunate enough to merit the approbation of his lordship in council, for what may be accomplished here, I feel that I shall owe much to Mr. Masson, whose high literary attainments, long residence in this country, and accurate knowledge of people and events, afford me, at every step, the means of coming to a judgment more correct than, in an abrupt transition to Cabool, I could have possibly formed.

“ I discharge, therefore, a pleasing task, in acknowledging the assistance which I receive from Mr. Masson, and while I do so, it is also my duty to state, that I by no means wish the Right Honour-

able the Governor-general in council, to consider Mr. Masson as responsible for the opinions and views which I may take up and report to government.

“ I have the honour to be, sir,

“ Your most obedient humble servant,

Signed,

“ ALEX. BURNES.

“ On a mission to Cabool.”

“ To W. H. M'Naghten, Esq.

“ Secretary to the Government of India, Fort William.”

This letter was noticed in a despatch from the secretary, not to Captain Burnes, but to Captain Wade, in the following manner:—

“ The Governor-general has derived much satisfaction from the high testimony borne by yourself and Captain Burnes, to the praiseworthy manner in which Mr. Masson has conducted the duties entrusted to him, and Captain Burnes will be requested to furnish to him copies of your letters, and to intimate to that gentleman the high sense which is entertained by the Governor-general of his faithful and valuable services.”

As Captain Burnes was now alone, and it was easy to foresee the mission would be involved in difficulties, I judged it delicate to remain with him until it was brought to an end, otherwise I certainly should have forwarded my resignation at this time. Now that we had reached Pesháwer I again brought the matter to Captain Burnes' notice, and he again prayed

me to stay there, while he would represent my case to Lord Auckland at Simla, and settle everything, so that I should be compelled to be satisfied. I consented to remain at Pesháwer, because I had no wish to see any persons belonging to the government, for my opinions of many of them had long been made up; I also well knew that there were difficulties which Captain Burnes, perhaps, did not foresee, but which I suspected were not to be got over; moreover I had determined on the course to adopt, simply that of advancing no pretensions, but if still neglected, and kept in a position where I could not be useful, to clear myself from embarrassment by quitting a service which had long been disagreeable to me, and which I felt to be dishonourable besides.

Captain Burnes had reasonable anxiety that his conduct in the late mission might be called into question. The French officers at Pesháwer also expressed solicitude for him. He was soon relieved from any apprehension on that account.

In a letter from Hássan Avdâl of 2nd of June, 1838, he enclosed me one from Mr. Macnaghten, and wrote, "I suppose it is a counterpart of my own to ascertain your sentiments of what is to be done to counteract the policy of Dost Máhoméd Khân. They shall have my sentiments sharp enough, and as for *Sikh* rule in Cabool it will never do. What *theirs* are I do not know, but you may guess from Wade's note to me which I enclose. It is unique—

Why he infers you were to stay at Pesháwer I know not."

On the 4th, or two days after, he wrote from Râwal Pindí,—“They wish to have all our opinions, but their determination to act is clear. I have a letter by Lord Auckland’s desire from Mr. Colvin this morning, telling me to repair to Adeena-naggar, where I shall be fully and confidentially informed of his lordship’s views in the present crisis. I am also told, that ‘the Governor-general is quite satisfied that you have done all that could be done to ensure success at Cabool, notwithstanding the failure of our negotiations.’ He (his lordship) is perfectly assured also, that you will now apply yourself to the fulfilment of any new part that may be assigned to you with the same assiduity and ardent zeal which you have always manifested in the discharge of public duty.—*My inference from all this is that Shah Shooja is immediately to be put forward.*”

The letter of Mr. Macnaghten is much too curious to be omitted, Captain Wade’s unique note I regret to have lost, or perhaps I returned it.

“Camp in the Panjâb, May 23, 1838.

“MY DEAR SIR,

“You will have heard that I am proceeding on a mission to Runjeet Singh; and as at my interview with his highness it is probable that the question of his relations with the Afghâns will come on the tapis, I am naturally desirous of obtaining the

opinion of the best-informed men with respect to them. Would you oblige me, therefore, by stating what means of counteraction to the policy of Dost Máhoméd Khán you would recommend for adoption, and whether you think that the Síkhs, using any (and what?) instrument of Afghán agency, could establish themselves in Caboul. In giving your opinion as to what should be done in the present crisis, you will not, of course, view the question as one affecting the Síkhs and Afgháns alone, but as one materially connected with our own interests. I should be glad to be favoured with your reply as soon as convenient. Perhaps you had better direct it to the care of Captains Wade or Burnes, in the camp of the Máhárájáh.

“I am, my dear sir,

“Very truly yours

Signed,

“W. H. MACNAGHTEN.”

“To C. Masson, Esq.”

Mr. Macnaghten as before noted, had been deputed on a mission. It might be supposed from this letter that he did not know why he had been deputed, or farther than he was sent to arrange something, whatever it might be, at his own discretion. Lord Auckland's missions seem to have been much of the same character.

In reply to Mr. Macnaghten, I deprecated the extravagant notion of establishing the Síkhs in

Kâbal, and as the lesser evil recommended the establishment of Shâh Sûjah al Mûlkh, aware that the government had determined upon action of some kind, and never dreaming that an army of twenty thousand men was to be employed to effect an object which could have been readily accomplished without a British soldier, simply by sending the Shâh to Peshâwer under a proper understanding with the Mâhârâjâ.

That government at this time contemplated no employment of its arms, a subsequent letter from Captain Burnes of 21st of June, may perhaps show. It was from Lahore, after he had seen Mr. Macnaghten. "Public affairs here are in an advanced state, and I consider our relations with the Panjab on the verge of being materially altered, and Shoojaool Moolk close on ascending the throne of his ancestors. You may remember the treaty between the Shâh and Runjeet. That is the base of everything, and it only now remains to be settled whether he is to go by Peshawer or by Candahar to his throne. A son at Peshawer to demonstrate there, and the Shah himself at Shikarpore seems the favoured scheme here, but this is not yet settled. The Shah is to have an agent on our part with him, English officers and English money; but it is not yet settled if he is to have any of our troops. I am clear for a regiment or two; but there seems to be some fear of objections to the thing on the part of

Runjeet Sing. The treaty to be formed is tripartite, and the *Sinde orange* is to be squeezed. How much I know not, but very much I hope."

In the same letter Captain Burnes wrote, "I have had the satisfaction of being told that I was sent to do *impossible things* at Cabool, so all my labour that did not succeed was not expected to succeed! Politics are a queer science."

In a very short time it became developed that a large armament was to accompany the Shâh, and Sir Henry Fane was flattered with having the direction of it, while Captain Burnes was soothed with the notion of being associated with his excellency as commissioner. Councils of all kinds were held at Simla, until the expedition was fairly determined upon, when Mr. Secrètary Macnaghten volunteered his services for the occasion on the ground that Captain Burnes could hardly be depended upon in so important an affair. This was no doubt true, although the unfortunate secretary was the last man in India who should have put himself forward. He saw I fear the opportunity of gratifying his ambition and vanity, and either over-estimated his ability or fancied that he had an easy task before him. The retreat of the Persians from Herât, in fact, had rendered an expedition unnecessary; but the army had been assembled, the appointments had been made, and it was necessary the new envoy and minister should parade through Afghânistân. I need not allude to the subsequent career of that

functionary or to his miserable end. It would tempt one to exclaim,

“Grand Dieu ! tes jugemens sont pleins d’équité.”

I remained at Pesháwer throughout the hot and rainy seasons, in a bad state of health. Major Tod passed through on his journey from Herát to Simla, and with him came the Jew described by Dr. Lord as a Russian spy, and who of course appropriately appears in the Afghân correspondence, pages 18 and 21. This man lived the few days he stayed at Pesháwer at my quarters. A pedlar by trade, he and his visitors were so noisy in making their bargains that I was obliged on account of my head to have him removed to the opposite side of the garden. He had a plan of Jerusalem with him and I should judge was not perfectly sane. That such a man could be conceived a Russian spy was certainly ridiculous. He went towards Káshmír with a kâfila and I gave him five or ten rupees to help him on his journey. The French officers assisted him in like manner. When Captain Burnes saw Lord Auckland at Simla he conversed with him on my affairs, and reported to me the substance of his lordship’s remarks. They were unmeaning enough, but stated my services were too valuable to be dispensed with, while omitting to do what would be only just to place me in a fair position. Captain Burnes also stated my claims to assistant’s allowances during the Kâbal mission. His lordship admitted they were

valid, but said the benefit had better be prospective. Captain Burnes when apprising me of all this sent me a note from Mr. Colvin to himself, which as he said would explain itself. "You may write to Mr. Masson to say that Lord Auckland is *really* sensible of his merits, and would wish to consult his convenience and feelings as much as he with propriety can. While the present crisis lasts, his services are too valuable to his country to admit of his being detached to a distance. He will remain, probably, so long as the rains last at Pesháwer, but when the Shâh proceeds in force towards Shikárpúr he will have to move down to that quarter to join the principal political officer employed. When the object of the expedition shall have been attained, Lord Auckland will gladly consider what arrangement can be made so as best to meet his views."

Most assuredly this communication did not satisfy me, for it settled nothing; however, I offered no opposition, and expressed to Captain Burnes that I was content to go on—resting on the assurance he had given me that Dr. Lord, who had been appointed to proceed to Pesháwer, was coming to relieve me. I had scarcely signified my consent, when I received a letter from Mr. Secretary Macnaghten, directing me to forward my correspondence, under cover to Captain Wade. This might have surprised me for more than one reason, but I had soon more cause for surprise in another letter from Mr. Macnaghten, informing me of Dr.

Lord's mission, and calling upon me to afford him every aid in my power.

I now found that it was Mr. Macnaghten's pleasure that I should remain at Pesháwer, and that he had set aside the decision of Lord Auckland and the private secretary. I now felt privileged to follow my own inclinations; I, therefore, awaited the arrival of Dr. Lord, and did assist him as far as information and counsel could assist such a man—and then forwarded my resignation to government, in a manner that it might be known I was in earnest. Released from the thralldom in which I had been kept since 1835, I then made an excursion to Shâh Báz Gharí in the Yusef Zai districts, to recover some Bactro-pâlí inscriptions on a rock there, and was successful, returning with both copies and impressions on calico. From Pesháwer I next crossed the Indus, and proceeded to Lahore, from whence I reached Ferozpúr on the same day that Lord Auckland crossed the Satlej on a visit to Ranjit Singh. I had the satisfaction to be again amongst my countrymen in the British camp, where I remained until it broke up, and the army marched towards Bahâwalpúr and Sínd, when I sailed down the river in the fleet with Sir Henry Fane.

While at Ferozpúr, I would on no consideration see any of the politicals, for I was abundantly surfeited with them. However, when there I received the official acceptance of my resignation, which I

introduce here because it has been latterly put forth that I was dismissed the service. I did not take the trouble to contradict the falsehood, — it was unnecessary.

(Pol. Dept.)

TO C. MASSON, ESQ. PESHAWER.

“ SIR,

“ I am desired by the Right Honourable the Governor-general of India, to acknowledge the receipt of your letter dated the 16th ultimo, tendering your resignation of the service of the government of India.

“ In reply, I am directed to acquaint you, that in compliance with your wish, the Governor-general has been pleased to accept your resignation.

“ I have the honour to be,

“ Sir,

“ Your most obedient humble servant,

“ S^d. W. H. MACNAGHTEN.”

Secretary to Governor of India,
with the Gov.-general.

Camp, at Ferozepore, the
30th November, 1838.

After passing Bahâwalpûr, where Sir Henry Fane had an interview with Bahâwal Khân, we reached the frontier of Sind, where I again saw Sir Alexander Burnes. He informed me that Mr. Colvin

had written to him at Lord Auckland's request, to use his influence with me to remain in the service, and to offer me my own terms. Mr. Colvin's letter had been sent to Sir John Keane, therefore I did not see it. I had much conversation with Sir Alexander Burnes, and, observing that he had become fully acquainted with my views, he promised to frame a letter to Mr. Colvin, which he would send for my approval. We had also much discourse on the state of affairs. I had previously learned from Dr. Lord a strange account of the mode in which the *amiable* Lord Auckland had been driven into measures which his better judgment disapproved, and how he was obliged to yield to the assaults of certain females, aides-de-camp and secretaries; and now I questioned Sir Alexander on the part he had taken, particularly as regarded the useless expedition. He replied that it was arranged before he reached Simla, and *that* when he arrived Torrens and Colvin came running to him and prayed him to say nothing to unsettle his lordship; that they had all the trouble in the world to get him into the business, and that even now he would be glad of any pretence to retire from it.

Sir Alexander Burnes sent me his proposed letter to Mr. Colvin, and I was compelled to regret in return, that I had given him the trouble to write it.

At Bakkar I learned from Sir Alexander Burnes, that Mr. Macnaghten, who had reached Shikárpúr,

finding himself entirely at fault, had written to him to send me over directly. Sir Alexander spared me any trouble on this occasion, for he answered the envoy and minister, and without my knowledge. There were sad squabbles here between these two leading politicals, and I was very well pleased to have nothing to do with either of them.

I accompanied Sir Henry Fane to the mouth of the Indus, where he found a vessel to take him on to Bombay, and I returned to Tatta, for the purpose of seeing Colonel, now Sir Henry Pottinger. With this gentleman I forwarded to England a work, the appearance of which was in some manner prevented. In an altered form I now submit it to the public, reserving the portion on subjects, unnoticed in these volumes, it may be, for future publication.

THE END.

NARRATIVE
OF VARIOUS JOURNEYS
IN
BALOCHISTAN, AFGHANISTAN,
THE PANJAB, & KALÂT,

During a Residence in those Countries.

TO WHICH IS ADDED,

AN ACCOUNT OF THE INSURRECTION AT KALÂT, AND A MEMOIR ON
EASTERN BALOCHISTAN.

By CHARLES MASSON, Esq.

ILLUSTRATED WITH A LARGE MAP AND NUMEROUS ENGRAVINGS

IN FOUR VOLUMES:

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NARRATIVE

OF A

JOURNEY TO KALĀT,

INCLUDING AN ACCOUNT OF
THE INSURRECTION IN BALOCHISTAN, ETC.

CHAPTER I.

Objects of Journey.—Determination of route.—State of the country.—Capt. Outram's narrative.—Imputations on Réhim Khân.—Departure from Karáchí.—Route to Súnmiání.—Reception at Súnmiání.—Interview with the Jám.—Darbár.—Departure of Réhim Khân.—State of feeling in Las.—Interview with Réhim Khân.—His satisfaction.—Exculpation of Réhim Khân.—Departure from Súnmiání.—Incidents at Obádí.—Whirlwind.—Arrival at Béla.—Delays and disastrous rumours.—Indecision of my companion.—His departure.—Mehráb Khân's brother.—Capt. Wallace's letter.—Lieut. Loveday's messenger.—Interview with Mehráb Khân's brother.—His distress and intentions.—Departure from Béla.—Reflections on the uncertainty existing in Las.—The appointment of an agency and its abolition.

HAVING despatched for publication in England a variety of manuscripts, in the early part of 1840, I found myself at Karáchí, in Sind, as I supposed free to move where I pleased; and with reference to further literary and scientific projects I determined, with the unemployed materials in my possession, to

return to Kâbal, and the countries to which they related, judging I could there arrange them for the press with accuracy and advantage. I was also desirous to continue my antiquarian researches—with the due prosecution of which government employ had interfered,—and to carry out the examination of certain points I felt assured to be within the power of verification; which, for the same reason, I had been compelled to neglect. I estimated that a period of two years in Afghânistân would suffice for my objects, and that I should be altogether about three years absent.

Disposed to take the road to Kalât, which I had twice before travelled, it behoved me to ascertain if I could do so prudently: being, of course, aware that a new order of things prevailed, and it was possible that recent political accidents might have caused, amongst the people I should meet, feelings to which, ten years ago, they were strangers. Moreover, Réhim Khân, son of the Minghal sirdâr, Walí Máhoméd Khân, slain at Kalât, was now residing in Las, and in power, from having married a sister of the young chief, or jám, as he is entitled.

In this suspense, my former companion, Kâlikdád, with whom I made my first journey to Kalât, as related in my work before the public,* visited Karáchí on his commercial business. I could have

Vide vol. ii. chap. 2, Journeys in Balochistân, Afghânistân, and the Panjâb, &c.

no better counsellor; and on communing with him he encouraged me, and well remarked, that he should himself be with me. I had heretofore experienced that his company was sufficient protection.

At this time the Government of India was intensely anxious it should be believed, that every object of the expedition beyond the Indus had been attained; that the countries affected by it were in a state of quiet and happiness hitherto unknown, and that their inhabitants hailed with delight the innovations introduced amongst them, and the changes which had been brought about. The ministers in England were eager to circulate the same impressions, whether in the houses of Parliament or at other public meetings. I had, however, doubts upon these points, which led me to interrogate Kâlikdád as to the amount of force at Quetta and Kalât, when, learning that there were twelve hundred men at the first place and two hundred at the latter, I felt easy, as there could then be little apprehension of any immediate outbreak. That there was a large force at Kândahár, as well as at Kâbal, I was myself informed. Kâlikdád, indeed, admitted that the Bráhúí and Baloch tribes, while passive, were in a sad state of irritation, more particularly on account of the annexation of Kach Gandâva to the dominions of Shâh Sújâh al Múlkh. He farther told me, that Mír Azem, the brother of the late Mehráb Khân, was at Béla in Las, sub-

sisting on the slender bounty of the jám, and that Máhoméd Hassan, the young son of the late Kalât ruler, was a fugitive at Khárân, accompanied by Dárogah Gúl Máhoméd. As regarded the government of Kalât, he knew nothing more than that Shâh Nawâz Khân was seated there, but whether as an independent chief, or merely holding authority on trust, he could not tell; and all other arrangements respecting the country were equally enigmatical to him.

I concerted with the merchant to accompany his kâfila, about to form at Súnmiání, as far as Béla, and thence together to proceed rapidly to Kalât; it being his desire to look after his land there, and mine to gain a cool and agreeable climate. The kâfila was to follow leisurely, and in company therewith my servants and effects. Kâlikdád returned to Súnmiání, promising to write when the kâfila was ready, and to inform me as to the reception I might expect from Réhim Khân. In process of time I received two letters from him, affirming generally that all was right, but not specifically mentioning Réhim Khân, or the temper he was in. In my solicitude to be moving, I did not criticise too narrowly the deficiency in these epistles, and put the most favourable construction on them, that, if there had been evil, Kâlikdád would have reported it, knowing, besides, that he was personally intimate with the chief.

A night or two before I left Karáchí I dined

with Captain Wallace, assistant political agent, Major Forbes, commanding the 2nd Bombay grenadiers, and Captain Le Mesurier, of the quarter-master-general's department. The latter was good enough to give me a sight of Captain Outram's published narrative, which, including a flying trip from Kalât to Súnmiání, he judged would interest me. The concluding paragraph of that *brochure*, in truth, contained matter to arrest my attention, as it related to this very Réhim Khân, of whose disposition I had doubts, which Kálikdád had not by his letters removed.

Captain Outram writes—"From Curachee I proceeded to Bombay, and not many days after my arrival there a party of Beloche horse-dealers also landed, who had embarked at Sonmeanee very shortly after my departure from that seaport. They state, that at midnight of the evening on which I sailed, the son of Wullee Máhomed Khân, (the chief of Wudd, who was slain at the storm of Khelat,) arrived in great haste, with a party, in pursuit of me; and, on learning that I had already gone, displayed extreme disappointment and irritation. It would appear, that information of my journey, and disguise, had been received by this chief the day after I passed through Nall. To the forced march of fifty miles, therefore, which was made thence by our party, with the design of outstripping the flying tidings of the overthrow of Khelat, I may consider myself principally indebted for my escape; my pur-

suers having missed me at the seaport of Sonmeanee only by a few hours."

Although I could not doubt that Captain Outram had received the information he speaks of from the horse-dealers, I was willing to hope they had misinformed him. I knew no more of Réhim Khân than that he was the son of an estimable father; but reflecting on the obligations to avenge blood, which are remarkably stringent upon the tribes of the Bráhuí community, and on the course which Réhim Khân was likely to adopt in his situation, I could conceive it possible that he might have sought to gratify his revenge in the hills between Béla and Nall, but could hardly credit that he would venture upon such a step upon the soil of Las; for there the equally stringent obligation to respect the interests of the young jám would have deterred him. Besides, in Las, whatever influence Réhim Khân possessed, he was still an alien, and too many persons were concerned to have allowed him, by so rash an action, to have brought down vengeance upon them and their little province.

I had no fear of Réhim Khân at Las, but Réhim Khân in the hills was to be suspected; however, confiding on Kâlikdád and my own good fortune, I decided to prosecute the journey, for which I was prepared, without waiting for further explanation.

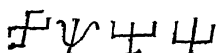
On the evening of the 30th of April I left Karáchi, attended by an old servant, Rasúl, a Kásh-mírian, and a chance companion, a hájí of Ghazní,

who attached himself to us with the idea of being provided for on his journey homeward. I had also engaged the services to Súnmiáni of two guides across the country; while their camels served to lighten the loads on my own animals, of which I numbered three. I was mounted on an excellent Kábal horse, and my people were on foot. I was attired in my ordinary Kábal costume, but never intended to conceal for a moment, if that were possible, that I was a Feringhí.

Our road led across the level plain, until we approached low detached hills, preceding the valley of the Hab river. During the night we came upon a party of men, so soundly asleep on the road-side that we did not arouse them in passing, although Bádil, a young lad, one of the guides, who was in advance, leading the camels, carolled blithly as he trudged along. The day dawned upon us in the Hab valley before we had reached the river. There was ample space, and the surface, chequered with stunted trees and bushes, afforded good camel forage, and much grass for other cattle. We descried no huts or habitations, but columns of smoke ascending in various parts above the scanty foliage of the scenery around, indicated where they might be found. From Karáchí to the valley the milky túr-bush, or prickly pear, had never failed; and now we had dwarf trees, as bérs, karérs, and mimosas. The bed of the river was wide and sandy, but at this time without a continued stream of water in it.

The valley, in its placid and serene aspect, opposed a strong contrast to that exhibited in the upper part of the course of the river, which I had the opportunity to witness some years since, when I crossed it in progress from Dággar dí Got to Sún-míání. The river banks were some twenty feet in height, and the bed included between them about two hundred feet in breadth.

Immediately beyond the river the surface, rocky and sprinkled with túr-bushes, ascends gradually to a range of hills. Some of them are of considerable elevation, but they are not continuous; and the road leads through an opening, without much variation in level. At the foot of the superior hills, on the right hand, large fragments of rock lie by the path. The front of one of these is daubed with white paint, on which is marked, in red and black colours, many symbolic characters, pointing out the frontier boundary between Sind and Las.



These are curious, being those found on many of the Indó-Scythic coins so numerously discovered in Afghânistân and the Panjâb, and which are generally supposed to be Buddhist emblems. The first in order from the left is, undoubtedly, the *Swastica*, or sanctified cross; the remainder may be literal combinations of mystical or secular import.

The basis of the hills is shelly limestone; fragments of amygdoloid and pudding-stone strew their skirts. Fossilized shells, chiefly ammonites, are so common that the smallest pebble shows traces of them; and this remark applies to the entire tract of country between Karáčí and Súnmiání.

From the boundary rocks we traversed an arid, cheerless plain, until we reached a pool of brackish water, where we halted. Considering that we had marched nearly the whole night, and that the day was well advanced, we could scarcely have travelled less than twenty or twenty-two miles to this spot, named Bhowání.

The heat was most intense, and the trivial shade of a diminutive *bér*-tree, near the margin of the muddy pool, was the only protection at command. The camels, whether weary, or oppressed by the sultry weather, sluggishly browsed on the scant bushes fringing the water. During the day flocks of sheep and of goats would occasionally appear, as did a numerous herd of humped horned cattle, in condition so excellent, that it was plain, however unpromising the aspect of the country, that good and abundant pasture was to be found in the neighbourhood. These animals belonged to the Shékhs, one of the Lassí tribes, dwelling west of the Hab river.

A little beyond us was a *káfila* from Súnmiání, carrying ghee to Karáčí;—at the spot they had chosen to halt at were a few wells, the water less palatable than that of our turbid pool. The day I

passed here was a long and listless one. We started from Bhowání before sunset, a broken and sterile tract lying before us. The night had far advanced, when the sound of waves breaking on the shore proclaimed in hoarse murmurs our vicinity to the sea. Some time after, the road winding round a frightful precipice, led into a dark and narrow defile between high walls of rock for about one hundred and fifty yards, emerging from which we stood upon the sea-shore. We halted a few minutes to admire the luminous and phosphorescent billows as they magnificently rolled upon the coast, and then pursued our journey until, by the break of day, we reached Karírah, a spot uninhabited, but used as a station or place of rest. Here was a well of bad water, and, we were told, a village of huts over the hills on our right. Coarse grass was plentiful, with camel forage.

I could find no more efficient shelter than that afforded by a túr-bush, shifting my ground as the circuit of the sun changed the varying shadow it projected. The crows and mainas were so voracious, that they perched on the humps of the camels, and actually pecked holes in them; the mainas treated my horse in the same manner, and the poor animal was so incommoded by them, and swarms of flies and gnats, that he broke loose, and was secured only after a long chase on the shore, where the novelty of the waves seemed to confound him, and he stood still allowing himself to be caught.

In the evening we were glad to leave this vexatious spot; and, following the shore, we reached at night ^{APAI} Bâgh Amb, (the mango garden,) where we found a solitary mango-tree and a pool of water;—there were also a few wells and huts near.

In the morning we started for Súnmiáni, over a hard and level plain, passing midway some Lúmri huts. The peasantry, males and females, carrying jars of milk and curds, announced our vicinity to the little seaport. I had considerably preceded my companions, and overtook some men driving camels towards the town. One of them asked if I was not Masson, and informed me that he was one of Kâlikdád's men, and putting himself in front of my horse, led the way to his master's quarters.

Kâlikdád, aware of my approach, had gone to tell Réhim Khân, and to procure a house for me. He returned with Díwân Tírat, the Jám's Hindú agent, and after a profusion of welcomes, the temple of Rájá Gopind Chand (the Mússúlmân's Pír Pattar) was thought best fitted to receive me, and I was conducted to it. The díwân left me, and shortly returned with a sheep, baskets of rice, flour and sugar, a vessel of ghee, wood, and other necessities. Poles were brought to erect tents, but I protested against so much trouble being taken.

The Hindú temple comprised but one small room, and when Kâlikdád had brought half a dozen fowls, and others of my old acquaintance had testified their pleasure at seeing me again, by

offerings of various supplies, the place had much the appearance of a well-stocked dokân, or shop. I had learned at Karáchí that my former Hindú friend, Tâh Mal, had died in reduced circumstances, and his son Pápá not presenting himself amongst my visitors, I inquired for him. He soon appeared, remarking, when told a Feringhí wished to see him, that he knew it could be no other than Masson. In the evening, a formal deputation of four persons waited on me, by order of the jám, to convey his welcome, and wish to see me at the darbár in the morning.

In due time I was sent for, and went to the jám's residence, where the darbár was held. The young chief, fifteen or sixteen years of age, was so small for his years, that had I not seen him in 1831, when yet an infant and carried in arms, I could scarcely have credited his being so old. I was told that his career had been sickly. He expressed himself glad to see me, and alluded to some bhúts, or pictures, I had given to him on my former visit. He was attired in a plain muslin shirt and red silk trowsers, with an ordinary Sindian cap on his head, while a silk kés, or shawl, supported his knees, being carried around them and his waist. On his fingers were four or five emerald and turquoise rings, and a sword was lying before him. His features were regular, without being prominent, and his countenance fair and pleasing, but rather feminine. On his right hand

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sat Réhim Khân, and next to him the vakíl Alla Rikka, much advanced in age. On his left hand were Ibráhím Rúnjah, a relative of the jám, the Dárogah Sáhow, and others. The sides of the apartment were lined with persons of all descriptions, some seated, and some, less privileged, standing. Nothing could be more homely than the darbár of Las. The greeting of the young jám, was succeeded by the same token of civility from all those near him, each individual standing while he repeated it.

I was pleased to observe that the appearance and manner of Réhim Khân were prepossessing in his favour, and a pause occurring after the salutations were exchanged, I put his feelings to the test, by raising my hands to repeat fátíha on account of his father's death. Had he not joined in the ceremony, he would have been deficient in courtesy, and there would have been no doubt of his exasperated state of mind,—if he joined, his resentment, if any, became disarmed, or he was no longer at liberty to gratify it. He instantly uplifted his hands; the company present did the same, and fátíha was repeated by all. When concluded, I remarked that his father had honourably lived and died; that his death was the will of God, and I trusted all prosperity would attend himself. He observed, that his father had fallen, as became a brave man, by the side of his agâ (master). I rejoined, that his death was an enviable one, and

that his fame had spread throughout the world. Réhim Khân was evidently proud of the attention thus publicly paid to him, and no longer maintained reserve in conversation. During the fátíha tears trickled down the furrowed cheeks of old Alla Rikka; and the remembrance of the worthy Walí Máhomed sensibly affected many of the group.

I may notice, that the fátíha is no more than a repetition of the opening verse of the Korân, and terminates by passing the hands, already raised, down the beards of the parties engaged in it. On the death of a Máhomedan, his relatives receive this mark of respect from their friends, to neglect which would be an affront.

The Vakíl Alla Rikka, being the jám's minister, put a variety of questions as to the politics of the day; on the war with Chín, and on Máhomed Alí Páshá's rebellion against the Súltán. Réhim Khân spoke of Karáchí and the amírs of Sind; observing, in a laughing mood, that they had done much kidmat (service), and had shown much salúk (good-will). I smiled at such remarks; but when he said that the late khân of Kalât had, ridiculously enough, lost his life and country, I answered: "It was true, he had allowed himself to be completely deceived." The climates of various countries were discussed; on which topic Alla Rikka, who had probably never been out of Las, was most conversant, when my friend Kálikdád asked

whether we should retire. An affirmative reply being given, I rose, when the jám being about to stand also, I prayed him to continue seated. Réhim Khân and the others stood; and saluting them *en masse*, I left the apartment.

Throughout this interview a loquacious parrot, or maina, amused the company by his chattering, otherwise the greatest order prevailed, and had possibly been enjoined. Occasionally a wild Lúmrí appeared, who kissed the hand of his young lord. It was usual for the jám's mother to sit in darbár; and the lady, accounted clever, with Réhim Khân, her son-in-law, are supposed, in great measure, to rule the country.

Some two or three days elapsed, and I saw no more of the son of Walí Máhoméd; but Kâlikdád, who was a good deal with me, informed me of some complaints made by the Las authorities, as to the conduct of the Sindian governor of Karáchí, who, it was asserted, made unjust and vexatious demands, threatening them with the vengeance of the gentlemen there, in case of their non-compliance. They had also a serious cause of complaint, on account of Sháh Nəwáz Khân, the chief set up at Kalât, who had written letters, peremptorily forbidding the levy of more than half the previously fixed duties, on merchandise entering the port. Anxiety to avoid giving offence had induced obedience to the mandate; although the

revenue of the state, of which the Súnmiání customs formed the principal item, was grievously diminished, and inconvenience resulted.

I found that Kâlikdád, contrary to the tenour of his letters, had yet to await the arrival of a vessel from Bombay. It might be expected in ten or fifteen days; but I knew as many more would be employed in the package of goods, the hiring of camels, and other preparations for the journey. I regretted, for the moment, my hasty departure from Karáchí; but it chanced there was a pírzáda of Kalât about to proceed immediately, and Kâlikdád proposed that I should accompany him; to which, as the holy man had no objection, I consented.

I had received an intimation from my friend that Réhim Khân wished to see me privately; but returning for answer that, while I had no objection to see him, or any one else, privately, it must be understood that I had no official character, and could only sit and converse with him as any other friendly disposed person would do; I suspect it was considered that I declined the meeting, and I heard no more on the subject. From Díwân Tírat and others, who called upon me, I heard sometimes the wish expressed that the young jám, with them an object of affectionate interest, should be a níhâl, or plant of the Sâhibân's growth and culture.

On the eve of departure from Súnmiání I pur-

posed to write two or three letters to my friends at Karáchí, amongst them one to Captain Wallace, in return for the civility he had shown to me. I told Kálíkdád that he might mention to Réhim Khán that I was about to do so; and that, if he pleased, I would point out the practices of the Karáchí governor, and I had little doubt that, trifling as they were, a stop would be put to them, as the Feringhís were not likely to allow their good name to be profaned.

Kálíkdád apprised Réhim Khán, who expressed so much satisfaction that the merchant told me he could have been scarcely less delighted had his father been restored to life. He sent a message that he would be thankful if I called upon him in the evening.

It had not escaped me, that a dread seemed to infect the minds of the Las authorities, that the gentlemen at Karáchí intended either to take their country or to transfer it to the chiefs of Sind. I knew such alarms were groundless; indeed, before leaving Karáchí I had taken the necessary trouble of making myself acquainted whether any communication subsisted with the government of Las. I found there was none; but that letters had once been received, expressing the desire of the jám to pay his respects to the general, and that he had been referred to the political agent at Quetta. I also learned, that on the first landing of the British force in Sind the jám's advisers had sent

letters to Colonel Pottinger, offering assistance ; a war with Sind, with English allies, being extremely to their taste ; moreover, I became informed of the intended location of Lieutenant Gordon (then at Bombay) as agent at Súnmiání, and that he was to be accompanied by two companies of native infantry.

When I stepped over to Réhim Khân, he dismissed his attendants, and we discoursed for some time. He was very straightforward, and spoke Persian fluently. I was surprised to find that, so far from having any objection to visit Karáchí, he was now, understanding there was no unkindly feeling towards him, anxious to go there but for fear of offending Captain Bean at Quetta, and Shâh Nawâz Khân at Kalât. He expressed a warm desire of being connected with the Sáhíbs rather than with Shâh Nawâz Khân, who, he observed, was not a good hákam, or ruler. As, in the same breath, he alluded to the elevation of certain persons to offices about the new chief of Kalât, I suspected his dislike to him was principally owing to his not being called upon to take a part in affairs. He regretted that he was unacquainted with the mode of transacting business with Feringhís, and I assured him that it was not so difficult a matter as he seemed to apprehend ; that little more was necessary than to mind his own business, and abstain from connexion with bad men : to be honest himself, and believe what the Feringhís told him.

He talked of sending a vakíl to Karáchí. I observed he could have no business that would not be better done by himself, and instanced the unhappy catastrophe at Kalât as entirely arising from the ill-fated khân's mistrust, and the treachery of his agents. Réhim Khân added, that he saw nothing would be so good for him as an interview with the Sáhibs at Karáchí, assuring me that had he known I had been so long residing there, he would, without hesitation, have come over. Adverting to the diminution of duties, I found the mandate from Kalât on that score was considered a stretch of prerogative, no preceding khân having interfered with the administration of the country in such a manner. Réhim Khân then noted that Mr. Elphinstone corresponded with the late jám, Míhr Alí, and sent him presents; and that now the jám was thinking of shipping camels and mares to the actual governor of Bombay. I asked whether it would not be as well to apply to the gentlemen at Karáchí, and to send the presents with their concurrence. He replied, they had not thought of that, but he felt it would be proper. Finally, he proposed that the jám and himself should write letters to Captain Wallace. I consented to forward them, as I could explain under what circumstances they were given, and because I was aware that the instruction to refer to Kalât had emanated from the military authorities at Karáchí at a time when no political agent was fixed there. Réhim Khân

further proposed to address Major Outram, who had succeeded Colonel Pottinger as Resident in Sind. I said there could be no harm done. I withdrew from this meeting well pleased with the good sense and honest, unaffected manners of Réhim Khân. I could not, of course, divine what might result from his letters, but, as I wrote to Captain Wallace, they would at least show that the son of Walí Máhoméd did not wish to be considered inimical.

Réhim Khân never so much as hinted at the establishment of a British agent at Súnmiání, although it was publicly known that such a measure was contemplated, and the knowledge of it, I should think, had suggested the intended propitiatory mission to Bombay. On parting, Réhim Khân said, that as I had visited him, he must in return visit me, and next morning Kâlikdád came to inquire if I was prepared to receive him. I replied, that I was always happy to see him, but that merely for the sake of etiquette, I did not wish to give him the trouble to walk over. Réhim Khân, however, insisted that it behoved him to return the compliment; and accordingly I was favoured with his company. We then discoursed as freely as if we had been friends of long standing.

The task of writing the letters for Karáchí devolved upon Díwân Tírat. He asked me what he should write. I replied, what he pleased. He then inquired if he should write at my house, and I

told him to put them together at his own house and bring them to me when finished. During the day he brought four letters, addressed to Captains Outram and Wallace, from the Jám and Réhim Khán respectively. The *metlaf*, or purport, of all of them being, that they wished to be enumerated amongst the slaves of the British government. I enclosed them in a letter I had prepared for Captain Wallace, and despatched them the same evening.

I never ventured to ask any one at Súnmiání if Réhim Khán had pursued Captain Outram, as represented by the horse-dealers, although I inferred he had not, because some person or other would probably have mentioned it. Subsequently, however, at Béla, and afterwards at Kalát, I became assured that not only had no such thing occurred, but that Réhim Khán did not go to Súnmiání until thirty-five days after Captain Outram's departure from that place, and then accompanying the jám in one of his ordinary excursions. Moreover, Réhim Khán was at Walípat, a little north of Béla, when Captain Outram passed, stood with others by the road side when he did pass, was aware of his father's death, knew Captain Outram to be an European, and took no further notice.

I was therefore very glad that I had forwarded his letters, as, if nothing better resulted from them, the unfavourable impression originated by the horse-dealers might perhaps be removed, and I rejoiced

to find that I could continue to think well of him without regarding him as the pursuer of an English officer.

I left at Súnmiání my servants and luggage, to follow with Kâlikdád and the kâfila, and the merchant made over to me for the journey a young lad, named Hassan, to attend to my horse. I put a few changes of linen in saddle-bags, which the pírzáda carried for me on his camels.

I joined the holy man without the town after sunset, and we started amid the benedictions of a crowd of merchants and townspeople. My companion had three camels, on one of which he rode himself; on another was a negress, with the elegant designation of Záfrání, or the saffron-coloured lady, and the third was laden with gleanings from his disciples and flock. Two young lads of Kâbal were his attendants, and trudged on foot, as did Hassan.

We marched the whole night over the level plain, passing a tract of sand called Régh Tilláhi (golden sand), and by daybreak found ourselves at the skirt of the wooded belt, in which the village of Líári is situated. During this progress I had, of course, some conversation with my new companion, the pírzáda. I had not taken the trouble to see him at Súnmiání, taking it for granted that he was sufficiently respectable, and aware that he was the son of Zéya al Hâk, Nijrohí, of the Nakshbandí Sirindí sect, who resided at Kâbal, and by repute was known to me. His frivolous discourse on the road, however, gave me no

great idea of him, and, when daylight revealed his features, I doubted whether, if I had before seen them, I should have sought his company.

At Líárí, a house in the bazár was set apart for the pírzâda, and another in a retired part of the village was appropriated to me.

In the evening we took the road to Pátí, but although we had guides we strayed from our path, and, after wandering throughout the night, found ourselves in the morning but just beyond the belt of Líárí, and, averse to encounter the hot winds which now raged, we decided to repose for the day at a few huts, inhabited by the Gúnga tribe, which we descried not far off. We were civilly welcomed; and it was no sooner known that a pírzâda's party had arrived than the females hastened to offer their salutations. Amongst them was one particularly beautiful, and before my companion had time to explain that I was a Feringhí, and not entitled to so much respect, she had, supposing I must be a pírzâda, favoured me by placing her hands on my feet, and then kissing my hands. She was accompanied by her mother, also well looking, and with them the pírzâda soon arranged to take up his abode. A hut was erected expressly for me, and with such speed that in five minutes it was completed.

The pírzâda had much professional employment. The first applicant was a cripple, for whom he prescribed a large bowl of water, over which he breathed, and directed to be drank off at a draught.

The poor Gúnga complied, with the best faith, but with some difficulty, as the quantity was immoderate, and the pírzáda, who enjoyed his distress, insisted that every drop should be swallowed. A good repast was soon provided, and set before us, an equivalent, no doubt, for my friend's charms and antidotes, although he wished me to believe he paid for every thing.

During the day I paid him a visit, and found that our evening's repast was the subject of debate. The pious man had taken a fancy to a kid, and took pains, at least in my presence, while insisting he would not brook disappointment, to engage to pay for it. His fair hostesses had furnished the fowls in the morning, but the kid unfortunately belonged to other people, who, too needy to give their animal away, scrupled to receive money from a pírzáda. In this dilemma, the mother requested a távíz, or charm, for her handsome daughter, who bashfully drooped her head, as the tale was told of her being married some five or six years without having any owlád, or family. One of the holy man's Kâbal lads immediately pricked up his ears, and leaning over to his master, said, "a camel, a camel as shúkarání," or offering. The mother entered into particulars, with the view of exciting commiseration, and remarked, that her daughter had but one husband; which caused the pírzáda to inquire how many she wanted. Perceiving the case to be one from which something might be gained, the good man dismissed me, or

what was the same thing, intimated his desire to repeat his prayers. I had not left him many minutes before I saw his two lads, with some Gúngas, carrying off the kid for slaughter, which it required no great judgment to surmise had been given as the price of becoming a mother by the fair but barren bride. The spot was named Obádí, and the water, wretched and unpalatable, was drawn from a well.

After sunset we moved towards Pátí, and next morning reached the uninhabited spot so called, on the bank of a branch from the Púrálí river. We passed the day here, but ill sheltered from the heat by the tamarisk-trees fringing the banks.

In our progress towards Béla, a little before sunset, we became enveloped in a khâkbâd, or whirlwind of dust. We had it for some time in sight, and moved into it, while by halting when we first observed it, we might have escaped it. The wind was very violent and the dust intolerable, although we were far from the vortex, and it speedily passed by. A few drops of heavy rain fell, and vivid flashes of lightning illumined the dense mass. By marching all night, we reached Osmân dí Got, a small village, in the morning, when, being but a small distance from Béla, we agreed to push on to it.

On reaching the old bed of the Púrálí, on the farther bank of which the town stands, the pír-zâda expressed fears on account of Mír Azem

Khân, the brother of the late Mehráb Khân of Kalât, who we knew was residing there, and he wished me to remain under the bank until he had gone into the town and ascertained all was right. I saw no necessity to be so cautious, and joking with him, that if he was afraid at Béla, how would it be amongst the hills, crossed over to a masjít immediately without the place, and sent Hassan with a message to Omar, the son of the late Arab vakíl, with whom I was acquainted.

Presently Omar came, attended by Ibráhím, a son of the Vakíl Alla Rikka, and they conducted me to a house belonging to the former. The jám's orders, that I should receive every attention had preceded my arrival. The pírzáda was accommodated separately. I had reckoned on the delay of a day or two at Béla, but I soon discovered that my companion was fearful my presence might embarrass him amongst the hill tribes. One evening he sent for me at a late hour, but having retired to rest, I did not wait on him. Neither did I in the morning when I heard he had some news from Kâbal to tell, and which I could fancy was nonsensical enough. This induced him to send Múlla Háshem, a native of Kalât, with a man, in reality or pretending to be, a messenger from Náll. This fellow affirmed, that, before starting from Náll, Shâh Nawâz Khân arrived, and an entertainment was in course of preparation for him, when an express reached from Kalât with tidings which

made the khân remount and proceed towards his capital, without waiting for the intended repast. The tidings brought were, that Lieut. Loveday and Fatí Khân had been defeated at Núshkí by the Zigger Minghals, assisted by the Memasenís and Posht Kohís, and that, with the loss of one hundred men, they had fled to Kalât.

I readily understood this tale was a manœuvre, put in play to terrify the merchants into payment of the duties, which the letters of Shâh Nawâz Khân forbade to be enacted, and to compel them to engage badraggars, or safe-conductors; but as the pírzáda had also commissioned Múlla Háshem to tell me that he was going that night, and had no fears for himself but for me, and that he would be pleased if I released him from the obligation to accompany me to Kalât, I immediately replied, that he stood absolved, as I should be sorry that any one should think even that he was in danger on my account. I sent Hassan for my saddlebags, but the good man detained them, and returned a message that it would be better to wait a day or two until sounder intelligence arrived. Next morning he again sent, praying I would step over to him. I did so, and found Ibráhím, Alla Rikka's son, with him. Both urged the propriety of waiting a little; yet Ibráhím, while professing great desire to be useful, made use of some expressions, that, had I been so disposed, I might fairly have taken offence at. The pírzáda was ex-

ceedingly civil, and we parted on the understanding that we should wait a day or two. He was now indeed only a poor fáquí, and Ibráhím took care to inform me, that if any one put hands on me during the journey the pírzáda could only look on, and not interpose to prevent it. I had barely regained my dwelling, when Hassan came with a message from the pírzáda, that he should start in the evening. I declined to do so, and sent for my saddle-bags, which anew were detained, when I grew, in turn, serious, and despatched Hâjí Khâdar, a Júkía mírzá, or scribe, in the jám's employ, for them, and they were brought to me. A Kalât merchant afterwards came to express the pírzáda's sorrow that I had sent for the bags, how delighted he would have been had I accompanied him, and craving a reza nameh, or letter of approbation, which I said was unnecessary, as I was not angry. This point, however, was pressed, and Hâjí Khâdar wrote something to satisfy him.

The pírzáda departed that evening, and it behoved me to think as to the course I should adopt; and I saw no better than to await Kâlikdád's arrival with the kâfila, although a residence at Béla was not desirable while the hot winds were prevalent. I might perhaps have passed on to Kalât by dint of money, but I had left nearly all behind with my other effects at Súnmiání.

Before I left Karáchí, Captain Wallace had mentioned, that he had received a letter written by

Hâjî Khâdar Dinna, respecting Adam Khân, or Mír Azem Khân, as officially called, the only brother of Mehrab Khân, now residing at Béla, and asked if I knew the hâjî; I replied, no. It turned out that he was the Hâjî Khâdar I have before had occasion to notice, a deaf Júkía mírzá, an old acquaintance of mine, but formerly known to me as plain Khâdar,* and whom I did not recognize under his lengthened name and the title of hâjî, which three pilgrimages to Mecca had, however, fully entitled him to bear. He brought me the reply of Captain Wallace. It seemed Mír Azem doubted its authenticity. There was no question on that point, and I was given to understand Mír Azem was much pleased when informed that I pronounced it to be genuine. It recommended the mír to apply to Captain Bean, at Quetta, but if he objected, or had insurmountable scruples, to come to Karáchí, when representations should be made to government concerning him. I declined at this time to visit Mír Azem, being aware of the distress he was in, even for common necessities, and it was not in my power to supply them; still I urged Hâjî Khâdar to persuade him to act upon Captain Wallace's letter, and go to Karáchí, and put an end to his misery.

Trustworthy intelligence from Kalât had contradicted the report of disasters set on foot by in-

* Vide vol. ii. p. 18, Journeys and Residence in Balochistân, Afghânistân, and the Panjâb.

terested persons ; and we learned that Lieut. Loveday had dispersed the Minghals of Núshkí, and that Shâh Nawâz Khân was at Bâghwâna, celebrating his nuptials with a sister of Kamâl Khân, one of the widows of the late Jâm Alí of Béla. Fresh rumours, however, were circulated of the arrival of Shâh Sújâh al Múlkh at Shíkârpúr, a fugitive from Kâbal, and that Sind was in arms. It was determined to perplex the poor merchants. During the day the hot winds were constant, but although fully exposed to them, I suffered no inconvenience. I had, however, need of all my patience to support the delay circumstances had produced in my journey.

I was reluctantly lingering at Béla, when, one morning, a stranger came and asked me if I was Masson Sáhib? and informed me that he had brought letters to me from Lieut. Loveday. I was surprised, but as the fellow had my name so ready at his tongue's-end, I requested to see his letters. A Minghal, who accompanied him, was sent for them. The stranger was very talkative, and soon let me know that he was Amír Khân, in the service of Lieut. Loveday ; that his funds were exhausted in his trip from Kalât, and that he expected me to renew them, — an unfortunate expectation, as I had no more money than I knew what to do with. He insisted that Lieut. Loveday had despatched him expressly to me, and had said to him in parting, “ Amír Khân, how delighted I shall be when Mas-

son Sáhib arrives!—tell him the climate here is lovely!” And farther, that when Mr. Loveday was walking in his garden at Mastúg, and picking flowers, he would exclaim, “Ah! Amír Khân, what avail flowers and their fragrance when Masson Sáhib is not present to enjoy them with me!” I thought this mighty strange; however, the Minghal returned with Amír Khân’s saddle-bags; the letters were produced; and, lo! they were addressed to “Lieut. Gordon, British Agent, Súnmiání”!

The authorities received Amír Khân and his party as guests. He soon after went to Súnmiání, while the Minghal who had escorted him from Wad proposed to do the same service for me to that place. He was a superior man, and admitted to be so by the good people at Béla, therefore I was glad of his offer, and prepared to start with him. He only demanded two rupees and a-half for the journey, and carried my saddle-bags on his camel,—a trained animal. I had constantly declined to see Mír Azem Khân, poor Mehrab Khân’s brother! Now, that I was about to leave, I was so importuned by many persons to visit him, that I was obliged to yield, especially as they urged he would be pleased; that he had expressed a wish to see me; and that he said he remembered me at Kalât. I therefore ordered my horse to be gently led along the road, while I walked over to the jám’s house, where he resided. I found him in the most miserable condition; and, after we had exchanged

salutations, he dismissed the five or six attendants still adhering to him, and asked me about his journey to Karáchí, and whether he would not run the risk of being detained a prisoner, or of being put to death. I assured him that, on the contrary, he would be kindly received, and strongly urged him to go, pointing out that delay, in his circumstances, would be fatal. He talked about the Sirkár Company Sáhib being generous, and I told him it was justly so reputed, and he might depend upon its liberality. He mentioned a plan that had occurred to him, of going to Khárân, and taking his nephew, the young son of Mehráb Khân, to Maskát, and craving the intercession of the Imâm, who was a great friend of the British government. I represented that the Imâm was a great friend, but his own presence at Karáchí would answer every purpose, and, I did not doubt, his reception would be such that his nephew would soon be glad to join him. He inquired whether, instead of going to Karáchí directly himself, he had not better first send a vakíl, and I replied, that the time for sending vakíls was passed; he admitted as much, and, encouraged by what I had told him, promised to go as soon as the jám returned to Béla. He remarked that he was very miserable. I said that was too evident, and entreated him, in God's name, to see what the government would do for him. He further observed, that he had seen me before at Kalât; but I explained to him that his memory deceived

him, as, when I was there, he came to Sohráb from Gandáva, and thence proceeded to Kej, so that I had not the opportunity of meeting him. I thought I had succeeded in removing from the mind of Mír Azem Khân the impressions that he would be necessarily made a victim because it was the misfortune of his brother Mehráb to be slain, and that he might be unfairly dealt with at Karáchí, and left him apparently cheered, and determined to visit Captain Wallace at no distant period.

I heard afterwards, that when Kâlikdád with his kâfila reached Béla the mír embraced him, saying he knew that he was indebted to him for my call. His intention was to have visited Karáchí, but he complained that he had not clothes fit to go in. Kâlikdád, who has a fast tongue, and is not very competent in state affairs, advised him to send a vakíl, which caused delay. The revolt at Kalât took place, and when his nephew recovered the capital, the mír, of course, joined him.

Mír Azem was at this time so much reduced, that he was in receipt of a daily allowance from the jám of two pounds of rice, eight pais (about threepence) worth of meat, with a little butter, &c.; his followers, eight or ten slaves, were also supplied with prepared cakes of júári and rice-flour. He had not a change of linen, having been plundered by Isá Khân of Wad, as he passed through that place in his flight from Kalât. His wife was with him, and he beguiled his leisure by

reading Persian poems to her, for although so dissipated as to be nearly useless for business, he is highly taught, and considered to be very accomplished. At Béla, one of the widows of the late Mehráb Khân, was also subsisting on the bounty of the jám.

Before leaving the little state of Las, let me briefly revert to the confusion and uncertainty which then deranged its whole economy. To describe it would exceed my ability, yet a little of its nature may perhaps be understood by the facts I have related.

The fears of the authorities were groundless; there was no desire to take possession of the country; none to transfer it to Sind, and none to interfere in its internal arrangements, so far as the English government was concerned. Still, there was no authorized person informed of the panic which prevailed, to explain it away, and the efforts of the jám and his counsellors to open a communication with the gentlemen at Karáchí had hitherto failed. Colonel, now Sir Henry Pottinger, I believe justly appreciated the friendly sentiments of the Las chief; and I afterwards heard from Lieut. Loveday that he proposed the intercourse between Las and the British government should pass through the resident in Sind, a proposition so manifestly reasonable, that it must have been opposed merely for the sake of opposition. The consequence was, that Las became entirely neglected,

and, by the politicals at Kalât and Quetta, was even reputed to be hostile, when it was eager, by the most abject submission, to confirm its existence.

I had always feared that the presence of troops at Súnmiání, being wholly needless, would have led to evil consequences; I was, therefore, rejoiced subsequently to learn that Lieut. Gordon, soon after his arrival, in conformity with his appointment, had sent them back;—a circumstance which impressed me with favourable notions of his judgment, and allowed me to hope that the young jám and his subjects might not lament his appointment. Since, a treaty, regulating the amount of duty to be levied at the port of Súnmiání, has been notified in the Bombay gazettes, which was in one sense unnecessary, as the amount fixed is merely what was heretofore levied without treaty; still, if it was thought fit so to legalize it, and harmony has thereby become established, there is no great harm in it,—and there may be good, as the right of the jám to conclude treaties has been acknowledged. I have now heard with satisfaction, that the agency has been abolished by the orders of the present Governor-General of India.

CHAPTER II.

Walípat.—Entrance of the Hills.—Old Acquaintance.—Route to Mírân Kushteh.—Route to Barân Lak.—Túrkabúr — Kála Dara. — Review of route.— Day at Kála Dara.— Approach to Wad.— Reception at Wad.— Mír Ráhmát's arrival.— His amusements.— Afghân Hâjí.— Mír Ráhmát's frivolity.— Negro slaves.—Opinions at Wad.—Shír Máhoméd's return.—Departure from Wad.— Isâ Khân's garden.— Route to Bâghwân.— Meeting with Khân Máhoméd Khân.— Lead Mines of Kappar.—Gohar-basta.—Arrival at Bâghwân.—Civilities of Shâh Nawâz Khân.—Interview with him.—Mír Attâ Khân.—Route to Kalât.—Zohwar.—Lákoriân.—Gohar-basta.—Anjírah.—Civil reception at Shorâb.—Route to Rodinjo.—Reception there.—Arrival at Kalât.—Welcome of friends.—Lieut. Loveday's remark.—reputation of Lieut. Loveday.—Interview with Lieut. Loveday.—Conversation.—Second interview.— Conversation with Múnshí Ghúlám Hússén.—Selection of residence.—Objection to revisit Lieut. Loveday.

FROM Béla we passed through the jangal of pérú trees surrounding it on the north, and then skirting midway the hamlet of Khaira, reached Walípat by night, where we halted in a grove of palm-trees, where the jám's stud was picketed. There were some thirty mares and colts. The dárogah in charge supplied us with grain and chaff, prepared our food, and was anxious to show civility.

Before daybreak next morning we were crossing

the bare and pebbly plain stretching from Walípat to the hills, and before sunrise we came to the Púrálí river, which we traversed six times, and arrived at the opening of the defile Koharn Wát, where we halted for the day, leaving the river behind us, flowing from the north-east. Two travellers here joined us, coming from Kalât; one of them, Ghúlám, a Bábí merchant, instantly recognised me, and, after we had embraced, he sat down, refreshed himself, and gave the news of the day. He came, he said, on Lieut. Loveday's business, and told me, that I was expected at Kalât, for Lieut. Loveday had told my friends that I should soon be there.

In the evening we entered the defile, which did not appear so formidable as the impressions of memory had pictured; and although in its actual state it might be barely practicable to artillery, a good road could easily be made through it; the rock being schistose, and soft, while it readily separates. The length of the defile is, moreover, trifling. From it we emerged upon the wild and broken plain of Bohér, and struck across it towards the range of hills confining it on the north. This range we penetrated by the valley or stream-bed of Píng, a Bráhúí term, meaning long, and, with reference to the extent of the valley, correctly applied. By reason of the long and continued drought, I had been cautioned at Béla not to expect to find the hills as I had before seen them,

green with verdure, and their valleys garnished with copious and transparent rills of water; therefore I was not surprised to find Píng abandoned by its rivulet, and displaying few traces of the luxuriant vegetation which used to embellish it. A slight ascent, or pass, from the head of the valley brought us upon the table-land of Selloh, from which we descended into the bed of a water-course, called Mírân Kúshteh, from Mírân, a Bráhúí robber, at some period slain there. We had travelled the whole night, and, as we found water at this spot, we halted for the day. Near us were a few Bráhúí huts; and we were visited by shepherds, from whom we purchased a lamb.

In the evening we followed the course of the valley, and crossing the difficult ascent of Lohí, passed through a singular and extended defile, called Anrávéri. It was enclosed on either side by walls of rock, nearly perpendicular, to the right, of forty or fifty feet in height, to the left, of about twenty feet. Its breadth varied from ten to twenty feet, and the narrow passage was in some places much choked up with flags and tall grass. The whole of the hills naturally abound in strong and defensible positions, and this defile seemed capable of being made a most formidable one. The rude tribes of the country, however, if not altogether insensible to the facilities of defence it offers, are too ignorant to profit by them, and, in their own petty warfare, have never been known to do so. From Anrávéri

we toiled over the rocky pass of Karraroh, from whose summit we had an extensive but dreary view of mountain ranges in the distance, and of deep and dark glens around us, and finally halted at the foot of Barân Lak (the naked pass). In this march the roads were frequently troublesome; still, a little labour would suffice to put them in order.

We had again marched the whole night, and, leaving the road, had fixed ourselves on the bank of a large hill torrent, in whose rocky bed we met with water in a cavity. Many of the pebbles strewed about the surface were encrusted on the one face with chalk, both soft and indurated, and small pieces of the mineral, a rare one in these countries, were also scattered about. On the pass, in our front, I afterwards found specimens of zeolites in some abundance, but very inferior to the beautiful masses to be seen on the table hills of Mâlwa, in Central India. The fossilized remains of bivalves, ammonites, with what I supposed to be the jaw-bones and teeth of fishes, were common in every stone or fragment of stone, about us. In the evening we resumed our journey, and ascended the lak. I was surprised, and I may say almost disappointed, to find it was by no means so difficult as the reminiscences of two former transits had led me to anticipate. It was neither long nor very precipitous, and the road, while narrow, was even tolerable; but near the summit is a kand, or hewn passage through the rock, which would require to be widened before wheeled

carriages could pass. The rock is yielding, and favourable for the operation. From the pass we descended into a retired glen, to allow my guide's camel to browse on a few trees sprinkled over its sides, and again started at night. In our progress we crossed the dry bed of a considerable hill-torrent, which I well remembered as the spot near which I had passed the day in 1831, and where we had been overtaken by a heavy fall of rain; and thence by a small pass we came upon the plain of Túrkabúr, so called from a tradition that Amír Taímúr, or, as some say, Jenghiz Khân, encamped there. The name in the dialect of the Bráhuís, signifies a horseman. Thence we entered the fine level and spacious plain of Kâla Dara (the black valley), and having traversed the larger portion of it, we struck off the road for some Minghal huts, where we halted under cover of some perpúk trees. We had not intended to disturb the inmates, but the barking of their own dogs awaked them, and an old man rose to inquire who his visitors were. On being informed, he was satisfied and retired to his hut, promising to supply our wants in the morning.

On crossing the pass of Túrkabúr we had left the mountainous country behind us, and henceforth our road to Kalât became comparatively easy and safe. In the hills we had met very few people, and only at the halting-places. Shír Máhoméd, with whom I never interfered, invariably told them that I was a Feríngí, going to Kalât on my own business; and this

information, given with the most perfect indifference, was received in the same manner. The pass of Barân Lak is the limit to which, in severe winters, snow has been known to fall ; in most seasons, however, it seldom extends to Khozdâr, and Bâghwâna. I examined the road more carefully than I had formerly done, in consequence of an anxiety at Karáchí to be acquainted with its exact nature, with reference to the march of troops; the idea being cherished, that if at all practicable, it would be highly advantageous to open it, as the route through Sind and Kachí, besides being so much longer, was in some seasons of the year absolutely closed by the fearful character of the climate. From the remarks I have occasionally made, it may be gleaned that my opinions of the road were favourable to its mere practicability, which indeed had no right to be questioned, as large kâfilas are constantly in the habit of travelling by it; but these assemblages can pass where armies with their encumbrances perish; and in their case many things are to be thought of which kâfilas can afford to dispense with. From Béla to Wad no supplies of grain are procurable, and from Wad to Kalât very little could be depended upon. In the hills, both water and forage are precarious, or regulated by the supplies of rain. In the present journey my horse suffered from want of provender; so did my companion's camel; and the kâfila, which followed us, was disabled by the loss of two-thirds of its cattle, from the same cause.

At our first halting-place at Koharn Wât, at the entrance of the hills, we drew our water from the Púrálí river. At Mírân Kúshteh, and Barân Lak, our halting-places within the hills, there was little water, and they were the only two spots where it was found on the line of road. In my former journeys I had crossed numerous rivulets, and the river Ornách, a deep and powerful stream,—now they had ceased to flow, and I must have passed the dry bed of the river without being aware of it. At this time, therefore, I held the march of a large body of troops to be a dangerous measure; and at any other time it would be requisite to ascertain the state of the hills as to water and forage. From the tribes perhaps serious opposition need not be apprehended, but their petty thefts would have to be provided against. The drought, which has oppressed this country for the last ten years, would appear to have prevailed over a wide space, and I have observed that a similar calamity has befallen some of the Russian provinces, where a commission was appointed to examine into its effects, and probable causes. Subsequently, I believe, the route has been surveyed by British officers, but I have not learned the results.

In the morning, the old gentleman, who proved to be a dependant of Isâ Khân of Wad, was as good as his word, and speedily set before us a breakfast, and we purchased a sheep to return his civility, and because we proposed to rest our cattle that had fared badly since leaving Béla. In the neighbourhood

were several huts, and many of the inmates came and favoured us with their company. It was debated, whether or not it was lawful to kill me, in retaliation for the blood of those slain at Kalât; but it was generally conceded to be unlawful, as I was not present at the slaughter, and because I had appeared unarmed amongst them. Those who maintained the contrary seemed to do so for the mere sake of argument.

We passed not only the day, but the better portion of the following night here; and then continued our journey towards Wad. The morning broke before we had cleared the low hills, which separate the plain from the principal village of the Minghal tribe. On the road Shír Máhoméd observed to me, that Khân Máhoméd Khân, the elder son of Isâ Khân, being absent, as we learned at Kâla Dara, he did not exactly know whether, from the manners of the younger branches of his family, I might be altogether at ease there; and proposed, if I approved, that we should go on straight to his residence, some three or four miles distant, where, if the fare was humble, I should be, at least, civilly treated. I was obliged for the consideration which had prompted the suggestion, but resolved to take my chance at Wad. The sun had not risen when we descended upon the plain, with the little town before us; and the first objects presenting themselves to our sight were three new tombs, covered with white cement,

erected over the remains of Walí Máhoméd, Táj Máhoméd, and another of the Wad chiefs, who had fallen at the same time with their ill-fated lord, Mehrab Khân. They were buried on the open plain, beneath a mulberry-tree, and contiguous to each other. In death they had been united, and their countrymen now revered them as shédidân, or martyrs.

I may acknowledge that I approached the town with clouded feelings; I was conscious there was no cause for apprehension; still there was the awkwardness of a meeting with the relatives of the slain to be encountered; and, worse than all, I knew that the calamity, which had involved so many chiefs of the family in destruction, might, with due understanding, have been averted. On crossing the dry bed of the torrent, on which Wad stands, we came upon the houses inhabited by the chiefs now living; and the first person we met was a dárogah of Isâ Khân, who conducted us to the vacant house of Mír Ráhmát, a son of Táj Máhoméd, above noted as one of the slain at Kalât. Mír Ráhmát was with Khân Máhoméd, in attendance upon Shâh Nawâz Khân, the new ruler of Kalât in Zídí. The dárogah hastened to report our arrival to the family of Isâ Khân, leaving me to my reflections on the strange accident of being quartered in the house of a chief who had fallen by the hands of my countrymen.

Presently Malek Dínár, the younger son of Isâ

Khân, a youth of sixteen or seventeen years of age, brought a polite message of welcome from his mother; and he was followed by slaves, the bearers of a couch, with carpets and gold embroidered coverlets. Scarcely had these been arranged when an excellent repast was also brought in. Shír Máhommed soon after departed for his home, engaging to return at sunset, on the day after the morrow, as he proposed to escort me to Bâghwâna, for a further sum of three rupees.

Malek Dínár, I soon found, was the mother's favourite; and, during the day, was generally with me. He appeared well conducted, therefore I was glad of his company; in the evening Mír Ráhmât was announced, and the noise attending his arrival proclaimed he was an important personage. He had returned from Zídí, where he had left Khân Máhommed. He was about twenty-five years of age, and extremely thoughtless and vulgar in manners. He professed to be delighted with me, and his mode of showing it was most troublesome, for he allowed me no rest.

Next morning, in consequence of a family quarrel, Mír Hássan, his brother-in-law, left Wad with his wives, children, and dependants, intending to reside on the estates of Réhim Khân. When this was known, Malek Dínár mounted his camel, and pursued the fugitives, in the hope of inducing the females to return; Mír Ráhmât requested my horse to follow Mír Hássan, with the same object.

Considering the case to be urgent, I obliged him. It proved that the offended mír was not to be appeased ; and both returned unsuccessful.

Mír Ráhmat did not permit me to enjoy much repose this day ; and as he became familiar, so the levity of his manner became more conspicuous and annoying. His conversation was of the most frivolous description ; and, compelled to endure it, I consoled myself by the thought that I was enabled to acquire an insight into the state of society at Wad ; and truly the shifts and expedients he resorted to for the purpose of killing time were often amusing. Sometimes the minstrel, an invariable component part of a Bráhúí sirdár's household, clad in the rejected garments of his superiors, struck up a tune on the séhtár, a three-stringed lyre, and accompanied the melody with his voice ; and anon Mír Ráhmat, who, like Nero, piqued himself on his vocal talent, delighted us with his strains. Occasionally he stretched himself on his couch, while a female slave shampooed him ; and the language he addressed to her was neither refined nor very delicate. Games of chance were however, his great stand-by ; and these he played sprawling on the ground, with Malek Dínár or the tawdry, yet ragged minstrel.

The arrival of an Afghán hâjí, whom I had seen at Béla with my faint-hearted friend, the pírzâda, contributed towards the amusement of Mír Ráhmat. This man had left Kalât on the hâj,

or pilgrimage, to Mecca; and, as happens to many of his countrymen, his hâj terminated at Bombay. Being destitute, he there established his quarters at the government hospital, of course pretending to be sick. Craving the assistance of the pîrzâda, to regain Kalât, he related this circumstance, and enlarged upon the liberal fare and great attention he received in the hospital; the pîrzâda asked him, why he had not stayed there. Hâjî said, he would have stayed, but the hâkîm sâhib (doctor) turned him out. The pîrzâda consented to feed him on the road to Kalât; Hâjî, in return, was to make himself useful. Now Hâjî arrived very sore with the pîrzâda, accusing him of brutality, in not allowing him to ride, and for forsaking him in the hills, and he vowed to expose him when he reached Kalât. Hâjî desired Mîr Râhmât not to estimate him by the homely garb he then wore, as, when at home, at Kândahâr, he was a great man. Addressing me, he requested the loan of a rupee, to be repaid at Kalât; to which, at the moment, I made no reply. Hâjî was still sitting, twirling with his fingers the large black wooden beads of his rosary, when Mîr Râhmât was undergoing the process of shampooing; and the indecent remarks he made to the sable artiste so powerfully moved the wonder of the Afghân that he could not contain himself, and said: "Khânzâda, have you a wife?" The question, if abruptly, was well put; and Mîr Râhmât stared at him, a little con-

founded ; but soon recovering himself, he answered, " Yes, Hâjí Gúl." And then, with happy impudence, said, " Hâjí Gúl, you shall stay with me and teach me to say prayers." Hâjí replied, that he should be happy to teach him prayers, but—and he shook his head—he feared the Khânzâda was not likely to prove an apt scholar. My snuff-box was empty, and the bazár of Wad was inadequate to replenish it. Hâjí thought it a pity I should need what he was able to supply, and taking the box, emptied into it the contents of his own leathern bag. I could not forbear telling him that he had made me ashamed of myself ; as he had asked me for money, and I had not given it, while he had given me snuff without my asking for it. I therefore prayed him to accept a rupee, to buy more for himself.

I left Hâjí at Wad, to await a kâfila, and to divert the society there, which he appears to have done, if his own accounts may be credited. Some days after I had been at Kalât, Hâjí came to see me, in his best apparel, and covered with an old chintz fargal. Inquiring how he got on after I left, with Mír Râhmat, and the host of slave-girls, black and white, he exclaimed, " Rámah ! rámah ! a flock ! a flock !" but the best of it was, he said, that Isâ Khân's daughter fell in love with him, that she came to the masjít to him, and was so affectionate that he said to her, " Bíbí Sâhib (my lady), I am a woman."—" No," she re-

joined, "Hâjî, I know you are a man, and a good man." He protested, as he hoped to be saved, he was but a woman. Then, he continued, Malek Dínár had a fever, and one moment his mother and female relatives were by his side, weeping and tearing their hair, and the next, the musicians were playing and singing, and such a scene of mingled grief and merriment occurred, as the Hâjî had never before witnessed. At length a kâfila came, and Mír Râhmat so worried the merchants, on the pretence of making purchases, that many of them were glad to resign their goods to escape his annoyance. Hâjî abundantly amused me by the relation of his adventures, and the sights he had seen at Wad, and he took his leave, overjoyed that he had afforded me subject of mirth.

I had not, however, got through the first day with Mír Râhmat, the second of my sojourn at Wad; and in the afternoon, two Jogís (Máhomédans) were sent for to exhibit their serpents.

In the evening, Mír Râhmat insisted, that as, on the preceding night, I had been the guest of Malek Dínár and his mother, so it behoved him to provide my entertainment for the one near at hand, and this allowed him to vociferate a variety of orders. His commands for a sheep, rice súrkh-dâssí, corianders, carraways, onions, roghan, and every single ingredient, were so loudly and incessantly repeated, that I thought he would never have ceased. After our meal, we had a regular

concert, and, after much of the night had passed, with difficulty I induced him and his friends to retire.

By daybreak next morning Mír Ráhmát was in attendance with his lyre, and, after a few of his tunes and plaintive airs, he led me into a contiguous house full of his negro slaves. His object was to show me how rich he was in this species of wealth. I should think, at least, some twenty or twenty-five individuals, chiefly women and children, were here living promiscuously together. He did not know how many slaves he had, as he said he never counted them, but computed their number broadly at fifty, sixty, or seventy.

The slaves of the Bráhuís are of two classes, negroes brought from Maskát, and the issue of captives made in war, with the people of the western provinces of the country, as Kej, Túrbat, &c.; some have, at various times, been brought from Cashmir and the eastern provinces of Persia. These, in colour and features, in no respect vary from their masters, and some of the females are remarkably handsome. They are better treated than their negro associates in bondage, and less onerous duties are assigned to them. Few of the negroes, and those only who are really useful, are even decently clad, and it is common for them so to multiply, that their masters, from inability to clothe and feed them, dismiss them to provide for themselves in other lands.

Mír Ráhmát was so well pleased with my horse on the preceding day, that he again asked me, this morning, to allow him to gallop the animal to some cultivated lands, distant some three or four miles. As I expected to leave Wad in the evening, I demurred, which he did not take in good part, and became a little sulky, which so far benefited me, that, instead of plaguing me throughout the day, he amused himself in his own apartment with Malek Dínár, his minstrel, and slaves. Malek's mother sent a message that I must not be offended, and that she was sure Malek would not have asked for the horse.

The absence of Mír Ráhmát permitted the presence of more reasonable visitors, and they discoursed in the most frank manner on all subjects, public and private. The misfortunes of Kalât were spoken of without any expression of ill-will, and even Mír Ráhmát never alluded to his father's fate but in a careless tone. I soon found that great enmity existed between Réhim Khân, and Khân Máhoméd Khân, but perceiving a dislike to relate the reason, I did not press the question, presuming it might be of a delicate nature. Mír Ráhmát, indeed, when I asked if Réhim Khân was likely to return to Wad, replied, How could he return, when he had estranged himself from his relatives and úlús? alluding, I supposed, to his alliance with the Jadghâls, or Lúmrís, of Las. Whatever were the sentiments of Mír Ráhmát

and the family of Isâ Khân, those of their retainers, of the people of Wad, and of the tribe in general, were altogether favourable to Réhim Khân, who, it was asserted, was the only respectable chief amongst them. Some of Réhim Khân's family were residing here, and one of his infant children was frequently brought to me, as was Bâdîn, a young child of Khân Máhomed. The cultivated lands belonging to Wad were owned principally, perhaps exclusively, by the chiefs. Réhim Khân had as much as yielded him five hundred gúnís, or fifty thousand Wad maunds of grain (wheat, barley, and rice); while Isâ Khân, Mír Ráhmat, and others of the family, held what yielded them as much more; the lands of the latter being chiefly irrigated, while those of Réhim Khân were principally khúshk-âwâh, or dependent on rain.

The minstrel of the chiefs informed me, that he had composed a jang námeh in honour of the martyrs of Kalât, but that he had not yet recited it, reserving it for the period when Réhim Khân returned, and all the family were assembled.

During the day several of those who had accompanied Khân Máhomed made their appearance. They had left their master still in Zídí, and narrated the results of the excursion of Shâh Nawâz Khân, and the submission of Mír Attâ Khân, the Sâh Sâholí chief. It seemed that the chief of Kalât had exposed himself to danger, by having, at a conference, made use of strong language while

he grasped the hilt of his sword. The Sâh Sâholís retired and lighted their matches, and evil might have ensued, but for the intervention of saiyads, as the khân's followers were few, and his opponents were many.

I could but observe that all spoke lightly of the new khân, and had no better opinion of his rank than to designate it as *maskerî*, or a farce.

I had all faith in the promise of Shír Máhomed, and close upon sunset I saw him walk steadily into the court-yard, leading his camel. We were ready, and Hassan began to saddle my horse, when a message came from Malek Dínár's mother, beseeching me to wait until the evening's repast was prepared, or, if determined to proceed at once, first to partake of what could immediately be set before me. We soon despatched a hasty meal, and desiring our best thanks to the hospitable lady, we took leave of her son, and his graceless cousin, who, as poor Mehráb Khân used to observe, should have been named Mír Záhmat (Mír Troublesome), instead of Mír Ráhmat (Mír Merciful).

We crossed the plain to the sirdárs' garden, some five or six miles distant, where we halted for the night. It was dark, but we found many huts, occupied by slaves, employed in agricultural labour, and now watching the karmáns, or heaps of corn. They supplied us with chaff, and we retired to rest.

In the morning, a youth presented me with a

dish of apricots, and said he was a younger brother to Mír Ráhmat. We remained until afternoon here, and then crossed the nullah beyond the garden, when Shír Máhomed proposed to take the nearest and direct road to Bâghwâna, by Kappar, which avoids Khozdár. As I had twice before seen the last place, I consented without difficulty. In our progress we passed a spot called Langléjí, where, I learned, are many vestiges of the olden times, and that medals are sometimes, but rarely found. Similar indications, I was assured, are abundant in Ornách, and in the hills near Wad are numerous ghorbands, or ancient mounds, and ramparts. We travelled the greater part of the night, and halted at the commencement of some low hills, in a place without water.

Towards morn we continued our journey through the maze of hills, with a tolerable road, and halted awhile to prepare our food at a locality, Chúrání (the place of robbers), where the bed of a water-course had a scanty rill in it. We were joined by two or three small parties of Bráhuís, going to or coming from Bâghwâna; and, before we had left, Khân Máhomed Khân, with a couple of horsemen, arrived. He embraced me, on learning I was a Feringhí, inquired much after his young son, Bâdín, and hoped that I had received all civility from Malek Dínár. Drawing me aside, he desired me to tell Lieut. Loveday that the road from Kalât to Súnmiání would never be safe to merchants, unless

Réhim Khân were decoyed to Karáchí and made prisoner, for he was the cause of all the mischief. He shrewdly instructed me to say little on his part, but a good deal on my own, adding, that I should naturally be asked, having travelled by the road. If Réhim Khân were not secured, he said, he should be obliged to abandon Wad, for he should acquire an evil repute; and, as he acknowledged the Feringhí rule, he must reside at Kalât. I secretly admired the dexterity of Khân Máhoméd, but promised to report what he had told me, as I did when I saw Lieut. Loveday at Kalât, taking care, however, to put the matter in its true light. In the afternoon we started from Chúrání, and a slight *détour* brought us upon a wide and level plain, called Wír. It was chequered with cultivated patches, and there were a few mud apartments, to house chaff. Beyond Wír, a short transit through other low hills conducted us to the commencement of the plain of Perozabád, with a rivulet flowing from Kappar. Here we halted for the night, with the village of Perozabád about two miles in advance.

In the morning we passed the lead mines of Kappar on our left, seated in a hill, that seemed entirely composed of the metal. About two hundred workmen are constantly employed, and they are a peculiar race, not Bráhúís, or esteemed people of the country. Lead is a most abundant metal in the hills of central Balochistân, but is said to be extracted only on a regular system at these mines. They are

near to Bâghwâna, before reaching which, however, we passed another small plain, crossed by a remarkably substantial rampart, or ghor-basta, one of the most perfect I had seen, and which could hardly be supposed to have been constructed for any other purpose than that of a defensive nature. On arrival at the cluster of villages on the plain of Bâghwâna we halted, under some trees near the old village of Kamâl Khân, and were soon apprised that Shâh Nawâz Khân was near us. He had lately celebrated his nuptials with the sister of Kamâl Khân, a widow of the late jâm of Las, and, in two or three days, intended to escort his new bride to Kalât. He had also received a visit from Lieut. Loveday, who brought him a treaty, ratified by the Government of India, and congratulations on his marriage. A little after our arrival, Mír Attâ Khân, the Sâh Sâholí chief, came with twenty-five or thirty horsemen, and took up his quarters at an adjacent zîárat, or shrine. He had, in return for his submission to the authority of Shâh Nawâz Khân, just received a khelat, or honorary dress, arrayed in which, he passed in procession before the khân's tent, two young saiyads, on very good horses, at a slight distance, leading the van. Máhoméd Khân, Raisání, the khân's náib, or deputy, at Bâghwâna, accompanied the Sâh Sâholí cavalcade, and being told that I was a Feringhí, inquired if the khân knew of my presence, and immediately went to announce it. He speedily re-

turned with the khân's Hindú díwân, and it was asked what could be done to oblige me. The khân was desirous to send a tent, with sheep and other things, as the khân was himself my servant, and his country was mine. I explained that I was but a traveller, and not even in the employ of government, therefore there was no occasion for the khân to put himself to trouble or expense on my account; that I was grateful for his good intentions, but that, if he fulfilled them, I should be uneasy, as I was unworthy of them. They went away, but soon returned, imploring me to accept sheep, &c.; but I prayed to be excused, as I had not even vessels to cook them in. Máhoméd Khân now recognised me as the companion of Gúl Máhoméd Kambarári, in my trip to Chehel Tan in 1831, and as a former resident at his tomân at Khânak.* His countenance instantly brightened, for the slightest acquaintance amongst all rude people is acknowledged; and, truly, his memory was better than mine, for I did not remember him; yet he dropped all restraint and formality, and ran off to tell the khân the new Feringhí was an old friend.

In the course of the day a rather sumptuous repast was sent by the khân, and in the evening a message came expressive of his wish to see me, brought by his shâhghâssí, who alike claimed previous acquaintance, as did most other persons who now

* Vide Narrative of Journeys and Residence in Balochistân, Afghânistân, and the Panjâb, &c. vol. ii. p. 71.

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came to see me. I went to the tent of Shâh Nawâz Khân; on entering it he rose and embraced me, and then seated me by his side. We discoursed some time, and I repeated what I had before told his people, that I was not in government employ, and therefore entitled to no attention on that account. He asked if troops had been sent to Sûnmíání? I told him "No:" and, in answer to another question, whether they had not been "mokarrar," or appointed, replied, that I had heard as much. Relating my detention at Béla, and the false rumours then prevalent there, he smiled, and was most profuse in his declarations of gratitude and attachment to the British government. In justice to Shâh Nawâz Khân, I may here observe, that, whether in public or private, he invariably expressed the same sentiments, and in terms so abject that the Bráhuís were ashamed of him.

In conversation and manners the khân was without the least formality or reserve, having, perhaps, acquired the ease and freedom of the Dúránís during his stay of three years at Kândahár. I should not have judged his affability amiss, but it is taken very ill by his subjects generally, and particularly so by the Bráhuís, who expect their khân to be grave and dignified in converse and deportment.

Besides the khân, Mír Kamâl Khân, of Bâghwâna, whom I saw for the first time, was the only person of note present. He was sitting entirely *sans façon*, with no upper garment except his shirt,

and without a turban on his head. Shortly Mír Attá Khân was announced, and the very small tent became crowded with his followers. The two young saiyads who had been instrumental in promoting an understanding between the khân and the Sâm Sâholís were placed on the khân's right hand, and, beyond them, sat Mír Attá Khân, and his attendants in succession. Much conversation passed with the Bráhuís in Kúr Gâlí, and I noticed, that although on one occasion some good thing said by Shâh Nawâz forced a laugh from most of them, at other times his propensity to jeer and jest was by no means approved of; and I fancied that Kamâl Khân's features denoted regret that his khân and brother-in-law should talk so much, and to so little purpose. With the two young saiyads, and an older one, named Fázil Shâh, their opponent, the khân had to sustain a desperate controversy. The youths claimed some lands and certain rights, which Fázil Shâh, once a dependent of their family, had, as they contended, unfairly usurped. It was easy to perceive that the khân and Kamâl Khân favoured Fázil Shâh, but the young saiyads were very tenacious of their rights, and talked much and earnestly: indeed, between them and the khân there seemed to be a struggle who should speak most. Fázil Shâh occasionally put in a few words, but Kamâl Khân, by whose side he sat, checked him, and pulled his shirt-sleeve whenever he evinced the inclination to display his volubility. The sum of

the khân's argument, in opposition to the impotency of the young saiyads that an immediate judgment should be pronounced upon the merits of their case, was, that he could not venture to interfere between saiyads, as all the disputants were, and that the matter must be debated in form before a competent tribunal; — in other words, that delay was necessary. I was very pleased when the saiyads and Mír Attá Khân departed, as I was also enabled to take my leave of the khân, who told me that a party of horsemen should escort me to Kalât, which I submitted was wholly unnecessary.

The conversation between the khân and the saiyads was sustained in Síndí, the young men, although the spiritual guides of the Sâh Sâholí, a Bráhuí tribe, being of Sindian extraction, and ignorant of the Bráhuí dialect; and this fact brought me to the knowledge that the Bráhuís, unlike all other Máhomedan people, have no saiyads, pírs, múllas, or fáquirs, or any persons pretending to inspiration or sanctity amongst them, and are compelled, while holding the craft in due reverence, to seek them amongst strangers. I asked the khân's servants which party was right in the lengthened debate which had just passed, and was told, as I expected, that the young saiyads were.

This evening the bard of Mír Attá Khân kept us long awake, singing to his chief the jang námeh of the devoted Mehráb Khân. Wonderful were the exploits attributed to him; and the Feringhí

army was described as the “*lashkar khodâhî*,” or the army of God, and as innumerable, or lakhs upon lakhs. The ditty concluded with the remark, that “All the Ahmed Zais had died worthily, but that Mehrâb in death had surpassed all others: *wa tilla shûd*, and had become gold.”

I was surprised to find that the personal attendants of Shâh Nawâz Khân considered his dignity in no better light than did his adherents at Wad, or that it was other than “*maskerî*,” or a farce. He must have felt himself placed in a ridiculous position. He had not more than twenty-five or thirty attendants and armed men, a retinue inferior to that of the robber chief Mîr Attâ Khân, who found it convenient at this time to make his submission. The remark was constantly made here as elsewhere, that, to tell the truth, the country was the *sâhibs*’, and Shâh Nawâz merely their *nâib*, or deputy. To remove this impression, which the state of things justified, was impossible, and so awkward had been the arrangements relating to the unfortunate country of Balochistân, that while understood by no one, they were such as made it impossible for the khân to establish a government.

Early the next morning, soon after breakfast, Shâh Nawâz sent me a large dish of fine apricots. His cuisine seemed at least well managed; and I learned that he had cooks from Kândahâr. Shîr Mâhomed, my Minghal guide, had engaged

to go no farther than Bâghwâna, I therefore hired another man and camel to carry my effects to Kalât for a sum of three rupees.

I had arranged to start for Kalât in the afternoon, and Shâh Nawâz, unremitting in civility, sent by his Híndú díwân a sheep and a basket of flour, explaining, that I should get no provisions on the road (an assertion more polite than true), and insisting upon acceptance. The escort of horse I had refused, but a single horseman, one Ghází Khân, was sent, to whom I did not object, aware that he was the bearer of the khân's own letters to Kalât.

From Bâghwâna we marched about ten or twelve miles over a fairly open country, and halted at a spot called Zohwar, where was a rivulet, but no habitations. We found there the pésh-khâna, or advanced tent, of Shâh Nawâz, but the attendants were either too sound asleep to be aroused, or declined to answer the calls of Ghází Khân. We stayed a few hours of the night here, amid the constant howling of wild animals in the surrounding hills; and before daybreak recommenced our journey. A slight *détour* led us into the spacious plain of Lákoríân, at the northern extremity of which are some important ghorbands, or bastas. I had a better opportunity than before of examining these remains, and I could not but conclude that, with those near Bâghwâna, they were defensive works, or intrenched lines. They com-

pletely covered the entrance of the defile connecting the plain of Lákhoriân with that of Anjírah, and the minor passages by which the defile might have been penetrated were all carefully protected. The principal rampart ran parallel to a deep ravine and joined a small eminence. These vestiges are remarkable for their magnitude, as well as for their solidity, and the skill, I might say science, evident in their construction. The wonder is, to what people they may be ascribed; and this is a question to which the traditions of the country offer no reply. Passing through the defile, the plain of Anjírah opens with a descent, and we traversed it until we reached a rivulet, where there was no shade, but patches of verdure on elevated ground, from whence several small springs issued, and there we halted. Below us on the plain were two kâfilas, one of Kambarári Bráhuís, the other of saiyads of Peshing, Teríns, &c., on their way from Súnmiáni. The saiyads wished me to accept a sheep; and on my declining it, as from the bounty of Sháh Nawáz, we were well supplied with meat, they brought some Bombay rice, and vessels to prepare it with. There was no dwelling on the plain, but much cultivated land, and heaps of chaff, the product of the recent crops, were scattered about. Near our position was also a rúd-khána, its banks fringed with oleander bushes, which, since leaving Wad, had constantly occurred in similar localities. During the day numbers of Bráhuí

females from the hills came to the springs. The Peshing saiyads commiserated the hardship of their lot, compelled to walk barefooted for three or four miles for water. Having seen the Peshing ladies in much the same predicament, I observed that such remarks came oddly from them whose wives underwent the like hardship. An excuse was offered that water in Peshing was not distant.

Towards evening we started for Sohráb, and arrived there at night, halting at one of the hamlets, called Shehár Bakhâl, from the Bakhâls, or Hindús, residing at it. The people were asleep; but Ghází Khân contrived to find chaff for our cattle, being all we needed. On awaking next morning, we were told that chaff, and all other necessities, had been collected for me, at a neighbouring hamlet, by the orders of Shâh Nawâz Khân, who, it proved, without apprising me, had despatched a messenger before me; a mark of attention for which I could not but feel indebted to him. Scarcely had I heard this when a shâhghâssí, the khân's officer here, came with his train to welcome me, and informed me a house was ready for my abode, and that he had sat up the whole night expecting me. We therefore removed to the quarters assigned us, and the shâhghâssí, in obedience to the orders he had received, was willing to have put himself very much out of the way; but I would not allow him, though I could not prevent the slaughter of a lamb. He prayed me not to go

to sleep, as he would bring a *nárí*, or breakfast, and immediately produced some fine cakes, with excellent butter, and a quantity of delicious apricots. In due time a more substantial repast was set before me; and in the afternoon we took leave of *Sohráb*, and the attentive *shâhghâssí*, whose last act was to give my people a basket of apricots, saying, I should not find them yet ripe at *Kalât*.

By night we reached an uninhabited spot, called *Gandaghen*, where we slept until near daybreak, and then continued our course to the village of *Rodinjo*; where we were rather coolly received by the *Rais Râhmatúlah*. I had reposed awhile, when I was awakened by *Hassan*, who told me some of the villagers had brought me an entertainment. I found that the family of *Múlla Izzat* had done the hospitable office, and that her two sons were the bearers of the rural fare. *Rais Râhmatúlah* and his people, without being rude, were yet reserved and formal; until one, *Shaffí Máhoméd*, recognized me as having been his companion in the journey I made, in 1831, from *Kalât* *viâ* the *Múlloh* pass to *Jell*, *Sind*, and *Súnmiání*. I also remembered him well, as he was one of *Kâlikdád's* camel-drivers, who at that time seriously annoyed me, when suffering from sickness. I reminded him of it, in a laughing mood, and he said, that he did not then know who I was. The information he imparted instantly removed the reserve of the *Rais*,

who, on taking leave of me in the evening, when he went to his family on the Dasht Ghárân below Rodinjo, left some of his people expressly to attend to any call I might make, which was, in one sense, needless ; as I took care not to be troublesome.

Being near to Kalât, we did not leave Rodinjo until noon of the following day ; when, crossing the extensive plain beyond it, we entered the low hills of Takht Bâdshâh and Pûl Sanjân, and ascending a slight pass, beheld the gardens of the Bráhuí capital before us. I made for the Bábí suburb, Hassan preceding me to announce my approach, and my old friend, Faiz Ahmed, with some of his family and neighbours, advanced to meet and to welcome me.

Their first care was to consider where I should most comfortably reside during my stay ; and a small garden, near the suburb, was fixed upon, to which I went against the consent of the owner, whose fears of Feringhís seemed so great that Faiz Ahmed could scarcely overcome his objections to receive me. Abdúl Wáhíd, a former acquaintance, came and greeted me ; his relative, Faiz Ahmed, returning to his house to bring a repast and tea. Abdúl Wáhíd told me I was expected, both from the advices of Kâlikdád and the announcement of Lieut. Loveday, who had so assured him but a short time ago. It being afternoon when I reached Kalât by the time Faiz Máhommed had brought his tea it grew late ; while former acquaint-

ances poured in upon me, and I did not, therefore, call upon Lieut. Loveday that evening. He, however, heard of my arrival, and remarked, that I must be a low fellow, for, if I had been a gentleman, I should have come to him. This observation was reported to me, and I smiled at it.

Not only, ever since I left Karáchí, but even when at that place, I had heard the most astonishing accounts of Lieut. Loveday, or Labadín Sáhíb, as he was called by the natives. Actions so singular were imputed to him, and of a nature so different from what are usually looked for from British officers, that I was disinclined to credit them, and felt disposed to attribute the unfavourable impressions current, to the irritated feelings and fertile imaginations of the late khân of Kalât's subjects. And this view seemed the only rational one to take, for the alleged enormities could not have been committed without the knowledge of his superiors; and, it was inconceivable to suppose that, with such knowledge, they would tolerate them. Still, the reports were so universal, in all places and with all parties, that it was difficult to avoid the suspicion that he must be a strange person. I knew nothing of him, and even at Karáchí was unable to ascertain whether he was a military officer or civilian.

At sunrise next morning, notwithstanding the repulsive remarks of Lieut. Loveday, I called upon him at his tent, perhaps a hundred and fifty yards from

my garden, where he was superintending the erection of a house. As I approached him, in company with Abdúl Wáhíd, he said, "Mr. Masson, I believe?" I replied "Yes;" when he continued, "We may as well walk into the tent." He led the way, and I followed him. There was, in fact, but one chair in the tent, which certainly I would not have taken had he offered it; however, he did not permit me to show my breeding, but gave me an example of his, by telling me to sit on the ground, as I was used to it. He then changed his clothes, and threw down three or four newspapers before me, that I might amuse myself the while. Breakfast was brought; after which we conversed for some hours, or until noon. He inquired particularly about Las; and I discovered the meaning of the obnoxious orders of Sháh Nawáz Khân, relating to the duties there. He denied, however, having sent any letters to the jám, or even to the petty chiefs, exacting fees on the road from Belá to Wad. He silenced me on remarking upon the injustice of the arrangement as concerned the jám, by asserting that "might was right." I explained to him the situation and feelings of Réhim Khân, as far as I could judge of them, and he said, that if I had sufficient influence with him, to induce him to come to Kalât, no harm should happen to him. He vaunted the expulsion of the Bráhúís from Kachí, and its annexation to the kingdom of Kâbal, as a brilliant political measure. I did not ask why he so considered it;

but when he stated that Lord Auckland's wish was to consolidate the Bráhuí state, I could not forbear observing, that a most infelicitous plan had been adopted for the object, by dislocating its provinces, and setting up a ruler without revenue or resources of any kind. He admitted the khân was needy, and said he wished to raise a disciplined corps of three hundred men for him, but there was no money. He narrated his attempts to surprise the son of Mehráb Khân, in Panjghúr and Núshkí, and informed me that had he been captured he would have been sent to Quetta, and taught English, while Dárogah Gúl Máhoméd would have been blown from a gun. I inquired in what particular the Dárogah had so grievously offended ; and Lieut. Loveday replied, that many of his letters had been intercepted before the taking of Kalât, and that there numbers had come to light, furnishing proof of a most diabolical conspiracy, and for that reason he was not to be forgiven. He explained the arrangements made, with regard to the resumed districts of Mastúng and Quetta, and told me I should be delighted when I saw Mastúng, the revenue of which he had fixed himself at twenty-seven thousand rupees, farming it, for the present year, to Díwân Rámú, but intending on the ensuing one to collect it himself. He also took much credit for opening the Múllóh pass, by blowing from a gun the petty chief who infested it, and said he wished he could get hold of Fatí Alí of Ornách, to

treat him in the same manner. Also with reference to Mastúng, he expressed regret that he had failed to persuade Capt. Bean to blow Máhomed Khân Sherwâní from a gun, in place of appointing him the Náib of the Shâh, as questionable letters from him to the late Mehráb Khân had been found. We talked much on the policy of the measures which had brought our armies beyond the Indus, and I freely stated my opinions on the blunders and mismanagement which had spoiled everything, and on the fearful confusion that must inevitably at some period follow. Without altogether coinciding with me, or rather perhaps not choosing to say openly that he did, he made one good remark, that it would cost the Conservatives millions to repair the errors of the Whigs, as had always been the case. He inquired about the road from Súnmiání, and for what sum I would undertake to put it into good order, which obliged me to answer that I did not understand roadmaking. He also put the question, whether I intended to write a book; and then told me he purposed to make a journey to Kermân in Persia. I explained my objects in travelling, and my intention to proceed to Kândahár and thence to Kâbal, as soon as my servants with my baggage joined. He was particular in his inquiries about the kâfla, as a very large quantity of his supplies from Bombay were coming with it, and I had seen his men at Súnmiání; moreover, Ghúlám, the Bábí merchant I met at Koharn Wât, had been sent by him on their account.

At length several persons having collected outside the tent, I suggested that he might have business to transact, and took leave, when he took me to see his Arab horses, and then asked me to dine with him at his house in the town, between three and four. I at first demurred, but consented when he said he should like me to see the house.

In the afternoon, when I judged it was about the hour, I walked over to his town-residence, formerly that of Náib Múlla Hassan, from which the jewels taken at Kalât were extracted. I found Lieut. Loveday in a spacious apartment, hung round with suits of armour, and the corners filled with pikes, halberds, battle-axes, and warlike weapons, the spoil of the late khân's armoury. He was stretched on his couch, and told me that he had long since dined, but that something had been set by for me. I remarked, he did well not to wait. We again conversed some time, but he was extremely restless, sometimes rising suddenly from his couch and taking a chair, and then as suddenly leaving it for his couch. He showed me the plan of the house he was building, and of the Gothic windows he had designed for it; but when it drew near to sunset he rose to retire to his tent outside the town, where he slept. I wished him good evening, and was about to leave also, when he prayed me to talk to his múnshí. I urged that I had nothing to say to the múnshí, when he assured me the man was most intelligent, and that I should be quite astonished

at his sense. I then said there could be no harm, and he introduced me to the múnshí in the terraced court without, and level with the room. This was the unfortunate man who was afterwards slain with a party of Sípáhís at Mastúg, the first overt act of rebellion shown by the Bráhuís. He related many particulars of the capture of Kalát. His account of the death of Mehráb Khân varied a little from that given by Lieut. Loveday, who, indeed, confessed it was not exactly ascertained further than that he was killed in the *mélée*, unrecognised by those who brought him to the ground. He informed me that Lord Auckland, in the first instance, was decidedly opposed to the deposition of the Kalát chief; and that he never approved of it, but, in consequence of the representations made to him, was reduced, finally, to leave it a discretionary measure. With respect to the treaty with Mehráb Khân concluded by Sir Alexander Burnes, on my asking why Sir Alexander had protested against it, he replied, that Burnes Sáhíb left Quetta boasting that he would bring in Mehráb Khân, and that returning without him, the gentlemen laughed, on which he grew angry and protested against the treaty. I had seen a letter from Sir Alexander Burnes, in which he stated, that on his return from Kalát with the treaty he had made, he was waylaid by a party sent by Mehráb Khân, who re-possessioned themselves of it; on which account, immediately on reaching Quetta, he entered his protest against

it. He added, that he believed Mehráb Khân had despatched the party before signing the treaty, and that his counter-orders had missed it, but that, in his opinion, the circumstance did not affect the view he took of the business, or diminish the villany of the khân. Lieut. Loveday had not alluded to this imputed crime of Mehráb, and I was a little surprised to find that his múnshí did not mention it, although strenuously insisting upon the many offences he had committed. He dilated upon the spoliation of the baggage of the army in the passage through the Bolan Pass; and urged, that although Mehráb Khân disavowed any participation in it, yet penknives and surgical instruments had been purchased from the Bráhuí tribes of Merv and Isprinjí, which, in his estimation, amounted to proof that he had. He confessed, however, that no article which could be supposed to have belonged to the army was found with the property of the khân captured at Kalât; and that no money was discovered but the twenty thousand Company's rupees given by Burnes Sáhíb to the khân. I inquired how it happened that the political authorities had been so completely deceived by the unprincipled Múlla Hassan. He answered, that they had been deceived, and would not have been undeceived but for the letters which turned up at Kalât: that the envoy and minister, on hearing of Múlla Hassan's imprisonment, wrote to know why his old friend had been so ill-used; and, in answer,

Capt. Bean forwarded copies of his detected letters, while the originals were despatched to Calcutta. I further learned, that Sháh Nawâz Khân had been preferred to the government of Kalât on the score of legitimacy, being the descendant of Mohábat Khân, the elder brother of the famous Nassír Khân; and the múnshí said in his favour, that he acted "ba mirzí," or according to the pleasure of the Sáhíbs.

From the múnshí's conversation I could agree with Lt. Loveday that he was an intelligent man; but, it growing late, I took leave of him, and found that Nalrúsah, a person high in the lieutenant's favour, had been directed by his master to convey me home on a riding-camel. Lt. Loveday, moreover, had, on leaving, requested me again to breakfast with him at his tent on the following morning.

The man, in whose garden Faiz Ahmed had fixed me, was by no means pleased with my presence; for the reputation acquired by Feringhís was so evil, that he could not conceive it possible that one could reside so close to him without bringing down mischief upon him,—and my visits to Lt. Loveday only confirmed him in his gloomy foreboding. Faiz Ahmed strove in vain to reconcile him, and I intimated that I would shift my quarters, as it was unpleasant to my own feelings to be considered troublesome. Faiz Ahmed, therefore, sought out another suitable place, and found

it in a garden once belonging to Fázil Khân, now a fugitive at Maskát, but which had been assumed by Shâh Nawâz Khân. To it I went, being a little nearer to Lt. Loveday's tent, though more distant from the Bábí Khél, where my friend resided.

In charge of this garden was an old lady, previously dependent on Fázil Khân, but who had not been removed by Shâh Nawâz Khân. She was also much averse to my living in her garden, and went straight to the citadel to complain of my intrusion, and of Faiz Ahmed for having caused it. She saw Mír Fatí Khân, the khân's brother, who received her rudely, and told her the garden was mine as long as I chose to remain in it. The old lady returned and never said a word; but, in the course of a day or two, told me that fear had overcome her, and now she was as desirous I should stay as she had before been to eject me.

I rose in the morning with the momentary intention of walking over to Lieut. Loveday's tent; but, reflecting on the nature of the reception he had favoured me with, his objectionable remarks, and even on the strangeness of his manner and conversation, I reasoned, what have I to do with him? and what occasion have I to trouble him with my company, or to be annoyed with his? and did not go again to him. So little did I think of the transaction at the time that the terms in which

I alluded to my intercourse with Lt. Loveday in the notes which have by accident since come into my possession, are simply these: — “On the next morning I went to call on Mr. Loveday, whom I found at a place opposite the town, where he was superintending the erection of a house. I breakfasted with him, and afterwards he invited me to dine at his house in the town at half-past three o’clock. I had no means of ascertaining the hour; and, the weather being cloudy, I may not have been quite punctual, for when I reached, Mr. Loveday had dined, and I had to sit and eat by myself.” So little importance did I attach to him or to what occurred, that I did not deem one or the other worthy of more extended notice or comment.

CHAPTER III.

Condition of Kalât.—Events producing it.—Origin of intercourse with Mehráb Khân.—Sir Alexander Burnes's information.—Protest against treaty.—Capture of Kalât, and death of Mehráb Khân.—Changes in the government and dismemberment of Kalât.—Opinions of Mehráb Khân's guilt or innocence.—Charges against him.—Explanations thereof.—Proceedings of the envoy and minister.—His bribery of Náib Múlla Hassan.—The náib's duplicity and knavery.—Mission of Sir Alexander Burnes to Kalât.—The results.—March of troops upon Kalât.—Continued knavery of the khân's agents.—His neglect of defensive arrangements.—Assault on Kalât.—Detection of the villany of Náib Múlla Hassan and others.—Mehráb Khân's injunctions to his son.—Prize jewels.—Impolitic measures of the political authorities.—Partition of the country.—Recognition of Shâh Nawâz Khân.—Political appointment.—Activity of Lieut. Loveday.—The son of Mehráb Khân a fugitive in Kharân.

KALAT presented in aspect and condition a melancholy contrast to the tranquil and flourishing state in which I had formerly beheld it. The greater part of the town was uninhabited, and the little bazar, once busy and well supplied, was now nearly deserted. The inhabitants themselves were oppressed with gloom and despondency, as they were clad in the coarse and abject garb of poverty. All of my old acquaintances had suffered most

cruelly in the spoil of their property, and I was hurt to see those who had so recently been affluent and comfortable, present themselves before me necessitous and destitute. The sky, indeed, was as serene as ever, the orchards displayed their verdure, and the valley, as before, was adorned with cultivation, yet there was a loneliness, real or imaginary, on my part, cast over the scene, that was infectious, and with every disposition to be cheerful, I was, in despite of myself, dejected and sorrowful. A notion I had entertained at Karáchi of remaining here two or three months to arrange some of my MSS. for publication, had been dissipated on arrival, as I plainly saw that the Bráhuí capital was no longer the abode of peace and security it had formerly been, and it was, moreover, painful to witness the desolation and misery around me.

But it was necessary to await my servants and effects coming with Kâlikdád and his kâfila. I had, therefore, leisure to discourse on the events which had occurred since I left the country in 1831, and to learn what was understood with reference to the calamities which had attended the appearance of British armies in Balochistân. To the public little else is known of these lamentable events than that Kalât was taken by storm by a detachment of British troops, commanded by Major-General Wiltshire, and that the ruler, Meh-ráb Khân, with many of his chiefs, was slain. The

motives influencing the revengeful deed have never been revealed, nor are likely officially to be disclosed, because they would too clearly demonstrate the incapacity, delusion, and errors, not to say the bad passions, of the unhappy men selected by Lord Auckland to work out his visionary projects beyond the Indus. I may, therefore, in throwing what light I am able upon the proceedings, contribute a few pages to the history of an eventful period, and, although they will relate to past crimes and occurrences, they may be useful in setting forth the truth, and in serving to avert future mischief.

When the expedition in 1838 was determined upon, and it was further decided that it should march through the dominions of the khân of Kalât upon Kândahâr, it became obviously necessary to secure the co-operation of that chief. Before noticing the steps taken to ensure it, a glance at the intercourse subsisting (if any could be said to subsist) with the unfortunate Bráhúí khân, may be requisite. In 1837, when Captain Burnes was ascending the Indus in progress to Kâbal, he despatched a complimentary letter, with presents, to the young son of the khân, then residing at Gandâva in Kachí, and received a letter of acknowledgment and thanks in return. When Capt. Burnes, failing in his mission to Dost Máhomed Khân, returned from Kâbal, he directed Lt. Leech, then detached at Kândahâr, to fall back upon Shíkárpúr, and there to place himself under the

orders of Colonel Pottinger, the Govenor-General's agent for Sind. Lieut. Leech, in pursuance of such instructions, reached Quetta within the Kalât Khân's territories, and thence, by invitation, continued his journey to Kalât. He was received with respect and civility; presents were exchanged between him and the khân; but the latter, in course of time, grew displeased with some points in the conduct of his guest, and was very glad when Lieut. Leech finally left him and his country. By this time the knowledge of the intended restoration of Shâh Sújâh al Múlk had transpired. What passed on the subject between Lieut. Leech and the khân I know not, or whether he was authorized to communicate with him on the matter, yet, as it was then the fashion for all men to do what they were unauthorized to do, it may be suspected that Lieut. Leech would scarcely neglect the opportunity of showing his zeal, and the result, from the opinion Mehrâb Khân had been induced to form of him, would scarcely have been satisfactory. Certain it is that Lieut. Leech left Kalât in no good humour with the khân.

Lt. Leech had reached Shikárpúr, and had been joined by Sir Alexander Burnes, deputed by Lord Auckland to arrange a treaty with the chiefs of Khairpúr in Northern Sind, and to accumulate supplies and necessaries for the army, on its arrival. Sir Alexander left Shikárpúr, to meet the army

on its approach to the frontier of Sind, and at his interview with Sir Henry Fane, at the ferry near Sabzal Kot, I saw him for the first time since his departure from Pesháwer for Simla. Amongst the many topics we then discussed, the question of the affairs of Kalât was naturally one. Sir Alexander observed, that Leech had put everything wrong at Kalât. As one of the principal points for which I was then contending was employment, from which my exertions might deserve and obtain credit, I could not forbear asking him if I might be allowed to go to Kalât, and put everything to rights; but Sir Alexander hung down his head, and made no reply. Subsequently I saw Sir Alexander at Roh-*rí*, and he told me, that Mehráb Khân had confiscated the grain collected by Lieut. Leech's agents in Kachí, and that he had addressed a letter to the khân, which, to use his own phrase, "would astound him;" and further, that Shâh Sújâh al Múlkh, who had now also reached Shikárpúr, had written to the same chief, reminding him, that Shâh Nawâz Khân was in the royal camp. From such information, it was reasonable to conclude the unlucky khân of Kalât would fare but badly with his English friends.

For some time after I heard nothing more concerning the affairs of Kalât. The papers of the day, indeed, abounded with statements of the treachery of Mehráb Khân, but I was free to suspect their accuracy. At Karáchí, however, I saw a

letter from Sir Alexander to a friend, giving an account of his mission to the khân, of the treaty he had concluded with him, of an attempt to way-lay him on his return, and of his protest against the treaty at Quetta. From the same channel I learned that it was the intention to retaliate upon the khân, when the army returned from Kâbal, and that he was doomed to loss of power, and, if secured, to linger out his existence as a state prisoner.

In process of time, the Bombay division of the army of the Indus having retrograded from Kâbal to Quetta, a detachment was ordered upon Kalât, to carry out the long-meditated plan of vengeance upon Mehrâb Khân. The consequences were, the capture and plunder of the place, the slaughter of the ruler, and a number of his dependent chiefs. They afforded subject for temporary triumph and exultation, but, unhappily, the seeds of future evil were sown, and the germs of iniquity were destined to ripen into confusion and disgrace.

The territories of the fallen chief were dismembered, the provinces of Sahârawân and Kâch Gandâva were annexed to the dominions of the new king of Kâbal, and the resentment of the political authorities was so uncompromising, that, to the exclusion of the son of the late Kalât ruler, Shâh Nawâz Khân, a descendant of the elder branch of his family, was raised to the masnad, and placed over the wreck of the ill-fated country.

While these changes were effected, and no doubt

vindicated in elaborate state papers, it had never been thought necessary to explain them to the subjects of the late khân of Kalât. They beheld, indeed, the imposition of a new chief, and the dislocation of their country, but could only refer the events they witnessed to the pleasure of the sâhibs, alike to them extraordinary and incomprehensible.

Amidst the general depression and poverty which the calamity of war had inflicted upon the population of Kalât, I was pleased to observe, that the evils were borne with resignation. Those who had suffered most allowed no rancorous or violent expressions to escape their lips, but, as good Mússúlmâns, imputed their misfortunes to their own errors and to the will of Heaven. There was, however, but one opinion, that Mehráb Khân was guiltless of treachery to the British government, and had, therefore, been undeservedly sacrificed. If astonished at this sentiment, I was more so to find, that the crimes charged to his account were wholly unknown, which was extremely singular; for, if there had been reason for them, they must have been familiar to the people here. When I urged the confiscation of grain in Kachí, a fact stated to me by Sir Alexander Burnes, as no friendly proof on the part of the late khân, I was met by the assurance, that it had never taken place. Still unwilling to give up the point, I insisted there must be some ground for the accusation, and at length elicited from an individual an explanation

tending to throw light upon the business. It seemed that Máhoméd Azem Khân, the brother of Mehráb Khân, was despatched to Kotrú with a party of horse, to see that no impediments were thrown in the way of the march of the British troops, and to take care that none of the inhabitants committed themselves in quarrels with the soldiery or camp-followers. When there, Máhoméd Azem Khân, in need of money, and acting on his own counsel and authority, demanded a sum from a Híndú of the place, and, on his refusal to comply, seized his property, amongst which was a parcel of grain. The Híndú pretended, whether truly or not, that he had purchased the grain for the English; his fellow-traders, as is usual with them, when an act of tyranny is practised towards one of their body, closed their shops and ceased to transact business. A compromise was speedily effected, however, and Máhoméd Azem Khân receiving a consideration of four hundred rupees, the Híndú shops were reopened, and business conducted as before. In this case, the report, probably, of the British native agent at Kotrú wonderfully exaggerated the affair, and the English officers to whom he made it were, perhaps, too eager to listen to any complaints of Mehráb Khân; and the consequences of an attempt at extortion by Máhoméd Azem Khân from one of his own subjects were construed into an undisguised and wanton confiscation of the grain collected by British agents in Kachí, which

even Máhomed Azem Khân, worthless as he was, never dreamed of. Mehráb Khân, further, on hearing of the extortion, addressed a letter of severe rebuke to his brother, and cautioned him against a repetition of his unbecoming conduct. I cannot forbear mentioning, to the honour of Mehráb Khân, that in his instructions to his subjects in Kachí he expressly enjoined them, in case of any dispute with a person belonging to the British army, on no account to resent it, but to carry a complaint to the general; an order so considerate that I wondered he should have thought of it.

Admitting the confiscation of grain as somewhat explained, the waylaying of Sir Alexander Burnes, on his return from Kalát to Quetta, which caused his protest against the treaty he had made with the unlucky khân, had still to be accounted for. Had Mehráb Khân been guilty of so foul a deed, it were criminal to urge any argument in his favour, and he must be held to have merited the vengeance which fell upon him. I was bewildered to learn, that all were unconscious of such waylaying, and to find myself laughed at for supposing that the khân would have committed himself in so flagrant a manner. I must confess, from what I knew of his disposition, and from what I could infer of his probable course of policy, I doubted it; but, in opposition thereto stood the clear testimony of Sir Alexander Burnes. All inquiries on the subject appeared to be fruitless of explanation, and I began

to despair of obtaining a solution of the mystery; yet, as such an action could not have happened to such an individual without being generally known, I almost suspected, what the character of Sir Alexander would well justify, that some very trifling and unimportant occurrence had been magnified by him into one of consequence, and that, without due inquiry, it had been made fatal to the *khân*. If that unhappy chief were not guilty in this instance, a lamentable proof is afforded of the combination of unfavourable circumstances which precipitated his fate; and the expression which many apply to him, that he was stricken by God, becomes justified. We may even believe, with the pious *Mús-súlmân*, that man cannot relieve or assist him whom God has abandoned.

To the *khân's* vindicators I still urged the base outrage on Sir Alexander as an unanswerable proof of his guilt, but found no one able to explain a circumstance which, for the first time, they had learned from myself, and I became hopeless of being better informed on the subject; accidentally, at last, a discourse on other topics revealed the fact, on which the accusation had been founded.

From Quetta Sir Alexander proceeded to Kalât to negotiate a treaty with *Mehráb Khân*. He was accompanied by one *Máhomed Sheríf*, a *saiyad*, who had conspicuously figured in the treasons which had disturbed the rule of the *Bráhuí khân*. He had, moreover, already been practised

upon by the envoy and minister, and was now, although a subject of Mehráb Khân, in the interests of the British government. Mehráb Khân concluded a treaty in conformity to Sir Alexander Burnes's wishes, and with it Sir Alexander returned towards Quetta, leaving his Múnshí Mohan Lâll to accompany the khân to the British camp, there to pay his respects to his Majesty the Shâh, and to the envoy and minister. The treaty had been concluded contrary to the wishes of Saiyad Sheríf and his colleague in villany, Náib Múlla Hassan, both of whom had been bought over by the envoy and minister; and who had for common object the ruin of their khân and master. It consisted with their views to annul the treaty, which, if carried into effect, secured the stability of the khân, and entirely frustrated their bad intentions. Náib Múlla Hassan, who remained with the khân, persuaded him that the object of Sir Alexander was to decoy him to Quetta, when he would be sent a state-prisoner to Calcutta. The khân, prone to suspicion, became irresolute; but his anxiety was removed, and no further evil might have happened, for a letter from Sir Alexander informed him, that the shâh had marched from Quetta; it was therefore needless that he should give himself the trouble to go there.

Saiyad Sheríf now decided upon a bold step to counteract the effects of this intimation, and to assure the khân's ruin. He represented to Sir

Alexander, that the crafty and wicked Mehráb repented of the treaty, and had commissioned a party to intercept him. Sir Alexander, giving entire credence to his villanous companion, made over to his charge the treaty, with two thousand rupees in money, to be secreted. The document and the money were placed within coverlets carried on the back of a camel. Robbers were appointed by the saiyyad himself to attack the equipage of Sir Alexander, some of his camels were made booty, and amongst them the one bearing the treaty and money. If I remember rightly, Sir Alexander stated, that two or three of his followers were killed or wounded. The feat of the saiyyad had been successful; he had too much experience of the Feringhís to fear that they would penetrate his stratagem, and the odium of the monstrous action was imputed to the innocent Mehráb Khân. Sir Alexander reached Quetta, and protested against the treaty. The Kalát chief, hearing of the robbery, but unconscious that he was suspected of having instigated it, set inquiries on foot, and particularly called his náib, Réhimdád, located at Quetta, to account, as it happened within his jurisdiction. The náib informed him, that Saiyyad Sheríf was the offender, and that his nephew and gardener were the leaders of the band, to whom he had paid, as fee and reward, the sum of fourteen hundred rupees. The khân, aware that the saiyyad was in the pay and interest of the British govern-

ment, did not deem it necessary to take further measures, regarding the matter as one which interested the Feringhís rather than himself, all the while ignorant that he was suspected, or accused of it. This disclosure gave me great pain, but hardly surprised me, as I knew the haste with which Sir Alexander Burnes was apt to jump at conclusions, and that he never sought to ascertain whether they were correct or otherwise; still the results were so fatal as to cause a sensation of disgust and horror, that the fate of men should have been placed at the mercy of the miserable political officers, in whom, at that time, Lord Auckland was pleased to repose confidence.

If an explanation had been afforded to the accusation of waylaying Sir Alexander Burnes, there was yet another charge which required to be removed before the *khân* could be acquitted of enmity to the British government, and this was the opposition offered to the passage of the troops through the Bolan pass, and the serious depredations committed on the baggage. I could readily comprehend that the rude and lawless tribes neighbouring to that route little needed the incitement or encouragement of the *khân* to exercise their natural instincts and propensities to plunder and destroy; yet it was necessary to be assured, that the chief did *not* instigate them, as he was denounced to have done. In this instance also, the character of Mehráb Khán stood the test of in-

quiry, for it proved that not only did he never promote or recommend such aggressions, but they likewise were in a great measure owing to the enmity of his own faithless subjects; and these again were the bribed and trusted agents of the British political authorities. The criminals in this case were Ghúlám Khân and Khân Máhomed, brothers to Dáoud Máhomed, the late Ghiljí adviser of Mehráb Khân, and who had been slain by Náíb Múlla Hassan, by the khân's order; an event which relieved the khân from an imperious, if not treacherous minister, and replaced the múlla in power and active employment.

The Ghiljí brothers had, when Dáoud Máhomed was living, and all-powerful, married into the Bangúl Zai tribe of Bráhuís, and established an influence in it. Their desire to avenge their brother's death had induced them to court a connexion with the British, and their services had been eagerly accepted; the treachery of Mehráb Khân was, of course, the burden of their story, and the cause they had for dissatisfaction became a recommendation to them. It behoved them to substantiate the treachery they asserted; to do so, and at the same time to implicate the khân, they set the Bangúl Zais, the Khúrds, and other tribes adjacent to the Bolan, in motion. It must be understood, that Mehráb Khân had no real control over the Bolan pass, and, had he traversed it with an army, he would have been as liable to acts of petty

plunder as Sir John Kean, or any other general would be; but the depredations would have been confined to the carrying off a stray, or weary camel, as opportunity presented; and, moreover, it must be borne in mind that some of the tribes, and those who generally infest the pass, are Marrís and Khâkâs, not even subjects of Kalât. But for the artifice of Ghúlâm Khân, and Khân Máhoméd, the British army would have passed the Bolan defiles without loss, or any that a little vigilance might not have prevented. That the contrary happened, is to be ascribed to those men, the friends of the envoy and minister, and not to the hostility of Mehráb Khân. That unfortunate chief was constantly urged by the Kândahár sirdárs, and by Assád Khân of Khárân, with other people, to erect sanghars and defend the passage, Assád Khân volunteering to conduct the defence; but the khân as constantly refused, adhering to his determination to oppose no obstacle to the march of the British army. As the charge of inciting the robberies in the Bolan pass was one of the graver kind advanced by the political authorities against Mehráb Khân, and to substantiate which they gave themselves no little trouble, a smile is due to the proof they obtained, by purchasing penknives and surgical instruments from the tribes of Merv and Isprinjí. Every one knew that the tribes plundered, but it was omitted to ascertain by whom they had been instigated; and, on this

subject, no one knew better than Ghúlám Khân, the friend of the envoy and minister.

If the treason of the brothers of Dáoud Máhomed vindicated the khân, as regarded the Bolan, there yet remained a point on which I desired to be satisfied, before I could assent to the conclusions of my Kalât friends, as to his innocence in his dealings with the British authorities, or before I could admit, with them, that he did not endeavour to obstruct the march of the army. This related to the large quantity of grain he had stored up in Kalât, because I could not but conceive that, if professing to throw the country open to British agents for the purchase of supplies, he had secretly issued orders forbidding sales, and diverted all the grain into his own magazines; such a mode of proceeding could not well be deemed friendly, for it was immaterial if the destruction of an army be effected by the sword or by famine, by open violence or secret fraud. The accumulation of grain at Kalât proved, according to my informants, to have had no reference to the march of the British force, but was owing to the advice of Díwân Bacha, the khân's Hindú agent, who recommended it as a financial measure, the operation of which had commenced three years before the English expedition was thought of. The Hindú proposed to profit by the drought, and consequent scarcity of grain, and amused Mehráb Khân with the hopes of filling his coffers; but, it was supposed,

that he profited more than his master by the speculation and monopoly he created, for all that Mehráb Khân did in the affair was to deposit, in store, the quantity of grain usually given to his dependents, paying them with cash, in lieu thereof; while the Hindú, with his own capital, made extensive purchases throughout the country, and made the khân's authority subservient to his ends. The monopoly was exceedingly distasteful to the people, and when the díwân was slain (for he also shared the fate of his lord) no one lamented him.

There was yet another charge I had to prefer against Mehráb Khân; which, if it did not imply any great villany on his part, might evince that he did not estimate lightly the benefits of his alliance. I had learned from Sir Alexander Burnes, that the khân had demanded the restoration of the port of Karáchí by the amírs of Sind, as the price of his friendship. I was a little amused at the time, not so much at the demand as at the rage Sir Alexander affected, in consequence of it; as I could not forget, that the modest demand of Dost Máhoméd Khân at Kâbal, for Peshewár and its territory, which had never belonged to him, was very kindly listened to; and I could not but know, that Karáchí had once belonged to the Kalât family. Now, however, when pressing this convincing proof of the presumption and crime of Mehráb Khân, I was rather ashamed to find my own good sense questioned for noticing it; as

it seemed the demand was only diplomatically set forth, neither the khân, nor any other person, supposing that Karáchí would be restored. If such be the case, and I believe there is little reason to doubt it, the inexperience of Sir Alexander Burnes in oriental diplomacy, conduced to the same errors here as at Kâbal; Dost Máhoméd Khân lost his authority, and Mehráb Khân his throne and life, because Sir Alexander, and the envoy and minister, were ignorant that it was the process, in eastern negotiations, to start with great and extravagant pretensions, and then gradually to diminish them, and finally to abandon them altogether. A departure from this rule, as was observed to me, would have exposed Mehráb Khân and his statesmen to the charge of dulness and incapacity; and those who laughed at the notion that he expected Karáchí, insisted, that he was most unfairly judged to be untractable and presumptuous, from having followed merely the forms of a science which his opponents had not the sagacity to comprehend.

Such were the explanations and statements I received relative to some of the charges against Mehráb Khân, of which I had become cognizant. Those who advanced them, and those who advised and sanctioned the measures which led to the fall of the unhappy man in consequence, are of course free to offer invalidating testimony. Until they do, I fear the opinion may be too justly entertained that the chief of Kalât was sacrificed to the

want of common sense and the resentment of the political officers employed west of the Indus.

When the army had concentrated at Shikárpúr, and was about to march towards Kándahár, if a person in any way acquainted with the state of the countries through which it would pass, and with the situation, and policy of the chiefs, had reflected on the contingencies likely to happen, the contumacy or hostility of the Kalát ruler was one of the events the least to be expected, for he had everything to gain by the movement, supposing, which was reasonable to be supposed, that no evil was intended him. His announced treachery was therefore to me a most unlooked-for piece of intelligence, and although I knew that he was surrounded by evil counsellors, and that he had but an ordinary capacity, I still suspected that much of his misfortune was rather owing to misunderstanding than to his guilt. I was anxious therefore to ascertain the feeling as to his sentiments when the expedition across the Indus became known to him, because the advantages which it placed within his reach were so palpable, that, in rejecting them, if cleared from the imputation of crime, he was still liable to the minor charge of folly. I was assured that he heard the tidings of the advance of the British army with high gratification; that he was so overjoyed, that, as my informant expressed it, "had he had wings, he would have flown to its meeting." At that time he justly appreciated the nature of his position, and the

benefits which must have followed his furtherance of the views of the British authorities. He saw himself about to be relieved from the continual dread he lived in, of the capricious and tyrannical sirdárs of Kándahár, and of any mistrust he must have occasionally felt of the confederated chiefs of Sind. He also saw the certainty of his authority being firmly established in his own dominions, and his imagination presented the agreeable picture of the unruly and rebellious chieftains, who during his sway had given him so much trouble and disquietude, at his feet, as submissive and humble suppliants for mercy. In this happy temper, he addressed Sir Alexander Burnes, expressing his anxiety and wish to see him, but craving to be excused from the presence of Lieut. Leech, whose conduct had displeased him.

With the khân of Kalât in this disposition, a glance may be directed at the contemporaneous proceedings of the British authorities at Shikárpúr, for it is but just to inquire what steps they took to secure and confirm the good feelings of the khân, and in what manner they thought fit to conciliate him. I have noticed, that, as regarded the alleged confiscation in Kachí, Sir Alexander had addressed a letter to the khân, which would "astound" him, and that Shâh Sújâh al Múlk had reminded him, that Shâh Nawâz Khân (a claimant and pretender to the Kalât throne) was in the royal camp. The opening of the communications between the khân

and the authorities at Shikárpúr, was not therefore auspicious.

At Kalât the necessity was acknowledged of an attempt to remove misunderstanding, and a mission to the envoy and minister was determined upon ; but the difficulty was to select a proper representative, and it may be truly said the khân had not a proper person to send. The aspirants for the honourable employ were numerous, but Náib Múlla Hassan, in virtue of his office, carried the day. Here the weakness and infatuation of Mehráb Khân were first manifested. He did not oppose the mission of the náib, although conscious of his ill feeling, and morally certain that he should be betrayed by him. The only excuse for the extreme imprudence of the khân was, that from the reception and countenance afforded to Shâh Nawâz Khân, the menacing letters of the shâh and Sir Alexander Burnes, and the notion he had that Lieut. Leech would injure him, he already considered himself a doomed man ; a fact pointed out and insisted upon by those near him who desired his downfall, and particularly by Náib Múlla Hassan, who aggravated the danger, with the view of displaying the urgency and importance of his mission.

The náib selected for companion Saiyad Máhomed Sheríf, another traitor, equally mistrusted and obnoxious. While this strange mission was in progress, the khân followed, on his own part, the precautionary policy of using every endeavour to avoid

giving cause for offence, and his instructions to his chiefs and subjects in Kachí were all framed in the same spirit.

I know not whether the interview between the envoy and minister and Náib Múlla Hassan took place at Shikárpúr or Bâgh in advance. Its results were remarkable. To accomplish the ruin of Mehráb Khân, it was necessary for Náib Múlla Hassan to deceive the envoy and minister, as well as the intended victim. He perfectly succeeded. In place of advocating his master's interests, he accused him of the most mischievous plots and intentions, and was unhappily credited by the credulous envoy and minister. In the same breath he avowed his own ardent attachment, was believed, and the chief political authority with the army of the Indus signed a document, by which he engaged to recompense the service and goodwill of a traitor. Whatever may be thought of this transaction, I fear it tells unfavourably for the common sense and principle of the envoy and minister; for how could a man with common sense have been so easily deceived, and how could a man of ordinary principle have confided in the representations of a scoundrel, exerting himself to injure the ruler whose servant he was, and whose cause he had undertaken to defend? Another mischief attending the affair was, that it was not so secretly done but that it transpired, and consequently confirmed all the gloomy forebodings of Mehráb Khân.

The British functionary did not, however, at this time contemplate the destruction of the Kalât chief, or even his deposition; but Múlla Hassan was instructed to return to Kalât, and to persuade the khân from his evil course; and he took leave, rejoicing in the success of his villany, while his dupe, the envoy and minister, plumed himself on having made a clever diplomatic hit, in having gained over the minister of Mehráb Khân.

At Kalât, Múlla Hassan assured the khân that the English were faithless, that their intentions were to send him to Calcutta, and that he had nothing to hope from them; that they had sought, by bland speeches and the lure of money, to secure him, but, God be praised! his devotion to the khân was unalterable. He consoled the khân, by representing that they were comparatively weak, that the amount of real force was small, and there was little to fear from them. Múlla Hassan did not confine his dexterity to such statements, but while he reported to the envoy and minister that all his efforts to induce the perverse khân to a becoming sense of his situation were useless, and that he still persisted in a course of opposition, and was constantly intent upon new plots and conspiracies, he issued a variety of letters in the khân's name, and authenticated by his seal, which by virtue of his office he had in possession, addressed to various parties throughout the country, calling upon them to molest the march of the British troops by every

means in their power. Many of these letters were intercepted, as probably they were intended to be, and tended of course to convince the envoy and minister of the turpitude of the khân of Kalât, who, in truth, knew nothing of them. The coadjutors of Múlla Hassan, Saiyad Máhoméd Sheríf, and the brothers of the late Dáoud Máhoméd, were alike indefatigable in inciting the tribes to rapine, at the same time ascribing the evils occasioned by themselves to the unquenchable enmity of the khân.

Under this complication of villany and infatuation, the British army passed through Kachí, the defiles of the Bolan pass, and encamped at Quetta. While in Kachí, as far as the khân was concerned, free permission was given to traverse the province by any and whatever route, and to an application made that the Bombay division should pass by the Múllloh route, and therefore to Kalât, no opposition was made. The route was not, indeed, followed, but the khân had shown that he was not hostile, for he offered no objection to it; and his submissive disposition may be conceived when he consented to allow a force to approach his capital.

Notwithstanding the depredations committed in the Bolan pass, and that they were ascribed to the hostility of Mehráb Khân, it does not appear that the idea of revenge was yet cherished against that chief, and a final effort was made to

enumerate him in the list of friends. Sir Alexander Burnes, attached to the mission with the title of envoy to Kalât, and other places, was, of course, destined to effect a reconciliation with the implacable khân, and for that purpose left Quetta. So little was he, in common with the envoy and minister, acquainted with the nature of things at Kalât, that he selected for his companion Saiyad Sheríf. It is believed that Sir Alexander offered the khân the sum of one lakh and a half of rupees per annum to keep the road open from Shikárpúr to Quetta. A treaty to such effect was signed and sealed, and it remained merely for the khân to accompany Sir Alexander back to Quetta, there to pay his respects to the shâh, and the envoy and minister. To this visit the khân, no doubt, had great averseness, as, while very willing to see the envoy, he much disliked to be compelled to wait upon the shâh, of whom he thought less favourably than did his English allies. The opposition of náib Múlla Hassan, and Saiyad Sheríf, had proved ineffectual to prevent the treaty; but they did not cease to represent to the khân, that his journey to Quetta would prove fatal to his liberty, if not to his life. As soon as the envoy and minister arrived at Quetta, it would appear that the náib and his associate traitors were in his presence; the point then insisted upon was, that Mehráb Khân should come to Quetta, which Múlla Hassan signified to the khân, but, while

promising to persuade him to comply with the request, he dissuaded him in the strongest terms, urging that it was certain destruction, and concluded by imploring that, if the *khân*, in his wisdom, should take the fatal step, he might not be charged with the neglect of his duty, or of omission in having warned him of evil. The letters were full of the most violent denunciations of the perfidious intentions of the British authorities. Sir Alexander Burnes had left Quetta, boasting that he would return with *Mehrâb Khân*; that he might the more certainly succeed, he gave the *khân* twenty thousand rupees for expenses on the road. So much unexpected liberality gave force to the insinuations poured into the *khân's* ears, and when the poor man wished to take a party of five hundred followers, that he might appear as became his rank, Sir Alexander told him that twenty were sufficient, which afforded a triumph to *Múlla Hassan* and his gang, who appealed to the *khân* whether it was or not plain enough that the only wish of Sir Alexander was to decoy him to Quetta, there to be seized and sent to Calcutta. Still *Merâb Khân* ordered his tents to be pitched without the town, preparatory to his march, but the precipitancy of Sir Alexander Burnes, who was in haste to convey the tidings of his own success, and to receive the gratulations his vanity suggested would be offered to him, gave the final blow to the arrangement, as he started for Quetta,

leaving his múnshí, Mohan Láll, to attend upon the khân. The unfortunate man observed, that Sikandar (Sir Alexander) fancied to delude him by grinning and leering, and now he had left his múnshí behind him, of whom he spoke even more disrespectfully. Mohan Láll profited by the absence of his indulgent patron, to pretend that he had a *júda ráh*, or distinct influence with Lord Auckland, on the strength of which he was anxious to purchase a beautiful kaníz, or slave girl. The bewildered khân was disgusted. Whether he would have proceeded with Sir Alexander is uncertain, but it was too much to expect he would follow the *cortège* of Mohan Láll. He delayed until a letter reached from Sir Alexander, stating that there was no longer occasion to visit Quetta, as the shâh had marched; on which Mohan Láll left Kalât, and was escorted by Dárogah Gúl Máhomed to the foot of the Khwojak pass.

The bold and villanous expedient resorted to by the subtle Saiyad Sheríf to consummate the khân's ruin, and the protest of Sir Alexander Burnes against the treaty concluded by himself, have been before noticed.

The fate of Mehráb Khân was henceforth decreed, and it was determined eventually to make an example of him. I shall not stay to moralise upon these startling events, or by any remarks endeavour to influence the judgment which may be formed upon them. At Quetta, when the army advanced,

Capt. Bean, in command of the 1st regiment of the shâh's contingent, was left by the envoy and minister in political charge. Apparently as deeply convinced of the criminality of the khân as his patron, and aware that the unhappy chief was proscribed, he, it is complained, refused to see the persons deputed by the khân to open an intercourse with him.

When the shâh and his allies had entered Kândahâr, the khân, ignorant that his treaty had been protested against, ordered Náib Múlla Hassan to proceed there, with congratulatory letters and presents for the king and political officers. The náib went as far as Quetta, where, no doubt, he practised upon the imagination of Capt. Bean, as he formerly had upon that of the envoy and minister, and wrote to the khân that the British army had been defeated, and that in a few days he would hear of them as fugitives in his country; that he was willing to go to Kândahâr, as the khân wished, but it was better to wait awhile; and he wished to avoid the reproach of being considered unskilful, or neglectful of his duty. The náib's letter, as usual, teemed with the most virulent assertions of the perfidy of the English. He delayed at Quetta, disobeying the repeated injunctions of the khân to proceed to the allied camp, until Ghazní was captured, and Kâbal was in possession of the shâh. The khân, in despair, directed Náib Réhimdád, his governor at Quetta, to take up the mission which Múlla Hassan declined, and to make the best

of his way to Kâbal, with letters, and an increased stock of presents. This worthy, either in league with Múlla Hassan, or alike desirous to implicate the khân, invented fresh falsehoods, and excused himself; while he set on foot a series of depredations upon the troops cantoned at Quetta, by carrying off the camels when foraging, and sending them for sale to Sístân, not daring to send them to Kalât.

In process of time, the brigade under Major-Gen. Wiltshire reached Quetta, in its return from Kâbal, and the opportunity presented itself to avenge the crimes and treasons of the Kalât chief. Náib Múlla Hassan was again in the British camp, exercising the same manœuvres he had constantly put into play, and with the like success. He assured the political officer that all his endeavours had failed to alter the feeling or disposition of the khân; and wrote to the latter on no account to repair to Quetta, or he would be sent a prisoner to Calcutta.

A remarkable proof was now afforded of the delusion in which the khân had been kept, or, it may be, of his little expectation of being visited with vengeance for crimes which he was unconscious of having committed; for it was not until he heard of the advance of British troops upon Kalât that he thought of making preparations for defence. On the spur of the moment he appealed to the tribes, and despatched his son, Máhommed Hassan, under charge of Dárogah Gúl Máhommed, to Nushkí. In the hour of need Mehráb Khân

found himself abandoned; he had alienated the chiefs of tribes, and few responded to his call. As the British force approached, he deputed Akhúnd Máhoméd Sídik to confer with the political officer attending it. The reckless man observed that he knew the Akhúnd was a traitor, and would betray him. He was quite right, the Akhúnd did betray him, as far as it was in his power, and received drafts on Hindús of Kalât for sums of money. The interview of this representative of the khân with the political officer took place at Mangachar. The Akhúnd stipulated that the force was not to appear before Kalât until the morning of the 6th of November, which was acceded to, without the intention of abiding by the stipulation; the Akhúnd purposing that Mehráb Khán should have time for flight, to which he meant to persuade him. It was not, however, the intention to permit the khân or the booty to escape, and the force arrived before Kalât on the morning of the 5th of November, when an attack on the place immediately followed, as its defences were too weak to require delay. The garrison consisted, with few exceptions, of the villagers neighbouring to Kelât, and the greater part of them dropped from the walls and made off when the assault commenced. The gates were blown open, the town entered, and the citadel forced, when Mehráb Khán was slain, with many chiefs, of more or less distinction, in one of the lower apartments. In an upper apartment were

Naíb Múlla Hassan, Naíb Réhimdád, the Akhúnd Máhoméd Sídik, and some thirty persons; they, of course, surrendered when the khân was no more. It is supposed by the Bráhúís that the ultimate design of Múlla Hassan was to procure his own advancement to the masnad of Kalât, but, unfortunately for him, in the search made by the political officers for documents, his letters to the khân were discovered under the pillow of that wretched man. His arrest followed, and, with Réhimdád, he was sent prisoner to the fortress of Bakkar. Capt. Bean is said to have reproached him with the death of Mehráb Khân; he might have justly done so; and, if he did, his reproach was a testimony to the innocence of the fallen chief.

The scenes following the capture of the Bráhúí capital may be passed unnoticed; the calamities suffered by the inhabitants were the inevitable consequences of war; yet, it is due to relate, that the deportment of the general of the British force is spoken of with approbation, and the respect shown to a bed-ridden lady, one of the wives of the slaughtered khân, is remembered with gratitude.

On the approach of the force, the first step of the khân was to order his brother, Mír Azem Khân, to leave the town, and provide for his safety. When the attack commenced, his wives and female attendants were put without the gates, and some of them, even on foot, were left to shift for themselves. When the town was entered, and all hope extin-

guished, the khân entrusted to some one, as a present for his son, deputed to Núshkí, a rifle, on which were inlaid, in golden characters, the names of twenty-three of his ancestors. This was to be preserved as a token by which, wherever the son went, he might be recognized. Three injunctions accompanied it. 1st. Not to surrender to the Feringhís with too much haste. 2nd. Not to confide in the Bráhuís until they had committed themselves inextricably with the Feringhís, or he would be betrayed by them, as his father had been. 3rd. Not to smoke tobacco or to take snuff, as such indulgences would lead to drinking wine, and he would become as useless as his uncle, Mír Azem. This injunction the khân seemed to think the most particular, for he desired his son to be warned, that if he disobeyed it he would arise from his grave and reproach him.

The khân's personal property (excepting cash and jewels) fell into the possession of the captors, and to save them the trouble of collecting it, he had already packed it, as if for removal. The khân being reputed rich in jewels, inquiries were made for them, and in a few days information was given which led to their discovery in the house of Náib Múlla Hassan; so it proved that the wily traitor had been sufficiently adroit to have them deposited there, of course intending to reserve them for his own benefit. Wonderful were the expectations raised by the discovery of the jewels, a portion only

of the khân's store, though probably the greater portion. But a fatality attended them; the vessel in which the gems were despatched for Bombay was lost, and the treasure itself, although preserved, was found to be of little value, as the stones, although large and uncut, were flawed; and, at the auction, by which they were sold, obtained but 60,000 rupees, or 6000%. The person who revealed the secret of their deposit received a reward, became the confidant of Lieut. Loveday, and eventually one of the evil geniuses who consigned him to destruction. In the house of Náib Múlla Hassan a discovery of another nature was made, not only furnishing evidence of his guilt, but curiously illustrating the mode by which he had effected the ruin of Mehráb Khân. Above one hundred blank sheets of paper were found, sealed, and ready to be filled up at discretion. They explained the origin of the misdeeds by which the tribes were inflamed and incited to action, the odium of which had been, it may be feared unjustly, ascribed to the Bráhuí chief.

Kalât being in possession of the British, its chief slain, and his son a fugitive, it naturally became a subject of consideration as to the future government. The claims of the son never seem to have been thought of for a moment. Had his father been ever so guilty, their recognition would not have been the less politic or advisable; but now that the train of events and disclosures had evidenced that he was not so criminal as had been

supposed, and that he had fallen a victim to treason, to the display of which the errors of the political authorities had unconsciously contributed, the claims of the son demanded every attention, not merely on the abstract principles of rightful descent and established usage, but on the score of generosity, which, with a British government, should have had equal weight.

Had the claims of the son at this early period been acknowledged, or had the circumstances extenuating the supposed guilt of his sire been made known, it might be conjectured that the plunder found in the palace, being entirely personal property, could not have been retained ; if inconvenient to admit them on this account, it was doubly so as in a manner confessing that the *khân* had been sacrificed to error and misconception ; and this was an alternative which honourable and high-minded men only could have been expected to embrace. It would have been unjust to have hoped so much from the political authorities of the army of the Indus.

The foul deed had been done : it was necessary to preserve unsullied the reputation of Lord Auckland's political clique, and, to conceal their incapacity, the injustice shown to the father was to be perpetuated by that offered to the unoffending son. Those so mal-adroit in matters of right were expert in matters of evil, and *Shâh Nawâz Khân*, a descendant of *Mohâbat Khân*, who ruled at *Kalât* a century before, was placed on the masnad of *Kalât*,

on the plea of legitimacy. I know not with whom this arrangement originated; it suffices that it was approved and adopted. The Bráhúís were astonished to learn that their three preceding khâns were illegitimate rulers; but, unhappily, they did not acquiesce in the validity of the decision, and their sympathies were directed to the son of Mehráb Khân in exile.

By the partition of the country which accompanied the elevation of Shâh Nawâz Khân, the northern province of Sahârawân, with Quetta and its dependent districts, and the province of Kach Gandava, with the mountain districts east of it, were annexed to the dominions of the king of Kâbal, and by this dismemberment, the provinces bordering on the Indus, of Hârand and Dájil, were quietly transferred to Ranjit Singh.

An object of this wholesale partition, is said to have been the desire to consolidate the Bráhúi nation.

The real purpose, if a judgment may be allowed from the dismemberment of the country, and the transfer of the Sahârawân tribes, was to disserve the Bráhúís as a people, and thereby to augment the importance and revenue of the newly formed kingdom of Kâbal, for Shâh Nawâz Khân, by being inducted into Kalât, had no authority beyond that place, and no means to enforce it.

The first step of the new khân proved, however, that he understood the principles of legitimacy,

which had placed him in Kalât, for obtaining a loan of 60,000 rupees from Mr. Ross Bell at Shikárpúr, he gave him in payment thereof orders on the customs of Las, affecting to cancel the remission granted, a century before, by Nassír Khân, and although this liberty was afterwards disapproved by Lord Auckland, it was strictly in accordance with the legitimate notion of his lordship and his advisers, which influenced their recognition of the claims of the new khân.

It may be observed that, prior to the fall of Meh-ráb Khân, the chiefs of Jhálawân, as Isâ Khân of Wad and Kamâl Khân of Bâghwâna, emboldened by the distracted state of affairs at Kalât, and of the khân's danger from the British, were in open revolt, and Rashíd Khân of Zehrí, the Sirdár of Jhálawân, who had been for some years disaffected, had entirely ceased from attendance at Kalât, and all these chiefs had rejected the appeal to coöperate in the defence of the capital. They therefore became the friends of the British and of Sháh Nawâz Khân; and it was peculiarly unfortunate, and what might, and ought to have been avoided, that both in Balochistân and Afghânistân the traitors to the old order of things became the favoured and trusted adherents to the new. As might have been expected, the confidence unwisely reposed in them was betrayed.

The establishment of Sháh Nawâz Khân led to the appointment of a political officer at Kalât, and

Lieut. Loveday, an assistant to Capt. Bean at the time of its capture, was nominated to the post. The first object of attention with the new khân was the young son of Mehráb Khân, who had taken refuge in Panjghúr, and, accompanied by Lieut. Loveday, he started with a small party to dislodge him, and, if possible, to secure his person. His plans were well laid, and, but for secret intelligence conveyed, be it remarked, by Kamâl Khân of Bâghwân, the youth no doubt would have been made a prisoner. His escape did not prevent the general plunder of the tribes who had afforded him shelter, and scenes were enacted so infamous, that those present spoke of them with horror. A large amount of spoil was obtained, and Shâh Nawâz Khân returned to Bâghwân and married a sister of Kamâl Khân. Lieut. Loveday returned to Kalât from Panjghúr, but made a visit to Bâghwân, bringing to Shâh Nawâz a treaty ratified by the governor-general, from which had been expunged an article binding the British government to maintain the khân on the masnad in which they had placed him. Lieut. Loveday, again returning to Kalât, hearing that the son of Mehráb Khân had sought refuge in Núshkí, started with Mír Fatí Khân, the brother of Shâh Nawâz Khân, to expel him. Intelligence conveyed to the youth, again enabled him to escape; but the Zigger Minghal tribe were no better treated than the tribes of Panjghúr, and the chief, Fazil Khân, who submitted, was

brought to Kalât. Shâh Nawâz Khân, about the same time, compelled the nominal allegiance of the Sâh Saholî tribe, near Khozdâr; soon after which he returned to Kalât.

The zeal of Lieut. Loveday obtained the approbation of Capt. Bean, and afterwards his disapprobation, when the envoy and minister expressed his displeasure at the excursions into Núshkî and Panjghûr; and Lieut. Loveday was instructed, that it was not his duty to interfere in the affairs of the country at all, much less to accompany the khân in his forays. But for this prohibition, it is probable that a third foray would have been directed upon Khârân, whose chief had, after some demur, received the wandering and destitute son of Mehrâb Khân. Shâh Nawâz Khân much urged the step, saying, the evil, if taken in time, would be easily removed, but that it might become dangerous if neglected. His prediction was soon verified. A step which might have prevented the revolt of the Brahúís was abandoned, because the khân was unable to follow it up unassisted, and Lieut. Loveday was forbidden to employ his guard or to lend assistance.

I have now briefly explained the state of things at the period of my arrival at Kalât. The son of Mehrâb Khân, while known to be in Khârân, had no intention of appearing in arms, nor had Assad Khân any notion of interesting himself more in his favour, than to afford him asylum and subsistence as long as he continued his guest. Under the new

distribution of the country, the district of Mastúng, annexed with Quetta, to the dominion of Kábal, was governed by Máhoméd Khân, chief of the Sherwâní tribe of Bráhuís, with a salary of two hundred rupees per annum, and the title of Náib to his Majesty Shâh Sujâh al Mulkh. The revenue, which had been most arbitrarily fixed, was farmed to Díwân Rámú, previously in the employ of Mehráb Khân; the district of Quetta, or Shâll, the headquarters of Capt. Bean and a military force, was governed, under the political officer, by Máhoméd Sídik Khân, a son of the late Samander Khân, Popal Zai. The resumed province of Kach Gandâva was governed under Mr. Ross Bell, the political agent in Northern Sind, by Saiyad Máhoméd Sheríf, whose treason to Mehráb Khân had elevated him to the rank of Náib to His Majesty Shâh Sújâh al Múlkh.

CHAPTER IV.

Residence at Kalât.—Panic in the country.—Arrival of kâfila.—Misfortune of Yaiya, a déhwâr.—Consternation.—Commencement of revolt and slaughter of a party of sîpâhîs at Mastúng.—Refuse to leave Kalât.—Proceedings of dárogah Gúl Máhoméd.—Alarm at Kalât.—Removal to the Babí suburb.—Darbâr of Shâh Nawâz Khân.—Abode in Attá Máhoméd's garden.—Faiz Ahmed's precautions.—Attack upon Quetta.—Lieut. Leech's promptitude.—Retreat of the insurgents from Quetta.—Lieut. Loveday's remark.—Shâh Nawâz Khân's measures.—His levees.—Intrigues at Kalât.—Causes of dissatisfaction.—Diplomatic blunders in Kachí.—Lieut. Loveday's invitation.—Interview with him.—Consent to remain with him during the siege.—Hâjî Osmân.—State of the defences.—Efforts to improve them.—Manning of the walls.—Disposition of the fortifications.—Preparations.—Scarcity of grain.

I MIGHT have reasonably looked for the arrival of the kâfila eight or ten days after my own, at Kalât, as, before leaving Béla, we heard of its departure from Súnmiání, and we knew that it had no object to tarry on the route. My intercourse with Lieut. Loveday had ceased, in the manner I have before described; and that I had acted discreetly, I inferred from the nature of his observations, which, from time to time, were reported to me.

While residing in the garden, I was repeatedly visited by Shâh Nawâz Khân and Mír Fatí Khân, his brother, the garden of the latter joining the one in which I was located, and every morning he came to stroll in it. Shâh Nawâz Khân never ceased to request I would call upon him in the mîrí, or palace, and converse with him, but I constantly declined, although there could have been no harm, yet I was careful to avoid giving the least cause for umbrage to Lieut. Loveday.

In course of time tidings reached Kalât, that the kâfila had been seen at Barân Lak, in a woful plight, from the failure of the camels, owing to the heat, want of water and forage, and other untoward causes. Subsequently we heard, that it had found its way to Wad; but now symptoms of discontent in the country had become manifest.

When I came to Kalât, Lieut. Loveday had with him some sixty sîpâhís, of one of the shâh's regiments. In obedience to Capt. Bean's orders, he had despatched twenty-five of them from Kalât, towards Quetta. His múnshí, Ghúlam Hússén, having business at Mastúng, accompanied them. At the moment I, of course, regarded this as an indifferent circumstance.

About this time an accident occurred, which served, perhaps, to precipitate the revolt which speedily followed. Amongst the many tyrannical acts, of which Lieut. Loveday stood accused by the general voice of the country, was that of worry-

ing people with his dogs; and to describe the horror in which he was held, on that account, would be an impossible task. Yet, so incredible did such a charge appear to me, and so revolting was it to every notion of humanity, that I felt inclined to conjecture trivial circumstances had been magnified, and an accidental mishap construed into a premeditated deed. I was frequently told, that since I had been at Kalât he had discontinued to use his dogs; and when I expressed anxiety to proceed, I was entreated to remain, that Lieut. Loveday might behave himself decently. However, any restraint he might have imposed upon himself, in consequence of my presence, did not suffice to prevent the ebullition of his passion; and a miserable and fatal testimony confirmed, beyond power of denial, how justly he was feared and disliked. Yaiya, a déhwâr or agriculturist of Kalât, employed as a begâr, or forced labourer, in some works connected with the house in progress of erection, incurred the displeasure of Lieut. Loveday, who gave the necessary signal to his dogs, and they inflicted several wounds on the wretched individual. He was carried home in a grievous state, and in a few days died. The consternation excited by this man's unhappy fate amongst the community of Kalât, to be conceived must have been witnessed; the dread of vengeance limited the expression of public feeling to low and sullen murmurs, but rumour spread the catastrophe with rapidity over

the country, and there indignation was loudly avowed, and revenge determined upon.

It became known at Kalât that the múnshí, with his party of súpáhís, had reached Mastúng, and contemporaneously that the kâfila was on the road from Wad ; but a panic, the forerunner of the outbreak which ensued, had now seized the minds of all. Lieut. Loveday was anxious about the safety of the kâfila, as a very large quantity of stores, from Bombay, belonging to him, were with it ; and he ordered a party, of the few soldiers with him, to march on the road to meet it. They were ready to have started, when the disastrous news arrived of the slaughter of the múnshí and his party, at Mastúng ; and of the revolt of the tribes of Sahárawân.

The first act of Shâh Nawâz Khân was to insist upon Lieut. Loveday, who was at the time in his tent without the town, to retire to his residence within the walls ; and thenceforth he never went beyond them.

My friend, Faiz Ahmed, immediately called on me, and gave his opinion that the affair was serious. He said his chief solicitude was for me ; and urged me, in the most earnest manner, at once to provide for my safety, either by crossing the hills into Kachí or by retiring to Bâghwân. He assured me, that he should be disgraced for ever if any misfortune befel me, his guest, or, to use his expression, that his nose would be cut off. I thought he over-

estimated the danger, and determined to remain, at least until it was known what form the insurrection would assume; for, at the time, I was not aware that Quetta was unprovided with troops, and could not but suppose the revolt would be speedily suppressed.

I may mention that, before these events transpired, there was a report at Kalât that Dárogah Gúl Máhoméd had the intention to proceed to Quetta and endeavour to negotiate with Capt. Bean in favour of the son of the late khân. Various were the opinions as to the probability of the report, and as to the dárogah's intentions; but many thought it possible, and wished it might prove true, from their desire to see the son of Mehráb provided for, and an end put to the uneasiness which his presence in Khárân kept up. It proved that the dárogah did visit Mastung, and had a meeting at a village with some persons there, and amongst them with Díwân Rámú, the farmer of the revenue under the new order of things. What passed at this meeting I could never ascertain; the dárogah, if he ever had the intention of visiting Quetta, or of opening a communication with Capt. Bean, did neither, and returned to Khárân. In a few days followed the outbreak.

Shâh Nawâz Khân lost no time in summoning to Kalât the levies from the neighbouring villages and tribes. His mother, and Mír Fati Khân, were sent in all haste to collect those of Zehrí, while

messengers were despatched to Kamâl Khân of Bâghwân, and to other chiefs of Jhálawân.

It soon became known that the insurgents at Mastúg had called the son of Mehráb Khân to countenance their proceedings. Amidst the alarm produced by this state of affairs a part of the kâfila reached Kalât ; many of the merchants thought it prudent to secrete their goods in the hills. My camels had perished on the road, from eating (I was told) the poisonous oleander shrub. I had my luggage brought to the garden in which I resided.

Some two or three days afterwards, a little past sunset, I was astonished at the discharge of large and small arms from the town, and still more when, after a brief interval, it was repeated. Before a third took place the young son of Faiz Ahmed appeared, and told me his father implored that I would instantly remove into the suburb. I had scarcely time to ask what had happened, when Faiz Ahmed himself came in the utmost trepidation. He besought me, for God's sake, to leave the garden, or I should be murdered ; when I could get him to explain, he informed me that Mehráb Khân's son was said to be at Garúk, six miles distant, and that his chapow was expected during the night ; that the town gates were closed, and that the discharges I had heard were part of Shâh Nawâz Khân's precautionary measures. Reflecting, that if a chapow did make its appearance,

there was little doubt that I should be murdered, I thought right to accompany him, and ordered his and my own servants to follow with the luggage. Before we left the garden a party of strangers had congregated around a fire, which they kindled at a little distance from me. They were unknown to the old woman in charge of the garden. I was surprised that Faiz Ahmed conducted me to the suburb by a circuitous path, and as he stumbled over stones, and into the pools of the narrow lanes he traversed, I could not forbear bantering him about it, and the terror he evinced, which occasioned him to complain that I was insufferably "jél," or rash; I have since learned that he had received an intimation that two of the late khân's ghúlâms, or slaves, in full confidence that the chapow would arrive, had buckled on their arms, intending to have assassinated me that evening. On reaching the suburb, he showed me into the house of Sâhibdád, adjacent to his own. In a few minutes Faiz Ahmed, Kâlikdad, and two or three of their relatives, came and urged me immediately to leave Kalât. I was still obstinate, and doubted if Mehrâb Khân's son could be so near. Faiz Ahmed, in his anxiety, had engaged one Máhomed Aríf to conduct me to Níchâra, and had saddled my horse, but I overruled him. Completely beset by his terror, he upbraided me for my infatuation, and warned me I should repent the neglect of the opportunity. I had, however, the support of his relatives, less

timid, and, perhaps, less wise than himself, and at length he yielded. My friends sat up with me through the night, well-armed, and in much anxiety. Discharges of arms were continued until morning from the town, and Shâh Nawâz Khân was constantly on the alert, patrolling the streets and ramparts. The peril was believed to have been extreme this night, of an insurrection within and without the walls. No enemy appeared, and, in time, it was discovered that Mehrâb Khan's son had not exactly been at Garúk, but that he had skirted Nímarg and Mangachar, some eighteen miles from Kalât, to which he was desirous to have directed his steps, but that the insurgents at Mastúg insisted upon his presence there, that they might make an attempt on Quetta, nearly destitute of troops, while Kalât they considered as always in their power.

Shâh Nawâz Khân continued his precautionary measures by night, until he was certain that the intention of the enemy was turned upon Quetta. For the first time, I was now aware that so important a post had been denuded of troops; as I afterwards learned, by the orders of the envoy and minister.

Faiz Ahmed, after the first alarm was over, attended the darbár of Shâh Nawâz Khân, when Lieut. Loveday was present. The khân asked him what had become of me amidst the confusion, and Faiz Ahmed replied, that he had taken me to his

house. The khân warmly commended him, and then asked what was my opinion on passing events. Faiz Ahmed answered, that I said the Brahúís had brought destruction upon themselves. The khân observed, it was true.

As soon as the immediate danger was over, aware that I was incommoding Sáhibdád and his family, I proposed to return to the garden. Faiz Ahmed would by no means consent, and, in truth, as the times were troubled, it was an exposed situation. He selected, however, another garden more to his mind, and nearer the suburb, belonging to Attá Máhoméd, a cultivator, which was small, and surrounded with fair walls. The owner being agreeable, I removed to it from the house of Sáhibdád.

While in Sáhibdád's house, Faiz Ahmed, whose sense of danger was greater than mine, had sent to Níchára for Shádi Khân, a respectable native of the village, to whom he was connected by marriage, and to whose protection he had intended to have consigned me, when wishing me to accompany Máhoméd Aríf. Shádi Khân came, and I highly approved of him as a good and trusty man; but as I determined to hold on at Kalât until sheer necessity compelled my departure, he returned to his home, leaving with me his brother Ibráhím, whom I took to the garden of Attá Máhoméd, to be ready in case of emergency to conduct me to Níchára, it being arranged that Shádi Khân, with as many firelocks as might be judged necessary, should escort

me through the hills to Gandâva, and thence to Shikárpúr. I was also glad to have this man in the garden by night, as the Bráhuí levies were coming in, and had spread themselves over the gardens of the place, while they were not too much to be depended upon.

The greatest anxiety prevailed as to the issue of the attack contemplated by the Mastúng insurgents upon Quetta. To the extreme astonishment of all, we heard that Quetta had been assailed, not by the Bráhuís, but by the Khâkâ tribes of the neighbouring hills to the north and north-east. It had been understood that Capt. Bean was about to employ these tribes to coerce the Marrí Baloché tribe in the hills of Kâhan, east of Kachí; wonderful was the intelligence, therefore, that he had been attacked by his quondam allies. The amazement was not less, I afterwards learned, amongst the political officers of Upper Sind, who received letters from Capt. Bean, developing his plans of annihilating the Marrís by means of the Khâkâs, and a week after other letters reached, with the tidings that he was in danger of being annihilated himself by these very Khâkâs. The mystery, however, was easy of solution. The Bráhuís wished the Khâkâs to have co-operated with them, and the latter, supposing the destruction of the small force at Quetta as pretty certain, saw no reason why they should not anticipate the attack of the former, and secure the treasure, which they

believed to be immense, to themselves. The allies of Capt. Bean accordingly made a night attack upon his position in the cantonments near Quetta, and were creditably repulsed. Urgent reports of the state of affairs were of course despatched to the political authorities in Afghânistân, and the error of the envoy and minister, in withdrawing the troops from Quetta, became too obvious. Lieut. Leech, then political agent at Kândahár, did his best to meet the evil. Lieut. Travers, with the reinforcement received from Quetta, returned to it by forced marches, and threw himself into it, I believe, before the Bráhuí insurgents had invested it. Lieut. Leech did not stay his exertions, but calling Sâlu Khân, Atchakzai, gave him a sum of money, I heard twenty thousand rupees, and directed him to make the best of his way to Quetta, with as many horsemen as he could collect.

Before Sâlu Khân arrived it was surrounded by the insurgents. The Atchakzai chief forced his way through their host, and brought the effective aid of six hundred horsemen, some ten or twelve having been slain or captured by the Bráhuís. There can be no doubt that the promptitude of Lieut. Leech did much to preserve Quetta at this conjuncture.

The Bráhuís still pressed the investment, and prepared ladders for an escalade. Disputes arose among them as to the points which particular tribes should assail, which ended in the nocturnal retreat

of Wad Dérah, the leader of one of the most numerous bands, which, when known by the rest, created a panic and cry of betrayal, and the host broke up and retired. Assad Khân of Khârân, who, with fifty followers, had accompanied the son of Mehrâb Khân, reconducted him to Mastúg, where the dárogah again set to work to reassemble the dogs of Bráhuís, for so he called them.

The news of the retreat of the insurgents from Quetta gave great satisfaction at Kalât, it being argued that, foiled there, they would scarcely march upon the capital. I had misgivings on this point, from the circumstance of their having retired unbroken; and I signified to Faiz Ahmed, that the moment we were certain they had advanced from Mastúg I was ready to start for Gandâva or Bâghwân, as might be thought best. Faiz Ahmed, at this period, saw me only at long intervals, for he was irritated that I had not followed his counsel; and when he did favour me with a call, seeing I was disposed to ridicule his notions of danger, ceased to notice it. I was hurt that my presence should be a source of solicitude to him, as he had enough of thought with his own affairs, without being encumbered by the consideration of mine. I am sorry to confess that, although I did not attach much importance to the revolt, and supposed it would be readily put down, yet I remained not so much on that account, as from the apprehension I should be laughed at if I returned to Karáchí; and

this weakness, more than anything else, influenced my stay.

During these days of alarm and consternation, Lieut. Loveday's people asked him why he did not send for me. He replied, that if he did, I might fancy that he was "mútaháj," or helpless. I did not understand by this remark that he considered his situation desperate, since it expressed only his dislike that I should consider it so, or that he stood in need of assistance. Shâh Nawâz Khân fired a salute in consequence of the retreat of the rebels from Quetta, and again another on the alleged approach of succours from Shikárpúr. These, however, were imaginary, and the salute turned out to be a stratagem. A call was also made upon the inhabitants of the town, and of the adjacent hamlets, to provide a certain number of water skins, and so completely in ignorance as to the real state of matters was the bulk of the people, that it was supposed the skins were required for the use of the khân and Lieut. Loveday, in a pursuit of the fugitive son of Mehráb Khân; whereas, they were intended to lay up a supply of water in the citadel, in expectation of a siege. So lax, however, was the khân's authority, that the call was not answered. Lieut. Loveday, moreover, ever since he had retired within the walls, had been busily engaged in strengthening his house.

The appeal of Shâh Nawâz Khân to the country had been but faintly received. Levies from the

neighbouring villages were the first to join. Mír Fatí Khân and his mother returned from Zehrí, followed by Mír Bohér, and the young son of Rashíd Khân. Kamâl Khân, Eltárz Zai, of Bâghwân, afterwards arrived, with Khân Máhoméd Khân, son of Isâ Khân of Wad. Besides these, other petty chiefs, with small quotas, attended. Still there was no want of men to hold the place, could their fidelity have been assured. Of Mír Bohír, of Zehrí, there was great distrust, and even Kamâl Khân was suspected. Shâh Nawâz strove by liberality, and the lavish distribution of khelats and gratuities, to confirm the friendly, and to gain over those of dubious disposition. The task of providing subsistence for the rabble also devolved upon him ; and besides his own scanty magazine of grain, he drew upon the stores of Lieut. Loveday.

I am incompetent to unravel the plots and intrigues which at this period transpired at Kalât, but I heard that many of the Bráhuí leaders proposed to connect the interests of Shâh Nawâz Khân, and those of the son of Mehráb Khân. I know not which of the chiefs were concerned in this project, but heard that Kamâl Khân had said, that unless Lieut. Loveday was removed, he would be dragging them all about by their beards. Mír Fatí Khân was reported to have observed, that he would act in all things as his chiefs advised, but Shâh Nawâz Khân entirely set his face against the proposal, and swore that as long as he possessed life

Lieut. Loveday should be respected, and he would be faithful to his engagements with the Sirkár Company. The khân was universally commended on this occasion, even by those who otherwise objected to him and his rule. He also displayed some dexterity in reconciling his disaffected partisans.

The khân had professed a great desire to have marched to the relief of Capt. Bean at Quetta, and had pitched his tents beyond the Mastúng gate. The intrigues and disagreements amongst his chiefs of course deprived him of the opportunity of acquiring the *éclat* which such service would have ensured him. I rather think Capt. Bean was angry that Shâh Nawâz Khân did not march to his assistance, and that Lieut. Loveday had engaged that he would.

The khân, paralysed by poverty and faction, could not march; and here was again evidenced the want of foresight in setting up a ruler incapable of aiding his friends or of supporting himself.

No sooner had the firmness and fidelity of Shâh Nawâz Khân counteracted the plots of the chiefs, in the matter above-mentioned, than fresh causes of dissatisfaction were found by them, and, what was to be lamented, they had some reason on their side. At this critical conjuncture it became known, for the first time, that it was Shâh Nawâz Khân who had assigned over a moiety of the Súnmiání

customs to the political authorities, and that he was chargeable with the iniquity of a deed, which had before been considered as an arbitrary exercise of power by the British government, against which there was no appeal. Kamâl Khân, who is connected with the reigning family of Las, and has an interest in its affairs, was sorely indignant; and, unsparingly reviling Shâh Nawâz Khân for his part in the transaction, retired from the town and threatened to return to Bâghwân. To reconcile this chief, on whose support the khân mainly depended, Lieut. Loveday was obliged to enter into engagements, cancelling the demands upon the Sûnmíání customs; and no sooner was this done than the Bâghwân chief was furnished with a fresh cause of discontent, for the news reached him that his estates at Kotrú, in Kachí, were confiscated. It is impossible to describe the infatuation that could dictate such a step at such a moment; yet it was merely consistent with the extraordinary method of administration which had been adopted in the province ever since the government had been conducted by the political authorities, in the name of the king of Kâbal. Kamâl Khân's estates had been before resumed, then restored, and now again resumed. Those of Mír Bohér had also been resumed, but were fortunately restored at the very moment when Mír Fatí Khân called upon him to attend at Kalât, or otherwise he would not have complied. Lieut.

Loveday was again obliged to pledge to Kamâl Khân the restoration of his lands at Kotrú, and once more he was pacified. To this good end I was unconsciously instrumental, as, one day, Kamâl Khân, and Khân Máhomed of Wad, called on me, and inquired whether Lieut. Loveday's engagements were valid and binding on his superiors, whether the documents should be signed or sealed; and, again, in what manner they should be drawn up. I replied satisfactorily to their queries, but did not trouble myself to ask what the engagements were. I questioned, however, Kamâl Khân as to the probable number of the insurgents at Mastúng, and, affirming that he knew the Bráhuís well, he said they could not exceed two thousand men, but that had the revolt commenced in Kachí, six thousand might have assembled. At Kalât vulgar report made the insurgents eleven thousand strong, and even Capt. Bean, trusting to rumour, had estimated his antagonists at Quetta to be seven thousand. Lieut. Hammersley subsequently told me that Assad Khân, of Kharân, had, on that occasion, seven hundred excellent horse, whereas he had only fifty followers and twenty-five camels, two men on each animal, and no horsemen whatever.

While never-ending causes of dissension were distracting the attention of the khân and his chiefs from the measures requisite for the defence of the place, the Dárogah Gúl Máhomed was reassembling the tribes at Mastúng, and by a singular fatality

Capt. Bean did not follow up their retreat from Quetta, and now allowed them to reorganize their host at leisure, although he had ample force to have dispersed them, and to have closed the rebellion.

Abdúl Wáhid, one of my friends, being in the town, voluntarily called on Lieut. Loveday, who, when he took leave, gave him a note for me. It commenced by stating that he had thrice sent to me, but his people had not found where I resided; and then, in the most polite and handsome terms, invited me to call upon him. On telling those about me what was written, they at once exclaimed that he had written a falsehood, as to having sent for me. I knew as much, but regarded it as a harmless preface to his invitation. Again questioned whether I should go, I said it was too late that evening, but that in the morning I would see him. Every one dissuaded me from going, alleging that he had not treated me well. I replied, that, on that very account, I would see him, as it would never do for him to be civil and for me to be otherwise.

In the morning I sent for my horse from the suburb and rode to Lieut. Loveday's house. His reception was very different from what it had before been. He started from his seat, came to meet me with extended hands, and exclaimed mildly, "Mr. Masson! Mr. Masson!" I immediately gave him my hand, and we sat down; for now I found there were chairs in the house. A few words ex-

plained the state of things—that the town was on the eve of a siege, as the insurgents had marched from Mastúng, and that there was no hope of relief from any quarter. He requested me to remain with him, and I at once consented; willing he should see that I had generosity, however his conscience might reproach him that he had been deficient. I sent for my luggage from the suburb, and with it came a message from my friends without, warning me that I had done wrong. I was quite alive to the danger I was incurring, and should have been much more gratified had it been my fate to be associated with a person in better estimation than Lieut. Loveday; and I was also aware that, in mixing myself up with him, I was exposed to the vengeance which perchance awaited him. I should, moreover, have felt justified in rejecting his invitation, with the knowledge of the remarks he had made from time to time; but my better regulated temper permitted me to overlook them at this crisis. Above all other reasons, I thought I might be useful; and I by no means considered the defence of the place as hopeless, in spite of the difficulties which beset it. Our garrison were men of Jhálawân, our opponents of Sahárawân, between whom existed a certain degree of rivalry, and even of enmity; and on all occasions of revolt they had espoused different sides. This circumstance was in our favour; for I conceived that, with ever so little management on

our parts, the Jhálawânís would never, from a feeling of shame, surrender the town to their opponents. I knew also that the Sahárawânís were a mere rabble, and incapable of taking the town by force of arms, if the garrison merely maintained their position on the towers and ramparts; and so much might with some reason be hoped from them. Further, I was conscious that Lieut. Loveday, from the feeling with which he was regarded, did not dare to move beyond his house; a misfortune particularly grievous when activity was so urgently required, and his presence everywhere necessary in the various operations of the siege about to take place. This misfortune I was bold enough to think I might in great measure obviate, as I had no fear, and could move freely about the town and amongst the Bráhuís. Confident of my strength in this essential point, I did not despair of the issue; and, though upon it depended life or death, my career had been one of adventures and perils, and the same good fortune, I was fain to hope, might still attend me as heretofore. Yielding solely to generous feelings and motives, I became an inmate of Lieut. Loveday's house, and prepared to encounter and share with him the evils which impended.

I now, for the first time, saw Hâjí Osmân, a worthless fellow, known to me by report as the confidant of Lieut. Loveday, and the man who had discovered the hidden jewels. When I consented to remain he made the remark to Lieut. Loveday,

“Did I not tell you Masson Sâhib would come?” by which I presumed that officer had his doubts whether I should or not; and then the hâjî expressed to me his satisfaction, and declared I had avoided a great danger, as Faiz Ahmed had purposed to deliver me to Dârogah Gûl Mâhommed, to be detained as hostage for Réhimdâd, one of the Bakkar prisoners. I did not condescend to answer the scoundrel, but shuddered at the idea of how much evil such a man could effect, and regretted that Lieut. Loveday had no better counsellor or friend.

I naturally inquired of Lieut. Loveday what measures had been taken to repel the expected foe. It was too plain that Shâh Nawâz Khân had been either too much occupied in the management of his unruly Brâhûís, or too naturally careless to take any. Neither had Lieut. Loveday interested himself, although in this instance he had neglected the advice of Hâjî Osmân, who had recommended him personally to take charge of the defence, which certainly would have been his correct course, had not his unpopularity stood in the way. I had heard a good deal of the works with which Lieut. Loveday had strengthened his own residence; they were, however, trifling, and the place was untenable for a quarter of an hour under attack. I pointed out the sad state of the town walls, which I observed riding along them; and some of the apertures in them, by which people actually passed in and out from the town, were

closed by orders of Shâh Nawâz Khân, who, in the course of the day, came to visit Lieut. Loveday. The khân was much pleased to see me, and more so when he learned I intended to remain during the siege; and I told him that now I knew that matters were serious, *saiâldârí*, duty to my friends had brought me into the town. I questioned the khân as to the supply of ammunition at command, and found that there were as many as sixty barrels of European powder in store in the citadel, and many pigs of lead; but it had been omitted to convert any of them into bullets. I observed to him, that if he wished his men to fight he must provide them with the wherewithal to do so, and accompanying him to the citadel, saw the pigs of lead produced, and persons set to work upon them. I also at this time took a cursory view of the guns, and I was extremely sorry to find them useless; the largest, indeed, might be considered a curiosity, for it was cast at Modena in Italy, and above three centuries old. There were three of small calibre. Towards evening I made the circuit of the walls, and particularly examined the western line, having been informed there was a place where people could easily walk up and down. This I found at the point where the wall connected with the citadel, and on my return prevailed upon Lieut. Loveday to go and look at it; and so much assurance had he, in common with others, acquired by my presence, that he not only ventured to leave

his house, which, excepting a hurried visit to the Mírí, he had not done since the commencement of the outbreak, but actually accompanied me without the town to the spot. His súpáhís walked up the breach; and Shâh Nawâz Khân, being apprised of the inspection we were making, appeared on the rampart, and promised to repair it, which he did, and placed a party of men there under one of his shâhghâssís, in whom he could trust.

I forbore in any manner to allude to the remarks which Lieut. Loveday had made concerning me, but in the course of conversation this evening, the topics we discussed allowed me to state such facts and explanations as must have convinced him of the error of his notions, and how unjust and unnecessary had been his observations. When I briefly related to him my reasons for resigning the service of government, he told me he admired my feeling of independence, and bore willing testimony to the good reputation I held at Kalât; and, mentioning certain persons, said, it was astonishing how well they spoke of me. In the same casual mode I corrected the misconceptions under which, apparently, he had laboured, and, from the tone of his discourse and manner, I might have supposed he regretted he had formed them.

Next morning Shâh Nawâz Khân retired his Brá-húí levies within the town, and told them off to their respective stations on the walls. With this task I did not interfere, presuming the khân would

know best the dispositions of the chiefs and their followers, but was careful to see that the men at the citadel were constantly at work, and had some low walls and buildings near the northern gate of the town, which might serve as shelter to an enemy, levelled. I wished to have extended this operation to the buildings close to the eastern gate, but Shâh Nawâz Khân did not like to destroy a masjît, the principal of them, neither did he choose to level the walls enclosing an orchard, because his father had planted it, although I explained that there was occasion only to remove the walls, not the trees. Lieut. Loveday told me that he had before tried in vain to induce the demolition of these buildings and the orchard, for they were manifestly too close, and, what was worse, afforded the opportunity for parley between the besiegers and besieged, which it was part of our plan to prevent, if possible.

Kalât has three gates:—the northern, or Mastúg; the eastern, or Dil Dár; and the southern, or Gil Kan. Adjoining the latter is a triangular outwork, called the Sanghar, entered by a gate close to that of Gil Kan. There are no kouses in the Sanghar, formed by the continuation of the western wall, along the ridge on the eastern face of which the town is built; and by another wall carried from it to the gate Gil Kan. At the apex is a large tower. The work was probably erected to protect the Bábí suburb lying beneath it, and to remedy its occupation by an enemy. To Kamâl Khân, in

concert with Khân Máhoméd Khân, was confided the defence of the southern face, comprising that of the gate Gil Kan and the Sanghar. To Mír Bohér of Zehrí, the portion of the eastern wall extending from the position of Kamâl Khân's party, and to the young son of Rashíd Khân and his followers the remainder of the eastern front, including the gate Dil Dár. From the youth of Rashíd Khân's son, Mír Bohér was held virtually the leader of the Zehrís. On the western front, in the centre of which stands towering the Mírí, or citadel palace, the line of wall from it to the south, and terminating at the Sanghar, was assigned to the Lútíánís and Kambarárís, and the line to the north was guarded by the shâhghâssí, Khân Mahomed's party, and the people of Pandarân, Níchára, and Skalkoh, villages in the vicinity of Kalât, and by the Jetaks from the hills of Zehrí. The northern gate being under the immediate observation of Lieut. Loveday, was considered under his protection, although held by Omar Khân, Rakshâní, of Núshkí; and the wall extending from it to the west was occupied by small village levies.

By all the rules of native warfare, the gates Gil Kan and Dil Dár should have been built up; the Mastúng gate, little liable to attack, only remaining open. When I suggested they should be closed, with the view of raising obstacles to communication between those within and without, I was told it could not then be done without imputa-

tion on the valour of their defenders. Shâh Nawâz Khân, moreover, had determined to pass his nights at the gate Dil Dâr, to prevent the display of treachery. He also assumed the duty of patrolling the ramparts by night, and of exercising a general vigilance, while his brother, Mír Fatí Khân, had especial charge of the citadel palace.

Such were the arrangements; it remained to be seen whether the garrison would defend the walls or admit the foe. Of ammunition there was plenty, but of provisions there was only a scanty supply, the stores of Shâh Nawâz Khân having already been exhausted by the levies, and he had been compelled to draw upon those of Lieut. Loveday, who still, however, had about a hundred kharwârs of grain, besides a three months' supply for his own soldiers and establishment.

CHAPTER V.

Appearance of the enemy.—Instantaneous attack.—Assailants repulsed.—Enthusiasm of Kamâl Khân's men.—Discourse with Kamâl Khân and Khân Máhomed.—Illiberality of Shâh Nawâz Khân and of Lieut. Loveday.—Conversation with Mîr Bohér.—His scruples set at rest.—Practice with the guns.—Renewed attack.—Plans of the rebels.—Firing the suburbs.—Assad Khan's carefulness.—Expectation of an assault.—Preparations to meet it.—Assault.—Its repulse.—Gallantry of Nasrûlah and a party of sîpâhîs.—Peril of Shâh Nawâz Khân.—Surrender of the son of Jelâl Khân.—Results of the discomfiture.—Treachery of part of the garrison.—Visit to the scene of the assault.—Renewed attack.—Lieut. Loveday in danger.—Repulse of attack.—Panic in the town.—Equivocal conduct of Kamâl Khân.—Shâh Nawâz Khân dejected.—Arrival of vâkîl from the rebels.—Conference between Kamâl Khân and the rebel chieftains.—Shâh Nawâz Khân and Mîr Bohér anxious to continue the defence.—Lieut. Loveday's indecision.—Arrangement of Shâh Nawâz Khân.—Evil counsels of Lieut. Loveday's advisers.—Lieut. Loveday's missions to the rebel camp.—Frustration of Shâh Nawâz Khân's endeavours to support himself.—Knavery of Lieut. Loveday's agents.—Their exultation at his credulity.—Lieut. Loveday refuses to leave Kalât.—Communications from Quetta.—Final effort of Shâh Nawâz Khân to induce Lieut. Loveday to accompany him.—Renewed missions to the rebel camp.—Terror of Mîr Fatî Khân.—Shâh Nawâz Khân repairs to the rebel camp.—His abdication and solicitude for Lieut. Loveday.—Entry of the son of Mehrâb Khân into the town.—Visit of Faiz Ahmed.—Farewell visit of Shâh Nawâz Khân.—Lieut. Loveday presents nazzers to the young khân and Bîbî Ganjânî.—His fatal errors.—My counsels and conduct.—My farther stay, and causes thereof.

ON the following morning, about nine o'clock, for we had just breakfasted, the scouts of the enemy appeared on the summits of the low hills through which the road to Mastúg leads. They halted awhile, as if to ascertain whether the followers of Shâh Nawâz Khân were within or without the walls, and as their main body approached, descended into the plain, allowing their horses to graze in the fields of lucerne. Being within gun-range, a few rounds were fired upon them from the citadel. Some time elapsed before the main body arrived, when, crossing the plain, it filed round by the dry bed of a water-course into the gardens east of the town. Immediately, or as soon as the insurgents had alighted from their horses and camels, they advanced towards the walls, and one body rushing into the Bábí suburb, attacked, under its shelter, the southern face, and the gate Gil Kan; another body occupied the buildings outside the gate Dil Dár, and thence attacked it, and the eastern line of wall stretching therefrom to the south. Kamâl Khân and his party were assailed with much vivacity; the enemy's attempt on the eastern line was less determined. An incessant fire was maintained until two or three o'clock in the afternoon, when the rebels retired.

It was clear our antagonists had intended to despatch their work quickly, or, it may be, that they had expected the gates would have been opened to them.

Two or three men were slain on either side, and some wounded, a great point in Bráhuí warfare, as it authorized the hope that accommodation was out of the question, and that, as blood had been shed, the hostile parties must now fight in earnest. We had waited with anxiety the result of the first conflict, because on it so much depended, not only as it would show the mettle of our opponents, but, what was of more importance, it would test the fidelity of our friends. As the event proved, we considered the chances of holding the town as ten to one in our favour, and were justified in so doing.

The enemy, I should have observed, were not above one thousand to twelve hundred men, of all descriptions, armed and unarmed, and in the number of firelocks our garrison must have exceeded them, supposing it mustered from six hundred to seven hundred. Certainly we could have overpowered them on the plain, had it been prudent to trust our men so far; unhappily, we could not.

Shâh Nawâz Khân offered his congratulations to Lieut. Loveday, and I made a tour of the walls, encouraging and conversing with the several chiefs. The followers of Kamâl Khân received me enthusiastically, exclaiming, they were not fighting for Shâh Nawâz Khân, but for the Sirkâr Company. I assured them the Sirkâr Company would not forget them, applauded their good con-

duct, and cheered them to continue it. I found Kamâl Khân and Khân Máhoméd Khân in the gateway, like their men, black with smoke and powder, and after wishing them joy of their success, discoursed for some time with them. I observed to Kamâl Khân, that our task was not a difficult one, after all, and the Sahárawânís were so few in number, that I wondered they had the confidence to present themselves. He agreed with me, expressed surprise there were not more of them, and even thought I overrated their number at one thousand. Both he and Khân Máhoméd seemed to have a latent distrust that their exertions might pass unnoticed; and this notion I strenuously combated, conjuring them to believe, that their services would not merely be noticed, but recompensed. On the whole, they were in high spirits, and apparently well satisfied with the result of the day. On taking leave, I told them they had the good luck to have the merit of the defence, as the Sahárawânís had honoured their position by making it the principal point of attack, and jocularly remarked, that, as we had not been favoured with a visit, the enemy were unwilling we should get any share of the credit. Kamâl Khân gave me a commission to procure some European gunpowder from Lieut. Loveday, for priming, and made a request concerning a supply of provisions, which I promised should be attended to.

I wished Lieut. Loveday, in some mode, to have evinced his approbation on this occasion by a small largess, or by the distribution of provisions to the garrison, but he first hesitated, and finally sent parcels of dates to Kamâl Khân's party and to the Zehrís, but to no others. It was a time when a little liberality was necessary, and he well knew the men were fighting on no better subsistence than dry bread and parched grain, and against their countrymen, for a cause in which they had no interest, and even disapproved. It appeared to me that bounty would have been seasonably shown, and that no harm would have been done in proving to the men, that we thought of their wants, and appreciated their labours. Lieut. Loveday hardly thought this necessary, and Shâh Nawâz Khân affected no other opinion; and when I urged him to distribute some sheep amongst the levies, laughed, and said he would keep them to eat himself.

The care of attending the wounded men devolved upon me; and Lieut. Loveday having a quantity of medicines and ointments, I did as well as I was able with them. The wounds were, of course, gunshot; and although I was not skilful enough to extract the balls, my patients did very well, and gratefully acknowledged the inadequate attention they received. During the night a firing was again opened upon Kamâl Khân's position and that of the Zehrí levy, and continued throughout the next day and night, but no particular attempt upon the

gates, as before, was made, the rebels having determined to attempt an escalade, and were therefore busy in the preparation of ladders.

My calls upon the wounded men brought me into the company of Mír Bohér of Zehrí, who had been always a suspected man, but who, in common with Kamál Khân, had fought with sincerity since the attack. In conversation with him, I found that he had the same misgivings as Kamál Khân, and others, that his exertions would be little prized or regarded; and he farther complained of the precarious tenure on which he held his lands in Kachí. I assured him that he might rest perfectly satisfied on all these points; for now the course of events would press these matters on the consideration of government, and, for the future, such arrangements would be made that all irregularities and annoyances would cease. Mír Bohér was a staunch old man, and, like Kamál Khân, had a reputation for valour; I therefore spared no trouble to convince him, that he was right in the support of Shâh Nawâz Khân, and that he might depend upon the countenance of the government. I could perceive he was pleased to be so assured, and henceforth he became very zealous in the defence of the place.

* This day, moreover, I went to the citadel, both to see that the casting of bullets was not intermitted, and to try if anything could be done with the guns. The enemy occupied the houses of the Bábí suburb, which were nearest to Kamál Khân's

position, and again, the houses without the Dil Dár Gate, particularly the large masjít, which Shâh Nawâz Khân had neglected to level. I wished, if possible, to compel them to retire. The artillerymen at Kalât, old servants of the late Khân, had discontinued to work the pieces, being exposed to the musketry of the sheltered insurgents. For shame's sake, they returned to them, when I stood by them, although, in truth, the shots whizzed freely about. Even Shâh Nawâz came for a moment; but I bade him go away, telling him he might not be charmed against Bráhuí shots, as I hoped I was. It was a sad pity the guns were unserviceable; they were fixed on their uncouth carriages by rolls of cord, intercepting the sight, and rendering it impossible to point them with any tolerable precision. In place of vents were apertures as large as the palm of a hand, and the chambers were so honey-combed, that it startled me to think how they could stand being fired. One of them was three centuries old, as I have noted before, and the others had not a more youthful appearance. I first tried the old one, as being the largest, and, as well as I could, pointed it to the garden in which we knew that the son of Mehráb Khân, Assad Khân of Khárân, and other principal chiefs, had taken up their quarters. After a few rounds in that direction, I had it much at heart to have knocked in the side door of the large masjít, without the gate Dil Dár, which was full of the enemy. The effect would have been

excellent; and, had the attempt succeeded, no one would have dared to venture there again. On bringing the gun to bear upon the point, the upper part of the gate only was visible above the line of rampart, and to have hit it, it was necessary that the ball should exactly clear the parapet. The distance was, indeed, trifling, but the impossibility of pointing the gun correctly perplexed me; and, I was demurring whether to fire or not, when I saw the Zehrí people forsake the walls; I then abandoned the intention, fearful of doing more harm than good, as the chance was against success; while, if a ball had struck the parapet, the men of Zehrí, not too trustworthy, might have found a pretence for withdrawal from their post. I then repaired to the other guns, but being on the same level, similar obstacles presented themselves, and I could do no more than fire random shots amongst the gardens, and, as nearly as I could, direct them towards that occupied by the khân and the *élite* of the insurgents.

I next urged upon both Lieut. Loveday and Shâh Nawâz Khân the necessity of firing the suburbs adjacent to the two exposed gates, and the measure was at length agreed upon. That near the Dil Dár gate was effectually fired, but the Bábí suburb suffered little injury from Kamâl Khân, who undertook the task.

The good consequences that would have attended an effective shot at the door in the masjít were

acknowledged by all ; and subsequently, when prisoner, I heard it frequently remarked by the rebels, that it would have ruined them. It was a singular misfortune there was not a serviceable piece of ordnance ; the valley of Kalât is entirely within range, and the insurgents, in that case, could not have stayed in it. This had been exemplified in former years, when the tribes of the country were in revolt against Mehráb Khân, and were compelled, by the fire from the citadel, to break up their encampment and disperse.

On this occasion, owing to my presence, the artillerymen were obliged to be honest, and discharge ball ; and it was afterwards known that a shot had passed close to the young khân's tent, and that another had killed the charger of Assad Khân, picketed with the khân's, which so terrified the Khárân chief, that he removed from the garden to the Bábí suburb. His subjects had implored him, when he accompanied the khân, to take care of himself, and he promised them he would, assuring them he did not intend to expose himself to Feringhí grape. The Brábhúís used to laugh at this promise, which, however, he religiously kept, and was now driven away by a round shot.

We were perfectly aware of the determination of the rebels to attempt a nocturnal escalade, but were ignorant as to the point they intended to assail. Their ladders were prepared from the timbers they found ready for them at Lieut. Love-

that of repose after some great exertion, a sudden and violent renewal of firing announced that an attack was made; and we soon discovered that the point menaced was the part of the wall on the western side held by the levies of the villages near Kalât, and the Jetaks of Zehrî, and therefore near us. The four or five Bráhúís we had in the house were instantly despatched to the several quarters of the town for intelligence, and Nasrúlah, a servant of Lieut. Loveday, and much trusted by him, returned, informing us that ladders were fixed, and implored that a party of sîpáhís should be hastened to the spot. Lieut. Loveday permitted his havildar Allabaksh to select eight men; they were accompanied by two or three others, as amateurs, and conducted by Nasrúlah.

Their presence was most opportune. A party of the enemy, about forty-five or fifty, had entered the town, and their companions were being assisted over the walls by those stationed to defend them. The little band of sîpáhís most admirably performed their duty; some fifteen of the rebels and their friends of the garrison were brought down on the walls, and the remainder, with the son of Jelâl Khân at their head, dropped into the town and secreted themselves, as they saw their retreat cut off. Nor was this the extent of the service done; the insurgents, persisting in the attempt to escalade, were completely baffled, and fled, leaving their ladders, and a number of dead, at the foot of the walls.

The party under the son of Jelâl Khân left their hiding-place, and fell in with Shâh Nawâz Khân and a few attendants, advancing to the perilled point. Being desperate, they attacked the khân, and slew two or three of his men. The khân himself cut down one of his opponents, but, being nearly alone, retreated to the gate Dil Dâr, with torches before him. The son of Jelâl Khân, unsupported in the town, made the best of his way to Kamâl Khân, and craved his protection. He was allowed to retain his arms, but was held a prisoner, with his men, whose arms were taken from them. It was reported that Shâhghâssí Walí Máhomed was also in the town, and Lieut. Loveday, through Nasrúlah, offered a reward for his discovery and apprehension. The conduct of Nasrúlah on this occasion was eminently zealous and deserving. We afterwards heard that Máhomed Khân Sherwání, who conducted the escalade, was so surfeited with his reception, that he took the road to Mastúng, and was induced to return only by the dárogah and others, who hastened after him, praying him, in God's name, to await the morning.

Most of the men slain proved to be Langhows, residents at Mangachar. When the young khân first arrived amongst them, *en route* to Mastúng, they at once espoused his cause, and delivered to him the grain reserved as tribute for Shâh Nawâz Khân. They pretended to have serious cause of complaint, both with the khân and Lieut. Loveday,

on account of one of their chiefs, who, as they asserted, had been innocently blown from a gun, and for other reasons. Being an inferior tribe, the duty of carrying the ladders was assigned to them. It proved that the insurgents were unprovided with ammunition, and that the garrison lowered down supplies to them, while they themselves fired blank. The garrison, also, by means of their united *lunghís*, helped the assailants over the walls, the ladders being too short by nearly a third of the requisite height.

The victorious *sípáhís*, on their return to quarters, wished that a guard should be set over the slain on the ramparts until morning, in order to secure their spoils, and to prevent them being taken by the *Bráhúís*. I very much opposed this measure, from its obvious indelicacy, and hoped it would be considered enough to have killed the men. Lieut. Loveday tartly replied, that the spoils were the "*Hâk*," or right of the soldiers, and a guard was sent. *Nasrúlah* was desired to accompany it, but, conscious of the impropriety, he declined.

In the grey break of day Lieut. Loveday left his house, to visit the scene of the achievement. I would rather he had stayed until broad daylight, and then have gone in company with *Shâh Nawâz Khân*, or his brother, or with some of the chiefs; and this because I thought it would be the safer course. He, for the same reason, went now with the notion he should not be recognized, which was

hardly possible, with his soldiers crowding around him. As he went, I accompanied him, and we ascended the walls, and cast a glance on the corpses strewed about, and on the broken ladders, some resting still against the walls, and some fallen on the ground. We had scarcely time to do this, when a brisk fire re-opened on the opposite side of the town in Kamâl Khân's quarter. The levies amongst whom we were, immediately loaded and lighted their matches. Lieut. Loveday as speedily descended, for his situation was perilous, his sîpâhîs following and surrounding him. I had difficulty in getting down, and when I did, as the best thing for myself, and to cover Lieut. Loveday's retreat, I fronted the walls and stepped backwards, until a corner was rounded which screened us from the fire of the traitors, had they, exasperated by the loss of their comrades, opened it upon us.

Nasrûlah and our Brâhûîs were sent forthwith to ascertain the meaning of this fresh attempt, and if Kamâl Khân required aid,—for our sîpâhîs were in such good-humour that they were eager to go and acquire more fame, and we had found that we could detach a party without risk. Kamâl Khân was too proud to accept assistance, and, after a period of two hours, the insurgents retired. We understood that the assailants did not know that the son of Jelâl Khân had surrendered, and that they had hoped, that he and his party would have been able to open the gates from within. Kamâl

Khân pretended that the attack was most furious, and that the sanghar was once in possession of the enemy.

The nagára khâna, or band of Shâh Nawâz Khân, had, with martial melody, commemorated the repulse of the escalade, and again resounded with notes of triumph at the success of the morning. We were momentarily expecting a visit from the khân, as the occasion seemed to demand, but were disappointed; and, on inquiry after him, learned that he was fatigued, and asleep in the citadel; although he sent a supply of sweetmeats for the soldiers who had so distinguished themselves.

We were not long allowed to rejoice at the events of the past night, for the symptoms of a general panic were too plain to be mistaken. They communicated to our own people, who universally exclaimed, there was treachery, and that the guns, occasionally discharged from the citadel, were loaded with blank cartridges; judging from the reports. I was quite at a loss to account for the extraordinary and sudden change in feeling at a moment when victory had left us nothing to fear, and our enemies nothing to hope; but so it was. The sîpâhîs indeed, with a number of the assailants, had slain and wounded some of the traitors of the Jetaks and village levies, and on this account some precautionary step was necessary, but that was all; and although I saw a cause for the panic in this circumstance, I did not think it a sufficient one to create so much

alarm. From the first we were aware our men were not too trustworthy, and our house had been continually fired upon by various parties within the town, and, as we knew, in some cases, by the Zehrís under Rashíd Khân's son; the act, however, of individuals, without the order or knowledge of their chiefs. Succeeding events better explained the cause of the panic, and of its origin. I believe Kamâl Khân first, on a visit to Lieut. Loveday, informed him, that it was dangerous to continue the defence, and that it was necessary to negotiate. This was strange news. The very notion of further resistance seemed as if, by common consent, to be abandoned; the workmen at the citadel ceased their labour, and all preparations were suspended. In the evening Shâh Nawâz Khân appeared downcast and dejected. I strove to encourage him, and proposed to dismiss, armed or disarmed, the traitors of the garrison. He thought it unadvisable, and in his gloomy mood seemed reconciled to submit with composure to his fate. He represented, with Kamâl Khân, that the defence of the place was hopeless. Lieut. Loveday concurred, although I could not conjecture why. Shâh Nawâz Khân had I suspect, not been sleeping, as he had given out but had been painfully kept awake in expostulation and remonstrance, in supplication and reproach with Kamâl Khân, upon whom, and upon whose fidelity, he principally confided. This man declared the place untenable; that arrangements were indis-

pensable, and all but avowed that he would fight no more; and, perhaps, went so far as to threaten that he would betray the town. A kind of mystery hung over the morning attack; and it seems the enemy, enraged at Kamâl Khân's opposition, affirmed they would send to Bâghwân, lay waste his property, and bring up his wives and children, then placing them in front of their host, advance upon the town, and compel him to surrender it, or to fire upon those dearest to him. Whether affected by this menace, or that he had previously inclined to play a double part, he wavered, and Shâh Nawâz Khân could no longer reckon on him. It may be, also, that communion with the son of Jelâl Khân did the Bâghwân chief no good. It was too evident that we had more to dread from the defection of this man than the treachery of the Jetaks and village levies.

About sunset a vakîl arrived on the part of the enemy, either in pursuance of some arrangement mutually concerted, or that, finding force ineffectual, it was deemed necessary to have recourse to fraud. I know not to whom he was commissioned, but Shâh Nawâz Khân brought him to Lieut. Loveday. I pointed out to the khân his error in receiving him, but Lieut. Loveday did not oppose it; and an elchî, on the part of Shâh Nawâz Khân, was, in return, despatched to the rebel camp. This was again a capital error; but neither the khân nor Lieut. Loveday seemed to look upon it in that

light. I never learned to whom these elchís were deputed. It was easy to predict what would be the fruit of negotiation.

On the next day it was arranged that Kamâl Khân was to meet the sirdárs of Sahárawân, and on the following one the meeting took place in a garden without the town. God knows what passed between them. We afterwards learned that the Sahárawânís joked with Kamâl Khân for having married his sister to Shâh Nawâz Khân. The Bâghwân chief observed, he had been *shétábí*, or precipitate; and was asked, in retort, why he had been precipitate. The result of the conference was an *ekrâr námeh*, or engagement between the sirdárs of Sahárawân and Jhálawân, by which the *takht*, or sovereignty of Kalât, was vested in the son of Mehráb Khân, and the districts of Bâghwân, Zídí, and Khozdár were ceded to Shâh Nawâz Khân, who was to vacate Kalât after three days; while Lieut. Loveday was to be escorted in safety to Quetta, with his súpáhís, establishment, and property. Kamâl Khân brought a copy of the *ekrâr námeh* to Lieut. Loveday, attested by the seals of himself, on behalf of the Jhálawân sirdárs, and by those of Máhoméd Khân, Sherwâní, Malek Dínár, Mahmúd Shâhí, Ján Máhoméd, Bangúl Zai, and Máhoméd Khân, Larí, all sirdárs of Sahárawân, or so calling themselves. Kamâl Khân vindicated his proceedings on the plea of necessity, and Lieut. Loveday expressed his satis-

faction. I could not forbear expressing great indignation at the transaction, and Kamâl Khân reproached me with not understanding the matter, and represented that he wanted to gain time.

When he left I pointed out to Lieut. Loveday, as forcibly as I was able, the absurdity of the whole business, and how unlikely it was that the government would recognize the engagements of such men, at all times incompetent to make treaties, but more particularly so now, when one of the parties, the sirdars of Sahárawân, were traitors, and very probably denounced outlaws. Besides, I reminded him how carefully the principals had avoided to commit themselves, and that they might hereafter plead the treaty was not binding upon them. To all the objections I raised, Lieut. Loveday, as usual with him, made few remarks, but in consequence of the absence of the seals of the principals, he made an effort to obtain them through Kamâl Khân. They were not given, as the engagement was declared to be, and truly, one between the sirdárs of Sahárawân and Jhálawân, but the seal of Assad Khân of Khárân, was affixed to the instrument, as a further proof of its validity. This, in my opinion did not mend the matter; but Lieut. Loveday was satisfied.

In Lieut. Loveday's household and establishment were four persons, in an especial and singular degree possessing his confidence, and admitted to council,—Hâjí Osmân, Nasrúlah, Sampar, a Hindú

servant, and the Hávildár Allabaksh, the two latter in political questions being influenced by the opinions of the two former. All these men applauded the ekrár námeh, encouraged Lieut. Loveday in the belief that its engagements would be fulfilled, and anticipated the increased honour and fame he would secure under the accession of Mír Nassír Khân, the name conferred on the son of Mehráb Khân, Máhoméd Hassan, now that he assumed sovereignty.

No sooner had the ekrár námeh been concluded than free intercourse was established between the town and rebel camp, and Nasrúlah, with Lieut. Loveday's permission, went to pay his respects to Dárogah Gúl Máhoméd, his ancient master. Of course he made his peace, and in return for his pardon, which, with tears, he implored, consented to become an instrument to further the dárogah's views. On his return Nasrúlah brought the kindest assurances from the old man,—never made, or made only to deceive; but, I afterwards learned, never made.

Shâh Nawâz Khân, as soon as he had recovered from the consternation into which the treachery of Kamâl Khân had thrown him, and upon a cooler view of the transactions, in which he had implicated himself, sought to retrieve his errors, and being supported by Mír Bohér, and others, proposed to reject the ekrár námeh of the sirdárs, and to continue the defence of the town. Many circumstances confirmed him in this resolution. From the

communication opened between the town and rebel camp, it became known that the insurgents had neither ammunition nor provisions. Mír Bohér, Rehím Khân, Líátúní, and all the Kambaráris of the garrison inveighed against the disgrace of surrendering the place to the Sahárawânís, and it was discovered that, contrary to the reports circulated, no persons of respectability had joined the rebel standard from the neighbourhood. The khân had, moreover, received letters from Kachí, representing Saiyad Máhoméd Sheríf active in seizing Bráhúís : from which he became assured of his fidelity, before suspected, it having been surmised that the saiyad had favoured the flight of Mehráb Khân's widow, Bíbí Ganjáni, from Bâgh, when she joined the rebels at Mastúng.

Mír Bohér came several times to Lieut. Loveday alone, or with Sháh Nawâz Khân. Once, when both were visitors, I so far prevailed with that officer as to induce him to give them his hand, and to promise his support to a continued defence, but the fatal influence of Hâji Osmân, Nasrúlah, and the rest, paralyzed and defeated everything. These men made the grossest misrepresentations as to the number of the rebels, and the abundance of grain and necessaries in their camp, and were too readily credited.

Mír Bohér proposed to obviate treachery in future by a change in the disposition of the men on the ramparts. He, with Sháh Nawâz Khân, was

averse to ejecting the traitors, which I still thought the wisest measure, but did not press when a remedy was suggested. I asked Mír Bohér what had come over Kamâl Khân's mind. He replied, that he had become faint-hearted; and engaged to bring him round. The Zehrí chief spoke with real anguish to Shâh Nawâz Khân of the disgrace about to fall on them, affirming that it was "bíní búrída," or equivalent to cutting off their noses. He further bitterly lamented that Kamâl Khân had spoiled all.

I must always consider it most unfortunate that Lieut. Loveday did not at this period give his hearty support to Shâh Nawâz Khân, and the chiefs desirous of breaking up the treaty. I recommended, and had done so from the first of the siege, that a little liberality should be displayed, not as being prudent only, but what was reasonable on such an occasion. I failed to make any impression on either Lieut. Loveday or the khân. I had even suggested, when it was decided to retain within the walls the traitors discovered by the attempt at escalade, to give them the merit of a triumph, and to make a small donation to the garrison of some five rupees each, and try what effect it might produce. Subsequently, when we became prisoners to the insurgents, the Bráhuís, while indulging in invective against Mír Bohér, constantly alluded to the receipt of money by him from Lieut. Loveday. I hardly took notice of it, further than supposing their imagination had prompted the invention of a tale in unison with

their hate, until, one day at Mastúg, I asked Lieut. Loveday if he did give money to Bohér. To my surprise, he said yes, two or three thousand rupees; and then regretted that he had not taken better care to see it distributed. I had always understood that he would not give money, but never had the opportunity to ascertain whether Bohér had received the sum, or, what was quite as likely, that one of Lieut. Loveday's people had intercepted it.

Shâh Nawâz Khân, in his anxiety to secure Mír Bohér, had made an arrangement with him, in which Lieut. Loveday, I believe, had no part, nominating him sirdâr of Jhálawân, to the detriment of the young son of Rashíd Khân, a minor, and now with his followers in the town. The Zehrí levies never had a friendly feeling to Shâh Nawâz Khân; and this had been inflamed by the oppressive conduct of his brother, Mír Fatí Khân, even when he had recently been in their country soliciting their aid. The arrangement with Mír Bohér was not so secretly managed but that it transpired, and of course exasperated them in no slight degree. The consequence of the khân's carelessness was, that they sent a message inviting the Dárogah Gúl Máhoméd, on the next attack, to advance upon the gate they held, and it should be opened to him. From this nothing of evil would have happened had the defence been prolonged, as the Dárogah had not intended to accept the invitation, supposing it insidiously made. These facts were not known to

Lieut. Loveday or myself at the time. That Shâh Nawâz Khân was imprudent there can be no doubt, and his error might have done his cause great mischief.

I neglected no opportunity to impress Lieut. Loveday with a sense of the danger he must incur by putting himself in the power of the insurgents; but all arguments I could employ were set aside by the assurances of Hâjî Osmân, Nasrûlah, and Sampat. By night, pacing up and down his room, we discoursed to a late hour; and once, momentarily influenced by the efforts I made to arouse him to a course of energy and action, representing the duty he owed to government, the shame in submitting to a vanquished foe, and the reputation within his grasp, which he was about to throw away, he made a theatrical jump, and exclaimed, I will die! The resolution vanished as soon as the words expressing it had passed his lips, and the counsels of his advisers reconciled him to life.

To counteract the exertions of Shâh Nawâz Khân to get up resistance, Hâjî Osmân and Nasrûlah set on foot a variety of missions to the rebel camp. Had not the consequences been so fatal, this zeal for negotiation, and the rank and quality of the negotiators, would have been amusing. With Nasrûlah were despatched Imâm Baksh, the young drummer attached to the sîpâhîs, and Morâd Khân, a náik, or corporal. Nasrûlah privately communed with the dárogah, and the other two

elchís were admitted to a formal audience by the young khân, after which they were sent to a shâh-ghâssí, to communicate their errand. Hâjí Osmân introduced on the scene his uncle, Attá Máhomed Khân, brother of Akhúnd Máhomed, Sídik ; and this man, with Rais Pír Máhomed, of Kalât, was sent privately by night on a mission to the camp. The result was, of course, gratifying, as, on the next day, Attá Máhomed Khân marched publicly on a second mission, attended by a retinue of some forty to fifty persons he had collected. It occurred to me, that there was something very indelicate, to speak no worse of it, in the despatch of these persons to the rebels, while Shâh Nawâz Khân was yet in the town, and I must confess I was ashamed, if I may not say shocked, when I beheld Lieut. Loveday, who was wont, when the khân called upon him, to put his arm around him, in the affectionate familiarity of friendship, affecting to concur in his plans, while at the very time his agents were negotiating with the enemy the subversion of the khân's authority. I may here observe, in relation to this subject, that months after the events occurred here described, I saw, at Bombay, Captain Hamerton, then the representative of the East India Company, now also her Majesty's Consul at Maskát. I had published in India a statement of the siege of Kalât, which Captain Hamerton had seen at Maskát. He assured me that an Arab agent of the Imâm, who was present at Kalât during the siege, con-

firmed every fact, even to the circumstance of Lieut. Loveday putting his arms around Shâh Nawâz Khân, and he, like myself, witnessed it with shame, I was going to write horror.

Shâh Nawâz Khân reproached Lieut. Loveday for sending his man, Nasrûlah, to the Dârogah Gûl Máhomed; and at another time employed language so strong to Hâjî Osmân, in the presence of Lieut. Loveday and myself, that a person standing by afterwards gave his opinion, that had he received the least encouragement from Lieut. Loveday, he would have drawn his sword and have put an end at once to the hâjî and his treason.

Lieut. Loveday's envoys always returned with the same unqualified promises of kind treatment and protection; the young khân, the dârogah, Bîbí Ganjânî, and the sirdárs, were all animated by the best feelings, and the latter were determined to adhere with fidelity to their engagements. Lieut. Loveday was to do exactly as he pleased; he might go to Quetta or remain at Kalât. If he went to Quetta, the Bîbí Ganjânî was to accompany him; if he remained, a splendid residence was to be built for him, in place of the one which had been demolished by the Bráhuís. Nasrûlah, in particular, certified to the good intentions of the dârogah; and Attá Máhomed Khân, who professed to be in the confidence of the Bîbí Ganjânî, assured Lieut. Loveday of that lady's good will, and that she looked upon him as her son. The young khân had declared, as

he was tutored, to the drummer and náík, that all he wanted was, using his expression, the few sticks of the citadel, and that he had no desire for the country, which Lieut. Loveday was to govern as heretofore, and this sentiment was always inculcated by the others. So completely was the unfortunate officer deluded, that it afterwards proved he had written to Quetta, boasting of his good fortune in being adopted as the son of Bíbí Ganjâní. A letter, purporting to be from the Bíbí, was even brought by Attá Máhoméd Khân, but, instead of a seal, her name was scrawled merely within a circle. As I doubted the authenticity of the document, Attá Máhoméd Khân said the lady had given her seal to Postans Sáhib, who had promised to arrange some business for her with the government. Lieut. Loveday seemed satisfied, and to believe all that was told him; and I think he was angry with me for cautioning him, and for presuming to suggest that he might be deceived.

Yet I knew it was so; and with bitter disgust I heard Rais Pír Máhoméd, returning from one of his missions, repeat, sitting with Nasrúlah, a Persian couplet, probably impromptu, expressing that

“ The wicked man has fallen into his own snare,

And he who devoured men with dogs, will in turn be devoured by dogs.”

Lieut. Loveday was standing by me when these

words were uttered, and that he heard them too, I might suppose, from the significant look he directed to me.

Besides the envoys mentioned, there were a number of others, for the aid of no one was refused; Walí Máhoméd, a tailor, was brought from his shop, and Ghúlám and Fatí, merchants, and brothers, were despatched at various times. Even the dependents of Lieut. Loveday formed missions on their own part, but with sanction, and the hávildár, Allabaksh, sent Bútá Síng, a sípáhí, to the son of Fázil Shâh, a saiyad, residing at the springs. The hávildár himself, with Bútá Síng, and another sípáhí, then repaired to this saiyad, and brought him to a másjit, near Lieut. Loveday's house. The object was to induce him to escort the party to Quetta.

Mentioning the hávildár, it is just also to state, that he was a good man and worthy soldier, and acting with the best intentions, though misled by his faith in the honesty of Hâjí Osmân and Nas-rúlah. Shâh Nawâz Khân had frequently urged Lieut. Loveday to retire into the citadel, and in the debate on that question I had taken no part, as I saw no reason to abandon the town; and learned, moreover, that there was no well in it, while sixty skins were all that could be mustered to insure a supply of water. On the morning of the panic the hávildár again most urgently implored Lieut. Loveday to take up his quarters

there, and Shâh Nawâz Khân, when resolving on further resistance, had seconded his entreaties. Lieut. Loveday lent a deaf ear to what was urged, and still hoping to have prevailed upon him to support the khân and the fighting party, I did not strenuously advocate the measure, which I now regret, as any course would have been preferable to that eventually followed.

It was in vain that Shâh Nawâz Khân appealed to Lieut. Loveday by every argument in his power. No influence could induce him to suspend his communications with the rebel camp; and these being openly and publicly carried on, completely baffled the khân's endeavours to confirm the dispositions of his chiefs; yet it was humiliating to observe that while Lieut. Loveday so effectually counteracted the khân's plans, he affected still the same tenderness to him, still pretended to accede to whatever he proposed, and still encircled his waist with his arm. The third day arrived, and the Hindús of the place, with permission of Lieut. Loveday, went in a body to offer their congratulations to the young khân in the rebel camp. Shâh Nawâz Khân, with Mír Bohér, Réhim Khân, Lútíání, and some of the Kambaráris, were again with Lieut. Loveday, conjuring him to reflect, and throw no obstacles in the way of farther defence; but no reasoning could prevail against his resolve, supported by the advice of those about him. Kamâl Khân also came and vindicated his

conduct; but finding I did not agree with him, he took Lieut. Loveday aside, and secretly communed with him. He complained before me that Shâh Nawâz Khân had upbraided him with treachery, and Lieut. Loveday consoled him, and lamented the khân should have done so. I know not what passed in secret, but Kamâl Khân actually procured an order from Lieut. Loveday, making over to him the whole of his grain. Shâh Nawâz Khân coming immediately after, asked, with some reason, why, if the grain were given away, it had not been bestowed on those who wished to defend the place, instead of on those who had betrayed it. I inquired of the khân whether, as a last resource, it would not be advisable to confine Kamâl Khân, but he said no,—I presume on account of his sister. He next urged Lieut. Loveday to accompany him either to Zehrî or Bâghwân, where, as he pleased, he could retire, or renew the contest. He preferred Zehrî, being assured of Mîr Bohér; and alleged, that the Múlloh route would thus be kept open, and that Shikárpúr was near. He honestly confessed he could not undertake the responsibility of the Quetta route. Lieut. Loveday stated that he had not a sufficient number of camels; the khân offered to supply as many as he needed. Lieut. Loveday then stated, that he must abandon much of his property, and the khân told him on no account to abandon any, not so much as a mat. Lieut. Loveday then asked how the sîpáhís were

to go, and the khân replied, they should all be mounted, for of all men they were the most needed. I warmly supported the khân's recommendations, but those who had influence with Lieut. Loveday opposed it, and he was clearly incapable of acting contrary to their counsels. He seemed, however, to acquiesce when the khân was present, and a faint attempt was made to pack up, but the duty devolved on Sampat, who did it unwillingly, and it was soon abandoned.

Communications from Quetta were occasionally received, and one reached at this crisis. Capt. Bean held out no hope of assistance; and we supposed, as a matter of course, that the succours he had received from Kândahâr had returned to that place, or, it might have been expected, a force would have been moved on Mastúng for our relief. Letters also came from Shikárpúr. These declared any aid from that quarter was not to be expected, for they were in danger themselves, and the Khadjíks of Síva were in arms. This unfortunate state of things had, of course, a pernicious influence in augmenting the terrors of the disaffected chiefs of the garrison, and of encouraging the enemy. Kamâl Khân was even anxious to learn whether there was any chance of relief, and a favourable report from Quetta at this crisis might have done us essential service. Lieut. Loveday revealed the truth, and this did not mend our prospects.

Shâh Nawâz Khân in course of this day made

a last effort with his chiefs by assembling them in the citadel, and administering to them an oath to stand by him, and to reject the treaty. The oath was taken by all, but Fátí Khân reported, that many of them on leaving the apartment vowed, it was not binding, as it was compulsory.

The morning came when the town was to be evacuated by Shâh Nâwaz Khân and his friends. He was early with Lieut. Loveday, entreating him even then to accompany him with his entire party, taking only his valuables, as it was too late to think of removing the bulk of the property. It was distressing to hear the trifling objections raised by Lieut. Loveday. The khân justly remarked, that his property could be replaced, but that his life and honour could not. He had once before asked him if all the Feringhís were as lághor, or unmanly as he was, and now prophesied to him all the indignities and perils to which he would expose himself by remaining.

It was not until this period that Shâh Nawâz Khân, baffled in his efforts to defend the town, and to induce Lieut. Loveday to accompany him, thought of abdication. The time was most critical. He had not deserted Lieut. Loveday, but had been deserted by him. He took the bold and even dangerous step of repairing to the rebel camp and of resigning his authority to the son of Mehráb Khân. Scarcely had he left the town for this purpose, when Nasrúlah and Hâjí Osmân, returning from the camp,

with singular impudence implored Lieut. Loveday, whose power of doing so was past, to accompany the *khân*, as there was evil in his stay. The miscreant *Hâjî* enforced his supplications with tears. *Fatî Khân* at this juncture visited Lieut. Loveday, and urged him in like manner to accompany his brother, the *khân*, and instanced that they had their mother and families to protect, and were unlikely to expose them to unnecessary peril, or to neglect due precautions. Lieut. Loveday could not be moved, but gave *Fatî Khân* a paper, setting forth that he had been solicited to leave, but had determined to remain and to negotiate for the safety of himself and his party. *Fatî Khân* went away, and shortly returned, when Lieut. Loveday took back the paper he had before given, and wrote another, in which he stated, as his motive in remaining, the determination to die at his post. The result of the interview between *Shâh Nawâz Khân* and the son of *Mehrâb Khân* was unknown, when a person came to *Fatî Khân*, still in the house, and whispered something in his ears, which exceedingly terrified him, and, falling on his knees, he crouched under Lieut. Loveday's chair. I suspected, for the instant, that *Shâh Nawâz Khân* had been made a captive, or had been worse treated, no unlikely circumstance, and asked Lieut. Loveday whether the soldiers had not better stand to their arms. He said nothing; and I spoke again and again to him to no purpose, when I inquired if I should pass the order, and receiving

still no reply, I turned to the hávildár, who was waiting, and told him to call out the men, and to close the doors. A second messenger came to Fatí Khân, who left the house and took sanctuary at the tomb of Mehráb Khân.

While waiting in anxiety the development of events, we beheld from the ramparts the son of Mehráb Khân and Shâh Nawâz Khân moving in procession towards the town. As the cavalcade advanced, we had the mortification to witness to what a contemptible rabble the town was surrendered. Augmented with the followers of Shâh Nawâz Khân, and the persons who on such an occasion would congregate, there could not have been five hundred men. To account for this deficiency in number, we were obliged to suppose that many had dispersed after the failure of the escalade, or that, sure of their game, they had retired to Mastúng, which it appeared, although unknown to us, was now threatened from the side of Quetta.

After attending the son of Mehráb Khân to the citadel, Shâh Nawâz Khân, in the act of quitting the town, called, for the last time, on Lieut. Loveday. I was not present at their interview, having gone downstairs to see my friend Faiz Ahmed, who, with his son, had taken the earliest opportunity to visit me. The khân sent for me, but before I had time to go he stood by me. He called upon me to witness that he had done his duty to the

Sirkár Company and to Lieut. Loveday. I affirmed that, in my opinion, he had, and that I regretted the issue had been so unfortunate. He then turned and appealed to Faiz Ahmed, who spoke flatteringly to him, and, when he had left, warmly eulogized his deportment when conferring the khelat upon Mehráb Khân's son, and the solicitude he expressed on behalf of Lieut. Loveday; and, moreover, confessed that he was a genuine Ahmed Zai, and that he would have made a good hákam, had it been his fortune to have been better directed.

The walls and houses surrounding our residence were covered with the insurgents, and while speaking to Faiz Ahmed I was obliged to leave the court, or I should have been shot, under the belief that I was Lieut. Loveday. I inquired of my friend what passed at the interview between the two khâns, and he answered, that Shâh Nawâz Khân explained that Kalât had been given to him by the Sirkár Company, and not by Lieut. Loveday; that he had one friend, Lieut. Loveday, whose kind treatment he expected in return for the resignation of power. In the figurative style of the Bráhuís, he declared that Lieut. Loveday was his beard; that is, as dear to him as that appendage; and the son of Mehráb assured him that Lieut. Loveday was henceforth his own beard, and would be regarded as a brother.

The testimony of Faiz Ahmed was valuâble, both because he had been present at the meeting, and

that, like most other citizens of Kalât, he thought unfavourably of Shâh Nawâz Khân, and was unlikely, therefore, to offer evidence to his credit, unless, in truth, compelled to do it. Hâjî Os-mân, however, whose supplications had scarcely been made, and whose tears had hardly dried up, had the unparalleled audacity to tell Lieut. Loveday, that Shâh Nawâz Khân had proposed to be the first to lay hands on him, and that Kamâl Khân had spoken to the same purpose. To so infamous a scoundrel did Lieut. Loveday trust for information, and by such information were his opinions formed and his conduct determined.

The son of Mehrâb Khân, installed in the palace of his father, received during the day the congratulations and offerings of his people. Lieut. Loveday sent his *mobâarakî*, or salutation of welcome, with two nazzars, of fifty rupees each, for the young khân and Bîbî Ganjânî. Four men were appointed to attend at Lieut. Loveday's gates, avowedly to keep the turbulent Brâhûís from intruding, but also to watch over the intercourse with the house, and to take care that no one left it.

I cannot close this chapter of folly and treason without deprecating the resolution taken by Lieut. Loveday. From the commencement of the revolt he had been overpowered by a languor, which, excepting at momentary intervals, apparently incapacitated him from any effort of mind or body, and to such an extent that his Hindú servant, Sampat,

in vain strove to arouse him, by instancing my exertions, and reminding him that I should acquire the credit of the defence. From the reserve which generally clouded him, it would be impossible to conjecture the motives influencing him, but I doubt not the fatal step of his stay at Kalât was owing mainly to a desire to preserve his property, or to avoid the trouble attendant on its package, which afterwards he repeatedly alluded to with regret.

Although I could sympathise with the young son of Mehrâb Khân, and lament that his recognition, on his father's death, had not prevented the evils which now beset us, as matters stood, especially when he was made an instrument by a band of insurgents; I saw no course open to Lieut. Loveday but that of supporting the chief nominated by the government.

The fatal consequences attending Lieut. Loveday's placing himself in the power of the insurgents proclaim more forcibly than words can convey the extreme folly of the step. Inexplicable is the infatuation which induced the resolve, as there were none of the chiefs who had not, in some mode, been personally aggrieved, and for the lives of some of them even premiums had been offered; a fact spoken in sorrow, yet in truth. The singular requital I experienced subsequent to these events, and in the face of Lieut. Loveday's testimony to my "devoted and noble conduct at Kalât," will be

my apology for asserting, what otherwise would be unbecoming, that during the few busy days of the siege I was unremittingly vigilant and active, and never by night closed my eyes in sleep while it lasted. Neither did I on any occasion shrink from the dangers of our situation, although often besought to be more careful by Shâh Nawâz Khân and those of Lieut. Loveday's establishment.

I was unable to overcome the obstacles opposed to a successful resistance, yet I shall never cease to deplore that I was not called upon seven days sooner, that I might have had time to have exactly ascertained our position, and to have become familiar with the several parties composing the garrison, when I might have hoped a very different result.

Having acquitted myself of every obligation I owed to my conscience, to a sense of duty, and to Lieut. Loveday as a British officer, I by no means considered he had further claims on my presence or services, and when he declined to accompany Shâh Nawâz Khân, I informed him that I should, as I intended to do. Then, however, I found that some of the sîpâhîs had determined to follow me, averring that Lieut. Loveday was *kam âkkal*, or of little understanding, and would ruin them. I could not permit such a procedure, and it made me waver in my determination, until the incidents consequent upon the evacuation of the town by

the one party, and its occupation by the other, occurred in such rapid succession, and produced so much confusion, that the place was filled with the enemy, and I had no longer the power to depart.

CHAPTER VI.

Continued delusion and treachery.—Distraction of Bráhuí councils.—Máhomed Sídik's appointment.—Orders from the citadel.—Communications with and from Capt. Bean.—Advance of troops to Mobâh.—Their retreat.—Hâjî Osmân's defection.—Capt. Bean's proposals.—Efforts to procure a letter to the king.—The dárogah's obstinate convictions.—Arrangements contemplated.—Their rejection.—Departure of Gafúr to Quetta.—Capt. Bean's replies.—Demands on Lieut. Loveday.—Nasrúlah's final acts of treachery.—Meditated attack.—Preliminary steps.—Attack from the citadel and surrounding houses.—Operations during the night.—Parley.—Defection of part of the sípáhís.—The dárogah's measures.—The house entered.—Transfer of Lieut. Loveday and myself to the citadel.—Incidents there.—Interview with the son of Mehráb Khân.—Apartment assigned for our confinement.—Rejoicings of the Bráhuís.—Loss of property and manuscripts.

I KNOW not what Lieut. Loveday thought of his situation, but those in his confidence vied with each other in certifying that he had nothing to fear, and brought him a number of the kindest messages, invented by themselves, from the young khân, Bíbí Ganjâní, and Dárogah Gúl Máhomed. Until the town was fairly given up, and while there existed a lingering hope that the defence would be continued, I had always expressed my opinion to Lieut. Loveday that we should get over our difficulties. He

now asked what I thought, and I confessed I knew not what to think. Sampat, observing me thoughtful, took upon himself to cheer me, and inquired why, having been so *khúsh*, or glad when there was war, I was so *dik*, or sad, now that *súlah*, or peace, was made. I replied, that I did not fear the Brahúís' war, but very much feared their peace, and was thinking what would be the end of it. Hájí Osmân and Nasrúlah, who heretofore had passed their nights in Lieut. Loveday's house, removed with their effects. Confiding in the peace, one of the servants ventured into the bazár, and returned stripped and naked. A demand was made for the arms taken from the Brahúís on the morning after the escalade, and, being complied with, other demands were made for arms and plunder, obtained in the foray upon Núshkí. Morning and evening crowds assembled around the house, and showers of stones were hurled into it. On remonstrance, the offenders were represented to be low fellows, unworthy of notice. Lieut. Loveday much wished to see the young khân, who, it was affirmed, had an equal desire to see Lieut. Loveday, but no interview was arranged; in like manner the Bábí Gan-jâní. Nasrúlah amused his master, if he still might be considered such, with the tale of Darogáh Gúl Máhommed intending to call upon him. It would be tedious to relate all the deception and chicanery practised. Strange to say, Nasrúlah, Hájí Osmân, and his uncle, Attá Máhommed Khân, received large

sums of money for their services, in effecting the peace, or, as I understood, for placing Lieut. Loveday in the power of his enemies. I was not made a party to these donations, but they were not so secretly made as to escape notice. They were given by Sampat, and were not less than five hundred rupees each, perhaps even Atta Máhomed received a thousand.

While Lieut. Loveday was so duped, I received a visit from Faiz Ahmed, and seriously questioned him as to the state of matters. He told me, what I could not but be certain of, that the messages brought to Lieut. Loveday were fabricated, or intended only to delude him. He assured me, that he had placed his turban before the dárogah, and had craved of him to preserve the dáman, or shirt of the young khân's garments pák, or unstained, and to commit no violence. The dárogah had not replied, but when he related a story, current in these parts, of the generosity of Mr. Elphinstone, to one Faiz-úláh Khân, a Báréchí, and thereby showed the advantage of meriting the favour of Feringhís, the old man remarked, that he must acknowledge that Feringhís, although his enemies, were generous. Faiz Ahmed farther said, that the dárogah had not suffered a word to escape his lips as to the course he intended to pursue, and it would require a few days to ascertain whose councils prevailed, for, in the present confusion, it was unknown whether the Bíbí Ganjâní, the dárogah, or the sirdárs of Sahá-

rawân, had the ascendancy. I requested Faiz Ahmed to apprise me if anything particular occurred. He expressed fear of Lieut. Loveday and Hâjî Osmân, but I overruled his scruples on their account, and he promised to let me know when anything transpired.

In truth, for several days after the entry of Mehrâb Khân's son into Kalât the various factions with him had too many conflicting claims to settle amongst themselves to permit them to think farther of Lieut. Loveday than to take measures to delude him, and to prevent his escape. Akhúnd Máhomed, Sídik, the brother of Attá Máhomed, and therefore uncle to Hâjî Osmân, had arrived at Kalât from Kachí, and his appearance promoted rather than allayed disunion in the Bráhuí councils. Dárogah Gúl Máhomed was, or pretended to be, sick for some days, but it was arranged that the Akhúnd should take office, under the title of Vakíl of Sahárawân. He was supported by the rebel sirdárs, and producing a seal of the former Nassír Khán, suspended it on his neck, and commenced the duties of his appointment by announcing that he should adopt many vigorous measures, amongst them the closing of the Múlloh and Bolan passes.

The activity I had shown in the defence of the place, and the known desire I had to continue it, caused me to be very unfavourably looked upon by the new occupants of the citadel, and intercourse with me had been specially prohibited to persons

of the place, with the exception of Faiz Ahmed, who, on the strength of ancient acquaintance with the dárogah, was excepted. Soon after Akhúnd Máhomed Sídik's arrival, Khâdardád, one of the four guards, addressed my servant: "Brother, you and I are Mússúlmâns: your sâhíb is a good sâhíb; tell him not to come down stairs." In explanation Khâdardád imparted the secret that orders had been issued from *bálla* to shoot me if I came down stairs. Bálla, or above, of course meant the citadel; but Khâdardád would not communicate who had given the orders, and in the citadel there were many to give them: neither did I ever learn, although I suspected the Akhúnd.

In course of time it was proposed that Lieut. Loveday should write to Capt. Bean, and it was insisted that he should write in Persian. Lieut. Loveday consented to write in Persian. I objected, on the ground that the letter would be considered compulsory. Faiz Ahmed chancing to call, undertook to represent the impropriety to the dárogah, and the consequence was that Lieut. Loveday was permitted to write in English.

I have previously noted, that Capt. Bean's letters, received during the siege, positively stated the impossibility of affording us relief, and that they had an evil influence on the determination of those to whom we looked to hold the town. We were excessively surprised, immediately after that unlucky event, to receive accounts of an advance upon

Mastúng of a large force, some fifteen or sixteen hundred men, cavalry and infantry, with horse-artillery guns. Lieut. Hammersley, the assistant to Capt. Bean, accompanied this force, which at Mobâh came by surprise upon some two hundred Bráhuís, and cut many of them up. The troops then encamped near the adjacent village of Feringabád, and received the submission of the inhabitants of Mastúng. The design was to have replenished the commissariat at Mastúng, and then to have marched upon Kalât. By the fatality which accompanied whatever was done, Lieut. Loveday's letters to Capt. Bean were brought into camp, and being opened by Lieut. Hammersley, he retrograded to Quetta, as the occupation of Kalât by the rebels was announced, as well as the tidings that *peace* was concluded.

If Capt. Bean had apprised Lieut. Loveday that this demonstration would be made, it is not too much to assert that Kalât would have been preserved, but Capt. Bean was a remarkably prudent man, and until strong reinforcements reached him from Kândahár, he did not venture to think of detaching the force. It was large enough to have traversed Balochistân at that time, and Salú Khân, with his six hundred horsemen, formed part of it.

Now that a correspondence was permitted with Capt. Bean, Hâjí Osmân conceived the notion of officiating as envoy, and brought Lieut. Loveday a

forged letter from B́íbí Ganjání, appointing him the medium of intercourse between Lieut. Loveday and herself, and describing him as the fittest person to be employed on a mission to Quetta. Lieut. Loveday prepared his letters for Capt. Bean, and urged the Hájí to depart with them, when he discovered that the Bráhuís would kill him on the road. None of the Bráhuí principals were aware of the Hájí's proceedings, until he could no longer conceal them, and the discovery excited so much indignation that the weak man, terrified perhaps more than was necessary, sought refuge in the house of a pír, or holy man, in the Bábí suburb, feigned madness, and ultimately departed with his protector for Kándahár. In his pretended insanity, he did not omit to reveal Lieut. Loveday's secrets, by way of atonement, although I never heard what they were.

In reply to Lieut. Loveday's letters, an official announcement arrived from Capt. Bean, expressing his readiness to receive an envoy from the Bráhuís, and his intention to recommend that the son of Mehráb Khán should be acknowledged; but that it was essential that a letter of submissive allegiance should be addressed to Sháh Sújáh al Múlkh. This was the course we had recommended without success, the Bráhuís unanimously complaining that the sháh had behaved ill to Mehráb Khán and to themselves, while he was in fact no sháh, but the mockery of a sháh. To the lord sáhib, as the

envoy and minister at Kâbal was called, they were willing to write in the humblest style, as he in reality was the shâh.

Lieut. Loveday having lost Hâjî Osmân, and beginning to suspect that Nasrûlah had made his peace with the dárogah, was at a loss how to prevail upon the Bráhúís to write a letter to the shâh, and thought of Faiz Ahmed, and with my approval he sent a Bráhúí lad, Sâlú, in his service, for him.

When Faiz Ahmed came, I had some conversation with him, and pointed out, with reference to Capt. Bean's letter, that the abdication of Shâh Nawâz Khân, however brought about, had opened a chance of settlement, which, if neglected, must be followed by ruin to all in a few days sooner or later. As nothing could be done without a letter to the shâh, and as Lieut. Loveday was anxious to procure it, if he could get it by his influence with the dárogah, the Bíbí, and others, he would be doing a service to all parties. Faiz Ahmed urged that he feared Lieut. Loveday, and might involve himself in trouble. I assured him there was no occasion to fear Lieut. Loveday, that I was myself present, and the moment I saw there was the possibility of his being committed with us I would warn him to desist.

I then introduced him to Lieut. Loveday, and, encouraged by that officer's assurances, Faiz Ahmed engaged to do his best to procure the consent of the chiefs that a letter should be addressed in the name

of the young khân to the shâh, and that an envoy should be sent to Quetta, as suggested by Capt. Bean.

Faiz Ahmed had difficulty in overcoming the obstinacy and convictions of the dárogah. He placed his turban on the ground before him, and assured him that if an endeavour was not made to come to an arrangement, or if the Bráhuís made another attempt on Quetta (as they were talking of), he, and one half of the Bábis, had determined to remove from Kalât, with their families and property. The perverse old man, in yielding observed, that he was still incredulous as to any good result; it might be, he said, that misfortune and suffering had affected his understanding, and that Faiz Ahmed's view of things was more correct than his own, but he doubted it. Nearly similar repugnance was shown by the turbulent sirdárs; but the dárogah and Bíbí having been gained over to think of peace, they also acceded, and it became for the moment agreed, that a letter should be written to the shâh, and that an envoy should be despatched to Quetta.

A múnshí, Akhúnd Músa, was brought to Lieut. Loveday, that the letters should be prepared under his instructions. The letter to the shâh I thought unexceptionable, but that addressed to Capt. Bean, although suggested by Lieut. Loveday, contained demands, and declared expectations, in my opinion, which had better been omitted. The envoy selected for the mission was one Réhimdád, a respectable

man, and about as good a one as could have been fixed upon.

Faiz Ahmed availed himself of this opportunity to attempt my enlargement, yet he did not intimate the course he was pursuing until he apprised me that the dárogah and the rest had consented that I should accompany Réhimdád to Quetta. He assured me nothing was expected from me but my good offices, if able to employ them, but that before I went I must see the dárogah and chiefs, and give my hand as a pledge that, in return for liberty, if I could do no good, I would do them no kállal, or injury. Faiz Ahmed now revealed, that from the commencement he had incessantly endeavoured, by every means in his power, to procure my release, but the part I had taken in the defence was constantly urged against me; that when inclined to accede, the Bráhuís feared the evil I might do them. He also affirmed that, but for the hope of effecting that object, he would not have interested himself in the pending affair.

I was too well aware of the fickle dispositions of the Bráhuís, to place much reliance on their consent to my departure. The letter to the shâh, however, was, after some delay, sealed, but the objection was started that Réhimdád would be detained at Quetta. Another envoy, in the person of Gafúr, a writer, in the employ of Díwân Rámú, was proposed in his stead, it being asserted that Gafúr was of little consequence, and that his deten-

tion was unimportant. This Díwân Rámú, it may be noted, had been the farmer of the revenues of Mastúng under Capt. Bean, and had fled to Kalát, on the advance of Lieut. Hammersley to Mobáh. Gafúr was now to start, and Faiz Ahmed warned me to be ready to see the sirdárs, and went his way, but in a few minutes returned in great alarm, stating that a violent discussion had taken place ; that the letter to the shâh had been torn to pieces, and that I should not be suffered to go to Quetta, where, the rebel chiefs asserted, I was required to repair a gun. Gafúr might still proceed if Lieut. Loveday wished, but alone. Lieut. Loveday's letters to Capt. Bean were returned to him, and he was directed to erase my name, with his own hand. This he did, and I made no remark, but strongly pressed the evil of omitting the letter to the shâh, but to no purpose. In the evening Gafúr departed.

In the course of these transactions a number of diplomatic notes passed between Lieut. Loveday and Akhúnd Máhoméd Sídik. In one of them Lieut. Loveday wrote, that the restitution of Quetta would be mûskil, or difficult ; the Akhúnd replied, that if the restitution of Quetta were mûskil, that of Kachí would be mûskilter, or more difficult.

I doubt not that the Akhúnd instigated the opposition which led to the rejection of the shâh's letter, and the refusal to comply with the forms officially pointed out by Capt. Bean as essential to accommodation. As regarded my departure, it

was almost too much to be expected. The people in Lieut. Loveday's confidence were averse to it, and represented to him, that I should impede a settlement when at Quetta,—on account of my warlike propensities. Sampat got up on the occasion an intrigue of his own, in concert with Hídú, one of our guard, who carried two or three messages to BÍbí Ganjání, until he was rebuked by that lady.

The presence of Díwán Rámú led to a demand upon Lieut. Loveday for money, which was met by authorising the Hindú traders to contribute five thousand rupees, in part of the sum advanced to them by government. An amount of seven hundred and fifty rupees had been taken in some other mode by Rámú.

Tidings of the fruitless mission of Gafúr preceded his return to Kalát. When he came he had little to say, and a note from Capt. Bean explained, that he was in such haste to leave Quetta that there was no time to converse with him.

I had constantly urged Lieut. Loveday to represent to Capt. Bean the necessity of moving a force upon Kalát, without reference to any notion of peace;—however, he may have done this inadequately, owing to the delusion under which he laboured; Capt. Bean now observed that it was impossible, as the Brá-húís were assembled along the entire route, and that he should have to fight every inch of his way. Cheerless as this announcement was, it was no less disgusting, as we well knew the route was quite open

and clear of Bráhuís, however, the intelligence upon which Capt. Bean trusted had deceived him. It was yet consolatory to learn that Capt Bean considered himself secure, and that, strong in the number of troops around him, he was even elate, and defied the Bráhuís to pay him a visit at Quetta.

Soon after Gafúr's return from Quetta, Réhimdád, the first selected envoy, attended, with Rámú, upon Lieut. Loveday, to demand a further advance of money. I was not present at the interview, which passed in Lieut. Loveday's sleeping-room. The money was refused, and Réhimdád, on his return to the citadel, reported that Lieut. Loveday, in reply to the question as to what the Bráhuís were to eat, had answered, they might eat stones.

Since the return of Gafúr the angry feelings of the insurgent chiefs had been strongly evinced, and probably they now determined to resort to acts of violence, which all along had been wished by many, who were restrained with difficulty. An attack upon our house was possibly now only delayed from a lurking distrust as to the success which might attend it, from the disunion of the principals as to the mode of conducting it, and as to the division of the spoil.

The sinister intentions of the chiefs had been intimated to us, and an effort was made by Lieut. Loveday and his confidants to put off the evil day, by presents, and holding out new expectations. For this purpose a sword-blade, the hilt studded

with emeralds and pearls, was sent to the young khân by Nasrúlah. The blade was said by Lieut. Loveday to have been taken from a soldier at the capture of Kalât, and was recognized by the young khân as one which had been presented to him by his late father on the day of his circumcision.

Nasrúlah came daily once or twice to Lieut. Loveday, communed privately with him, repeated what he had learned, and carried back to the dárogah all he heard in confidence. Lieut. Loveday did not yet withhold faith in him, and so thoroughly was the error of the master shared in by those about him, that Sampat was accustomed to say, if all others betrayed them, Nasrúlah would adhere through good and evil. Latterly this man began to beg, getting as much as he could before the day of general spoil. Sometimes he requested in his own name, sometimes in that of the dárogah, always amusing Lieut. Loveday with the expectation of an interview with the old man, who hitherto, he said, had been deterred by the apprehension that witchcraft might be practised upon him. One day Nasrúlah, informing Lieut. Loveday that a trustworthy merchant was about to go to Quetta, suggested the opportunity as a good one for sending his money to Capt. Bean. Lieut. Loveday, in this instance, asked my opinion; and I told him, if he wished to give Nasrúlah his money, the opportunity was certainly a good one, for it was ridiculous to suppose it would be taken to Quetta. On

the following morning, in another private conference, Lieut. Loveday refusing to give his money, wrote, at the request of Nasrúlah, a note to Capt. Bean, recommending that four hundred horse should be despatched by a circuitous route to Kalât, as the Mastúng gate being at command, the party could be introduced, and the town, with the young khân, taken. When Nasrúlah left, Lieut. Loveday told me what he had just done ; it was useless to expostulate with a man who could so commit himself. The note, in course, was carried to the dárogah, and served to allay any scruples of conscience the meditated assault on our house might have raised in his bosom ; and in all probability for that very purpose Nasrúlah had been commissioned to procure it, as the dárogah made the fact one of his many charges against Lieut. Loveday.

Showers of stones had been continually poured upon the house since the occupation of the town. Such missiles were now yet more abundantly employed, and as matters progressed a few musket-shots were fired from the citadel, as was explained, merely in sport, and directed at a tower of the town walls, forming also the angle of our premises. The next evening these shots were repeated, and on the following morning we learned that a serious attack would be made in the evening. Messages were brought to Lieut. Loveday, desiring him to repair to the citadel, and there make his salám, or obedience, to the khân ; but no fit person was de-

puted to conduct him, and it was impossible that he could pass harmlessly through the infuriated Bráhuís, setting aside the almost certainty that he was sent for to be secured. Nasrúlah, who the day before had obtained Lieut. Loveday's cows, on pretence of sending them for fuel, was not to be found when sent for; all the Bráhuí servants, horse and camel-keepers, had disappeared, and the guards at the gate had gone, taking their effects with them, excepting Khâdardád, who did not appear to be in the secret.

Two guns on the ramparts of the citadel had been pointed towards our house, and Bíbí Ganjâní, feigning to be averse to violence, had left the town for one of the adjacent villages. A little before sunset a smart fire of musketry was opened from the citadel, but without effect, as we were well sheltered, and no return was made to it, the rather, as in two or three minutes the sun would go down, and we were not certain that it would continue. Some of the Bráhuís and others crept, however, into the houses near, and overlooking us. From one of these, belonging to a Hindú, Tékh Chand, three of our sîpáhís were shot, when Lieut. Loveday gave the word to return the fire. In an instant the heads seen over the battlements of the citadel vanished, and the fire on the house from that quarter and from the surrounding houses ceased. Nothing more occurred until about midnight, when a party with torches and pickaxes made a hole through the outer

wall of the court, where Lieut. Loveday's horses were picketed, the object being, possibly, to carry them off. We had heard that part of the Bráhuí plan was, by means of combustibles, to burn our house; and therefore our men re-opened fire. Presently it was announced that a responsible person had appeared on the part of Bíbí Ganjâní, requesting that the firing might cease, as a party had been sent to occupy the Mastúg gate, and to take care that no one should be suffered to enter the premises. The hole was made in readiness for future operations.

During the night one of the súpáhís lowered himself from the walls, and went off,—I believe he was never heard of again,—and in the morning many others, finding the affair drew near a close, followed the example, first throwing over their effects, and then following them. When, at length, Lieut. Loveday called the súpáhís up-stairs, not one half of them were present. It was told us that the dárogah and Akhúnd Máhoméd Sídik were sitting at the entrance to the citadel, while the town was being cleared of the Bráhuís, that Lieut. Loveday might pass uninterrupted through the streets to make his salám. It seems the dárogah, having, as he thought, cleared the place, (although many of the Bráhuís had secreted themselves,) proceeded to close the town gates, that none of us should escape, as well as that none of the spoil should slip him. This measure brought

him near us at the time the better part of the sîpâhîs left the house. He collected them, and placed them somewhere or other, and returned, but not in time to prevent the house from being filled on every side. The stables and Lieut. Loveday's apartments were taken possession of by the followers of Akhúnd Máhoméd Sîdik, and of Shâhghâssî Walî Máhoméd, who entered by the aperture made in the night; the apartments of the servants and sîpâhîs were penetrated by a horde of Bráhuís, who had scrambled over the walls. We were now in a somewhat delicate position, but that the Bráhuís fell to plunder, and were so intent upon it that they hardly seemed to notice us. The men of the Akhúnd and Shâhghâssî sat quietly on the boxes, chests, &c., which they now accounted their own, and made no attempt to interfere with us. I had the satisfaction to witness one of the Akhúnd's men assume my property; I knew the fellow quite well, as he had been in the service of Shâh Nawâz Khân, and was named Shakúr. When we descended into the outer court with the ten or twelve sîpâhîs remaining, the scene was ridiculous, the Bráhuís being occupied in breaking open the boxes and ammunition-chests found in one of the ground-floor chambers, and in the highest glee chasing the fowls, now let loose. The gateway opening to the town had been locked, and a little delay took place until the key was found. The dárogah and his party preceded us, as we

passed through empty streets, amid the revilings of women from the houses, towards the citadel. At the entrance thereto the súpáhís were led off to the right, where one of the guns was stationed. They were despoiled of their arms, and Lieut. Loveday, with myself, was conducted into the citadel. After we had passed up the dark and ascending passages leading to the suite of apartments, and darbár room, some thirty or thirty-five of the principal men brandished their swords. A Langhow chief, Máhá Singh, recognised me at this juncture, and placed his arms around me. I suspected this to have been merely a feint, but since learned that it was not altogether so, and that a combat had nearly ensued between those eager for violence and those anxious to prevent it. The dárogah now appeared, and placing his arms around me, who happened to be first, led me through the infuriated crowd into the Ahíná Khâna, as called, (the darbár room,) and returned for Lieut. Loveday, whose situation was critical, and bringing him in, the doors were closed, some half dozen individuals only being within the apartment. The dárogah reproached Lieut. Loveday with the death of Meh-ráb Khân, and with other injuries; but assured him that, as he had entered that house, he was safe. His passion did not allow him to speak much, and he left the room; in a few minutes he returned, saying the khân wished to see us, and directed us to be searched, lest we carried pistols.

One Yúsef Khân, Raisání, searched Lieut. Loveday, and took his pocket-book, in which were two or three documents, amongst them the copy of the ekrár námeb, or engagement entered into by the sirdárs; and this Yúsef Khân would not return. I was searched by two or three persons, and my lúnghí, bordered with golden tissue, was taken from my head. We were then conducted to an apartment where the young son of Mehráb Khân was sitting with Akhúnd Máhoméd Sídik, the sirdárs of Sahárawân, and others. In passing we had to encounter volleys of abuse and menaces. The dárogah took charge of Lieut. Loveday, and Máhá Singh rendered me the good office. This was the first time we had seen the young khân, and were both surprised to find him a youth of so respectable an appearance. He welcomed Lieut. Loveday with "Khúsh amadéd," and addressed me in the same terms; then desired both of us to be easy on all points, and assured us we had nothing to apprehend. The several sirdárs omitted no formality, and each of them respectively bade us welcome. Máhoméd Sídik made a brief oration, setting forth that, as Lieut. Loveday would neither advance money nor come to the citadel and make his salám, they had been compelled to adopt the only course left to them. It became a question as to where we should be lodged: the young khân pointed out some place, but the dárogah said no, and directed us to be taken to a suite of two apart-

ments still higher up in the building, where bricklayers were sent, in haste, to close all apertures, and we were located therein, under charge of one Molahdád, an acquaintance of Lieut. Loveday's, as he had for some time been náib at Quetta under Mehráb Khân. As soon as we were secured guns were discharged, and music at the Nágára Khâna struck up, as if a victory, or important advantage had been gained.

On this miserable termination of Lieut. Loveday's peace, I suffered the loss, not only of what other property I possessed, but of a large accumulated stock of manuscripts and papers, the fruits of above fifteen years' labour and inquiry. But, three or four days previously to the attack, my servant, who had become familiar with one of the keepers, Khâdardád, before mentioned, proposed to remove the chest containing them from the house, assuring me he could do so with Khâdardád's connivance. Fearful to show a bad example, and to discourage the sîpáhís, I spoke angrily to him, and threatened, if he dared to mention such a thing again I would punish him. He reminded me that the worst was to be expected, and that Lieut. Loveday, by burning his papers, was clearly preparing for it. I only repeated the menace to him. I need not have been so scrupulous, for I since discovered that not only had the sîpáhís for some days been transferring their effects to houses in the town, but that, strange to say, Lieut. Loveday had been dis-

posing of various articles at low prices, particularly all his copper utensils; perhaps, on account of their being, in common with much of his property, the spoil of Mehráb Khân, and bearing his marks on them.

CHAPTER VII.

Chamber of Blood.—Nature of our custody.—Insults of Bráhúís.—Sháhghássí Walí Máhoméd.—Treatment.—Lieut. Loveday's attendants.—The dárogah's disappointment.—Interview with Dárogah.—His proposition.—Lieut. Loveday's stipulation.—The dárogah's anger.—The dárogah's intention.—Abstraction of Sampat.—His return.—Suspensions as to treasure and jewels.—Lieut. Loveday's danger.—Averted by Faiz Ahmed.—Interview between Lieut. Loveday and the dárogah.—Letters written for Capt. Bean.—Intended advance of Bráhúís from Kalát to Mastúg.—My release refused on account of Lieut. Loveday's sayings.—Arrival of letter and messenger from Réhim Khán.—Regret of messenger.—Arrival of Mír Azem Khán at Kalát.

DURING our abode in the house from which we had just been transferred, I had reconciled my mind to the belief that our lives and occupation of it would cease together. I had been mistaken, and we were reserved for further scenes and perils. The apartment which now confined us was called the Chamber of Blood, and deservedly, as being that where state-offenders were usually put to death. The last slaughter of this kind committed within its walls was, I believe, that of the late khán's Ghiljí minister, Dáoud Máhoméd. Its appellation, and the uses to which it had been

devoted, were calculated to suggest but gloomy anticipations for the future; yet, dispelling associations so cheerless, it was spacious, and commanded a fine view of the valley in front, and of the encircling hills of Arbúi.

Molahdád, appointed our keeper, with eight or ten men, was located with us, and every night an additional guard was provided. These men, with their incessant clamours, were very annoying; but we were further mortified by visits from crowds of all classes, who came both to gratify their curiosity and to indulge in the expression of their triumph and resentment. Nothing could be more galling than to be compelled to hear the offensive language employed by most of them; and the bad feelings of many were so excited, that it often required the interference of our keeper and his party to prevent our being ill-treated by them. Molahdád was, perhaps, as good a man as we could have had in charge over us, since he was not so strict as to forbid any slight indulgence, or even intercourse, being enjoyed by us; yet his mildness and indifference were inadequate either to hinder the visits or to check the insolence of the crowds which daily pestered us. Probably he was instructed to permit everything short of actual violence, and I observed, or thought so, that he took secret pleasure in the taunts, menaces, and ribaldry with which we were assailed.

On the first day of our confinement, Shâhghâssí

Walí Máhoméd sat with us until evening. He was brother to the late Núr Máhoméd, shâhghâssí of Mehráb Khân, and one of his most effective adherents. Núr Máhoméd was slain at the capture of Kalât, while gallantly fighting, after having previously sacrificed his wives, and other females of his family. Walí Máhoméd alluded to the disasters which had fallen upon his house, but assured Lieut. Loveday that he should be kindly treated, and should experience what generosity a Baloch was capable of. I suspect Walí Máhoméd was not permitted by the dárogah to act as handsomely as he wished.

We were inundated with tales of the plunder of Lieut. Loveday's house, and, indeed, during the day witnessed the many conflicts that took place on its roof between the spoilers themselves. It seemed to be considered by the multitude rather as a good joke than an atrocious act. Two or three persons killed themselves by drinking vitriol instead of wine; and this accident brought bottles and their contents into such distrust that numbers were made over to us. So great a store had we of both wines, and liquors of various descriptions, that Lieut. Loveday consigned them to the charge of Díwân Rámú, who had, on his own part, contributed a teapot, jug, and other articles of plated ware, which were not much prized after it was discovered they were not silver. He also provided Lieut. Loveday with a few articles of his own

clothing, and the young khân sent him a chair and his postín; the latter, however, deprived of a number of jewels which had been sewn over it, the youth asserting they belonged to him, and not to Lieut. Loveday. Walí Máhoméd had promised a bed to Lieut. Loveday, but it was not sent; and neither he nor I had anything to sleep upon but the coarse carpet spread under us. Our food was supplied twice daily from the khân's kitchen, and was the same he himself partook of. Tea and coffee were furnished by those who had rifled our late abode; so that, on the whole, our fare was what we had least to complain of.

Lieut. Loveday's house was most rigidly examined, the floors were all dug up, excavations were made in the cellars, and the wells were minutely searched. The pair of bull-dogs, the ministers of his anger, were literally cut to pieces.

Attending on Lieut. Loveday, were Sampat and Naihâl Khân, an old Máhomedan servant and cook; the latter accompanied his master to the citadel, and was severely beaten and robbed on the road; the former joined in the course of the day. One of my servants followed me into the citadel, but retired when he saw swords drawn upon us, concluding all was over. He then went to Faiz Ahmed's house, where my other servants had gone before him. The latter soon set out for Kândahár; the former remained, determined to abide the result of events, and ultimately rejoined me at Quetta.

The súpáhís were deprived of their arms, and plundered; the súbahdár, or native officer, an infirm old man; the havildár, Allabaksh; Búta Singh, a súpáhí, and one or two others, were sorely maltreated. All were put on an allowance of flour. Some managed to preserve their regimental dresses, others were wholly despoiled; but all were supplied by the young khân with shirts and trousers.

We were soon apprised that the dárogah repented of the plunder of Lieut. Loveday's house, his share of the spoil being nothing at all, while he had to incur the odium abroad attendant upon so disgraceful an act, and to support the ridicule at home, of having been foiled. Akhúnd Máhoméd Sídik and Sháhghâssí Walí Máhoméd having so largely benefited by the measure, alike increased his disappointment. The dárogah's plan was to have secured Lieut. Loveday in an interview at the citadel, and then to have taken possession of the house and property in the young khân's name, when he would have obtained some document from that officer, in his power, to have justified, according to his ideas, the appropriation. No doubt the sirdárs of Sahárawân, and their vakíl the Akhúnd, precipitated, if they did not wholly bring about this affair, although it is nearly as certain that it must, sooner or later, have happened. There were too many desirous of such a finale, whether urged by hopes of plunder or by feelings of revenge, and the most extravagant expectations were formed of

the wealth to be found, to say nothing of the necessities of unscrupulous men. Report gave out, that twenty-three lakhs of rupees were in charge of Lieut. Loveday; chests of ammunition were supposed to contain treasures and it was believed that a large stock of Mehráb Khân's jewels, and other property, was deposited in the house.

After a lapse of four or five days, it being Roz Júma, and the citadel clear of its usual occupants, who had attended the young khân on an excursion to the tomb of his father, a man came and said the dárogah wished to see me. I was led down stairs to the Ahíná Khâna, where he was sitting with Faiz Ahmed, and an old woman, a slave probably, who retired. The old man prefaced his discourse by the declaration that he never saw a Feringhí, or even thought of one, that blood was not ready to gush from his eyes, by reason of the wrongs and injuries he had endured. He dwelt much upon them, some concerning the late Mehráb Khân, some concerning particularly himself. He told how Sikandar (Sir Alexander Burnes), in that very room had sworn by Házrat Isâ, or holy Jesus, that no designs were entertained upon the country; he enlarged upon the services Mehráb Khân had rendered to the army on its march, and of its requital, and expressed his horror that the corpse of his late master had been exposed in a masjít, unhonoured and unburied: in like manner, he pointed to a hole in the apartment, made by a cannon-ball at the time of the

assault. He next commented on Lieut. Loveday's attempts to surprise the young *khân*, and on the offers of reward he had held out to those who would assassinate himself; affirming, that *Nasrûlah* had disclosed all, and declaring that the man had always been in his service, although allowed to remain with Lieut. Loveday, for the purpose of gaining a knowledge of his plans and movements. Observing that the past could not be recalled, and that he was willing to forget it, while he wished peace rather than war, he explained his object in sending for me, by desiring me to tell Lieut. Loveday, that he purposed to go to *Mastûng* in two or three days, and would take him; that he wished an interview with Capt. Bean, a certain number of men attending with each. I was instructed to inquire of Lieut. Loveday whether or not he still wished for peace, and to let him know the reply. Moreover; I was told to represent the mischief it was in his (the *dároghah's*) power to cause, the interruption to communications, and other evils, all of which might be prevented by peace.

In the course of this conversation, as opportunity permitted, I urged upon the *dároghah*, that I feared he had not well understood that Capt. Bean, judging from his letters, had pacific intentions, and appealed to him how awkwardly they were responded to by the unfortunate business of plundering Lieut. Loveday's house. He seemed to include it in the catalogue of things past—to be forgotten. I also

explained to him, how earnestly Lieut. Loveday had written in recommendation of peace, and assured him that if it were not granted, it would not be on account of any deficiency in his exertions. I even asserted that Lieut. Loveday had written much more in favour of them, and of an arrangement, than I should have done in his situation, how much soever I desired for all our sakes so fortunate a result; and this I implored him to believe.

The dárogah asked my opinions as to the probability that an arrangement could be made, and I frankly gave them, stating as a reason the favourable tendency of Capt. Bean's letters, previous to the plunder of the house; how that action might alter circumstances I could not tell. I was dismissed to talk with Lieut. Loveday, and to return with his answer.

This was the first time I had conversed with Dárogah Gúl Máhommed, a tall, spare, aged, and harsh-featured man, blind of one eye, and his head affected with palsy. I spoke as freely to him as I could, avoiding to give offence. Neither did I find him displeased when I told him I feared he was wrong, and had not sought an accommodation in the spirit likely to get it. I had, however, Faiz Ahmed to support me, and he joined his entreaties to mine, that in future a more rational line of conduct should be followed.

I related to Lieut. Loveday what had passed.

It struck me that the journey to Mastúng might, or might not, be intended. That Capt. Bean would accept an interview with the dárogah, from all I had heard of his extreme prudence, I thought very doubtful. Lieut. Loveday reasoned as I should, that he had no choice but to accompany the dárogah, if he wished it, and desired me to express his willingness to do so, provided his sípáhís attended him in full dress, accoutred and armed, but without ammunition. I was so certain this would never be allowed, that I wished the stipulation to be omitted, but Lieut. Loveday insisted upon it.

Returning to the dárogah, I informed him that Lieut. Loveday sincerely wished for peace, and did not intend to relax in his endeavours to procure it; that he was agreeable to attend him to Mastúng, but had suggested that his presence would be more beneficial if he was accompanied by his soldiers, without ammunition; for in proportion to the respect shown to him, would be esteemed the weight of his arguments at Quetta. On hearing this, the dárogah instantly rose, shook his head, and bursting into a violent passion, asked me if I took him for a child, and broke up the conference by telling me to go back again to my room. Faiz Ahmed strove in vain to mollify him, and I was obliged to retire.

The next thing we learned was, that the dárogah wished Lieut. Loveday to be made over entirely to his charge and custody, but that Sháhghâssí Walí Máhoméd opposed such a step, and that they had

quarrelled on the subject. Shortly after, Sampat, the Hindú servant, was sent for, and was absent some days. Lieut. Loveday was very anxious on his account, and repeatedly inquired for him; but Molahdád answered evasively, and all that could be learned was, that he was in the dárogah's house. We both feared the object with Sampat was to extort disclosures from him, as he was known to be Lieut. Loveday's treasurer, as well as his servant and general confidant. At length Rámú brought back Sampat, and it proved that, after having been at first caressed and made much of in vain, he was subjected to slight torture, the effects of which were manifest on his wrists and arms. Sampat was very reserved upon his return, and what little he communicated was in whispers to his master.

Subsequently I learned many particulars relating to the transactions of this period, which I could not possibly then be aware of. Besides the prevailing belief that Lieut. Loveday had in charge a great sum of money, there existed the conviction that he was in possession of three caskets of jewels, which, after the march of the army from Kalât, had been discovered in a house near the springs. I shall not enter into the particulars of this alleged discovery, the belief in which brought Lieut. Loveday into imminent danger, from which, it may suffice to observe, that my friend Faiz Ahmed saved him, and the same man effected the discharge of Sampat, with the slight injury inflicted upon him, when it

was the intention of the dárogah to have put him to extreme torture, and when cords and stakes were ready for the purpose.

I also learned that Faiz Ahmed, as soon as we were lodged in the citadel, made the most earnest entreaties that I might be dismissed, and that the dárogah consented, even telling Faiz Ahmed to take me to his house. This he feared to do, lest he might draw upon himself the fury of the Bráhuís. Again, when desirous to transfer Lieut. Loveday to his own residence, the dárogah renewed the offer to Faiz Ahmed to remove me, remarking, that as he had acceded to my liberation, it might as well be done at once, and that I could not be easy where I was. Faiz Ahmed excused himself, and said to my servant, that I should not myself wish to come away at such a time, my stay with Lieut. Loveday being in some degree protection to him; as he, and those who interested themselves for me, were obliged also to intercede for Lieut. Loveday, which they could not do, were I at this moment to leave him. Such remarks could have been made by no other than a most excellent man.

In course of time, Lieut. Loveday expressed to Molahdád his desire to see the dárogah, and to concert measures to renew correspondence with Capt. Bean. Rámú and Faiz Ahmed were sent to Lieut. Loveday, and after conversing with him, and reporting favourably to the dárogah, the old man returned with them. When seated, he accused Lieut. Love-

day of the treachery he had on various occasions practised towards him, repeated his wrongs, and then announced his expectations. He had not, however, patience to sit; his anger became evident as he hurriedly passed his beads through his fingers, and shook his palsied head. He rose, and told Rámú and Faiz Ahmed to talk in his place to Lieut. Loveday, who had promised to write a letter to Capt. Bean, and as he was leaving the room he turned to me and sternly said, "Do you write too." Paper was supplied to Lieut. Loveday, and the remainder of the day he occupied in writing his letter. In this instance he made the strange remark to me, that it was now necessary to write the truth; to which I replied, "You should have always done so." The first letter written was cancelled, and another hastily prepared, and it was late before it was ready. I had not written, nor did I intend to write. When the letter was conveyed to the dárogah, Molahdád came back and asked where my letter was. On this demand, to comply being preferable to making excuses, which would neither have been understood nor accepted, I took up a fragment of native paper, and with a native pen wrote in support of Lieut. Loveday's wishes for peace. I showed what I had written to Lieut. Loveday, who remarked to Molahdád that it was good, and enclosed it in the packet intended for Capt. Bean, to be conveyed to Quetta by Hússén, a servant of Díwân Rámú.

Faiz Ahmed, after his visit to Lieut. Loveday on

this day, rebuked the dárogah for his neglect in not furnishing us with decent carpets, cots to repose on, and other little necessities. The old man grew exceedingly angry, upbraided my friend for having turned kâfr, or infidel, and reminded him of the indignities offered to Réhindád and Múlla Hassan. This language again drove Faiz Ahmed to the retirement of his house, from which he was only withdrawn by some concession in favour of humanity.

Before a reply was received from Capt. Bean to the letters sent by Hússén, the Bráhuí chiefs at Kalát considered it necessary to advance to Mastúg. Our intercourse being under restriction, we did not know exactly the reasons of the movement, though many might have been imagined. We were since told by Molahdád, who one day remarked, it would have been better had all remained at Kalát, that on large reinforcements reaching Quetta from Kándahár, Assad Khán, the Raisání sirdár of Khânak, near Mastúg, had sent his son to Kalát, to explain, that unless a movement were made he should be compelled, now that the Feringhís were in force and near him, to make terms with them. It was very clear, that by marching to Mastúg the chances of arrangement, at any time doubtful, were considerably diminished, while those of collision were increased; but the miserable Bráhuís were so indifferently combined, that their confederacy was liable to dissolve by the least accident, and the de-

fection of Assad Khân would, no doubt, have been imitated; to prevent which, a course known to be evil was followed. Seven hundred Kândahárí rupees, not sixty pounds, were distributed amongst the Sahárawâní sirdárs and the young khân's followers at Kalát, and their numbers were, of course, trifling, when this sum provided them with money rations for three days, and afforded besides presents to the sirdárs and chiefs present. It was first arranged that the young khân and the sirdárs were to leave on one day, and the dárogah, with Lieut. Loveday and myself, on that following; but the sirdárs would not accede to this, and insisted that Lieut. Loveday should leave the town before they did. They were perhaps apprehensive that he might remain behind altogether, or their jealousy suggested that the dárogah might make some agreement independently of them. It was therefore decided, that Lieut. Loveday should accompany the young khân, the dárogah and sirdárs to follow.

When the march to Mastúg was concerted, Faiz Ahmed called upon the dárogah to redeem his promise to liberate me. The old man forbade him to speak any more on my behalf, asserting that he had been informed, on trustworthy authority, that I was of more importance than suspected. Faiz Ahmed demanded an explanation, and the dárogah answered, that Nasrúlah had apprised him that Lieut. Loveday had disclosed to

him that I was a jásús, or spy, on the Feringhís, and that when asked how I procured funds to travel, replied, that I had húndís, or bills, for twelve thousand rupees with me. Faiz Ahmed's protestations, as to the falsehood of this tale, were, for the moment, ineffectual, and the dárogah commanded him to resign me to my fate. The information given by Nasrúlah was, indeed, acquired from Lieut. Loveday, for I had before heard of it amongst the many idle things he was accustomed to repeat, although, from whatever other unworthy motives he indulged in such observations, he could not have foreseen that this one of them, in particular, would hereafter prove dangerous to my liberty and life.

When we left Kalât for Mastúng, Faiz Ahmed observed to my servant, with whom he was not in the habit of conversing, "Both you and myself have been bí waffa, or faithless, to Masson Sáhib," meaning, I suppose, that he had been deficient in having omitted to profit by the consent to my freedom, formerly given by the dárogah. While we were yet in the citadel two or three letters came to the young khân and the dárogah, from Réhim Khân, deprecating any violence to Lieut. Loveday and myself. No doubt Faiz Ahmed was instrumental in these attempts to prevent farther evil. At length Réhim Khân's confidential agent, Máhomed Khân, reached Kalât, unfortunately, the day after we had left for Mastúng.

My servant, who saw him, represented him as dejected even to tears, when he found we had been carried away, and that he asked him why, in God's name, I had not come down to them, when I knew they were all friends; and how I came to place myself in the power of so many villains. He also brought a letter, addressed to me, which I never received. It seemed that Réhim Khân was ignorant that our house had been attacked, and that we were prisoners in the citadel; and supposing us still respected, hoped, by his arrival, to put matters in a train for adjustment. When informed of what had passed, on the return of Máhoméd Khân, he declared he would have nothing to do with men so unprincipled, and a letter from him to that effect reached the camp afterwards at Mastúg, and exceedingly irritated the insurgent host.

As soon as the tidings of the possession of Kalât by the son of Mehráb Khân spread over the country, the young man's uncle, Mír Azem Khân, set out from Béla, where he was indifferently situated, and where I had visited him in his adversity. He arrived at Kalât in so bad a state of health that his dissolution was expected, but change of air so agreed with him, that he improved sufficiently to be entrusted with the charge of the town on the departure of the khân. I never could learn that he interfered in state affairs, or, per-

haps, was not well enough, but he was wont to inveigh against the inhospitality he had experienced in Las, and betook himself to the free use of strong liquors, from which poverty had for some time debarred him, and which, possibly, contributed to recruit his health.

CHAPTER VIII.

Departure for Mastúng. — Scene at Kalât. — Nasrúlah. — The young khân. — Route to Mastúng. — Incident at Karéz Amánúlah. — Arrival of dárogah and sirdárs. — Interview with dárogah. — Captain Bean's letters. — The dárogah's vigilance. — Lieut. Loveday fettered at night. — Yúsef Khân's rancour. — Entry into Mastúng. — Place of confinement. — Interview with Kálíkdád. — Preparation of letters for Quetta. — Intelligence respecting Ghúlám Khân. — His arrival in camp. — Captured dâks, or posts. — Indignation of the Bráhúís. — Kálíkdád's apology for me. — Interview with the dárogah. — Report of conversation. — Extra guards, and their evils. — Incidents at Mastúng. — Máhommed Khân's discontent. — Kotrú chiefs and Mír Bohér join. — Major Clibborn's disaster. — Arrival of Saiyád Mobáarak Sháh. — His instructions from Capt. Bean. — Indulgence to Lieut. Loveday. — Formal interview with the young khân and sirdárs. — Capt. Bean's letters. — Indignation of the Bráhúís. — Repetition of fátihá, and determination to slay us. — Misgivings of Lieut. Loveday. — Terror of his domestics. — Good offices of Rais Hárún. — Interview with the dárogah. — Intercession of Réhimdád's relatives and friends. — Disgust at Capt. Bean's letter. — The dárogah accords protection to Lieut. Loveday. — Permission obtained by Rais Hárún for my departure to Quetta. — Leave Mastúng. — Incidents on the route. — Arrival at Quetta. — Interview with the political officers.

WE had passed our ordeal in the ill-omened Chamber of Blood; we were now to leave it and Kalât; what new trials were in store for us it was vain to conjecture; in helplessness we awaited

them, certain only that every moment shortened our captivity, and accelerated the final issue, which, there were too many reasons to fear, could be no other than disastrous.

Led down to the entrance of the citadel, we found the dárogah and sirdárs of Sahárawân standing, while the avenues were crowded with spectators. Camels were at hand; on one of which Lieut. Loveday and Molahdád were placed; on another I was seated, with Naihâl Khân; and, on a third were accommodated Sampat and a man, named Máhomed Kâsim, remarkable as having been the person who, from what I have learned, ultimately slew Lieut. Loveday near Dádar. We passed through the streets amid the yells and hootings of the Bráhúís and populace, the very women spitting upon us, crying *pét ! pét !* shame ! shame ! and reviling us for having had the presumption to sit on Nassír Khân's throne. Many made use of their hands as well as tongues, and Lieut. Loveday being protected by Molahdád, I fared the worst in the transit through the narrow bazár and enraged multitude. When outside of the Mastúng gate we were not followed; and there I saw many of my Bíbí acquaintance, who by signs, desired me to trust in God, which was all they could do, although Kâlikdád ventured to tell me, as I passed him, that he would follow me to Mastúng.

We were now attended by only four or five mounted men, dependents on Molahdád, and had

not proceeded far when we were hailed to return, to witness the young khân's exit from the town and the concourse which followed him. Amongst these was Nasrúlah, so well appareled and equipped that I did not recognise him, as he rode, conversing for some time, with Lieut. Loveday, and found out only on coming to the ground, when I asked my companion who that Dúrání was talking to him on the road, for Nasrúlah had assumed the costume of Kándahár. The young khân gave us a specimen of his skill in horsemanship, which I thought he might have spared, especially as the horse he rode was one of Lieut. Loveday's chargers. The youth soon turned off the road to visit a shrine at Zíárat, a village so called, where it is customary for khâns, and persons of rank, to offer their vows, when leaving Kalât on a journey or expedition. We kept on to Káréz Garâní, where the khân's tent had been sent up, and immediately adjacent to it a small one was erected for us, and Molahdád's party. Four other servants of Lieut. Loveday, before at large in the town, followed their master, and the young khân ordered them to be supplied with provisions. The youth sent us melons, and was so remote from any bad feeling that the objections of his people could scarcely overcome his desire to send for us into his tent, that he might converse with us.

The next day we moved on to Mangachar, over the country, believed by Capt. Bean to be filled

with enemies and Bráhuís; not a living creature was to be seen; not a solitary tent at the skirt of a hill attested the presence of a human being. Our small party moved independently of the khân and his retinue, and as we paced over the silent waste I lamented to Lieut. Loveday our misfortune in not having friends, when half a dozen mounted men would have extricated us from our embarrassment. At Mangachar we heard that Hússén, with Capt. Bean's reply, had passed on to Kalât.

Our next march was to Káréz Amânúlah, in the vicinity of Mastúng, and there we halted two or three days. At this place one Sherbet, a Bangúl Zai, accustomed, when we were in the citadel, to bring wine and other things, and even to tell a little of what he knew, came into our tent, saying, he took leave of us, as he had permission to go home to Isprinjí for four days. Sitting down with Lieut. Loveday, Sherbet asked if he could do anything for him. Lieut. Loveday promised him a thousand rupees if he would provide two horses and effect his escape. Sherbet replied, he could or would do as much service, but it must be on his return. Lieut. Loveday gave him a ring. This communion was carried on between Lieut. Loveday, Sherbet, and Sampat, by whispering over a book, Sherbet occasionally asking, in a louder tone, what this picture and that picture meant, pretending to be merely indulging his curiosity.

To divert the attention of Molahdád and the two or three attendants, who only chanced to be in our tent at the time, I sat over with them, and engaged them in conversation. Unluckily, Khân Máhoméd, the younger brother of the late Dáoud Máhoméd, came to the entrance of the tent while this confabulation with Sherbet was in progress; he looked in merely, and said nothing at the time; but reported to the khân what he had seen. Sherbet started for Isprinjí, and in the evening was brought back. We heard a loud altercation at the khân's tent, in which Sherbet's voice, a most sonorous one, was very conspicuous, and we could understand that he was indignantly repelling the charge of familiarity with Labadín. Sherbet was too impudent to be easily put down, or convicted on mere surmise, and he was again allowed to depart, but came no more to us. Molahdád, entirely unsuspecting of what had transpired between Lieut. Loveday and Sherbet, although present in the tent, expressed resentment, in no measured terms, at the conduct of Khân Máhoméd, especially as it reflected on his vigilance and fidelity.

The day following this affair Dárogah Gúl Máhoméd arrived, with the sirdárs of Sahárawân. The latter paid a visit to Lieut. Loveday, and Máhoméd Khân, Sherwâni, sent him a small quantity of sugar-candy, and a bottle of madeira. The dárogah, jealous of such intercourse, desired the wine to be given up. He afterwards had a long con-

ference with Khân Máhomed, who, of course, communicated his suspicions of Sherbet. He next came near our tent, and seated himself on a carpet some fifteen or twenty feet distant from it. I was then summoned, and producing the packet addressed by Capt. Bean to Lieut. Loveday, he desired me to open the letters and tell him what was written in them. I prayed him to send for Lieut. Loveday. He said, no. I then requested that he would, in the first instance, permit me to take the letters to Lieut. Loveday, when I would return and explain to him what was written. He again said no. I then asked him to allow me first to see Lieut. Loveday; to which he assented, and I stepped into the tent and mentioned what had happened. Lieut. Loveday told me, by all means, to open the packet, and acquire a knowledge of its contents, particularly of what Capt. Bean had written privately to himself. I offered peremptorily to refuse to open it, but Lieut. Loveday did not think it necessary, nor, in fact, did I. I returned, and saying to the dárogah, I could now read the letters, opened the packet. I inquired of him what Capt. Bean had communicated to himself, when he complained of the tone used, but added, that the hope of arrangement was still held out, with the recommendation to seek it in humility. I observed that such was exactly the tenour of Capt. Bean's letters to Lieut. Loveday, as it was in truth, but the dárogah was not satisfied with so

general a version, and required a more detailed one, in which I attempted to please him, not by translating the letter, but telling him something to the purport of what he admitted to be found in his own epistle. He then desired me to read it in English, which I did, omitting names, and he smiled at the unintelligible jargon. I next requested that he would permit me to give the letters to Lieut. Loveday, as, having seen them, I should of course tell him their contents, and there could be no reason to withhold them. I even put them into my pocket, but he obliged me to give them back.

In the official letter of Capt. Bean to Lieut. Loveday the concluding paragraph related to me, and was worded nearly, if not quite, as follows: "The mystery of Mr. Masson's appearance at Kalât at the period of the present outbreak, combined with his clandestine residence at that place, has given rise to suspicions, in my mind, of that individual, which I have not failed to communicate to government." If I felt surprise at this announcement, I was perfectly able to conceal it from the dárogah. On return to Lieut. Loveday, I related to him the contents of Capt. Bean's letters, and what the dárogah had said, before I alluded to the above paragraph. He was abashed, and also, to do him justice, apparently much hurt, remarking to me, "Poor fellow, your case is a hard one, to be a sharer in my misfortunes, and, at the

same time, to be so ungenerously suspected." I consoled him by expressing the opinion that Capt. Bean would have addressed his suspicions to those who would treat them with ridicule. Lieut. Loveday, perhaps, recalling to recollection that, in his former letters to Capt. Bean, he might have written in a disparaging tone, as it was his custom to speak of me, observed, that he wondered I had not gone on to Kândahár. I asked why he should have wondered, when he knew I was awaiting the arrival of the kâfila for my servants and luggage to join, and when he knew, as well as myself, the kâfila's detention on the road, and that, when it did arrive, the country was in arms. I prayed him to be as easy about it as I was myself, and remarked, that it was Capt. Bean's mode of acknowledging the receipt of the letter I had sent; and this I suspected it to be.

Late this evening the dárogah sat in conference with Khân Máhoméd and Yúsef Khân Raisâní; and orders arrived that the four servants of Lieut. Loveday, who had joined on the road, should leave our tent, and be distributed in various quarters; I believe their arms were bound behind them. Presently after a man, called the kalífa, came with a pair of fetters, with which he secured Lieut. Loveday's feet to the tent-pole. Not a word passed while this outrage was committed. Additional guards were stationed within and without the tent. I expected the kalífa would have returned with another pair

of fetters for me,—he did not. The night we passed in deep anxiety. I feared the fetters were but a prelude to a worse crime. Neither Lieut. Loveday nor myself slept. He did not speak, nor had I the heart to speak to him. By daybreak, to our great joy, the kalífa appeared, and removed the fetters; the servants were unbound, and the measure proved to have been one of precaution, adopted at the suggestion of Khân Máhomed and Yúsef Khân.

Early in the morning tents were struck; first the dárogah, then other parties took the road to Mastung. The young khân and our party remained some time longer on the ground. Yúsef Khân tarried to accompany the khân, and on this occasion, while he spared Lieut. Loveday, was very severe upon me, particularly as he had failed to have me fettered as well as Lieut. Loveday; he swore he would kill me in spite of Faiz Ahmed, and have my húndís; also, that he would burn Faiz Ahmed's house, and do many other things. I was ignorant at the time what he meant by the húndís. We were now denied stirrups, and Molahdád mounting a horse, another man was commissioned to ride in front of Lieut. Loveday. Máhomed Kâsim had rode in front of my camel since leaving Káréz Garâní, as neither I nor Naihâl Khân had been skilful enough to manage the animal. In time we advanced, preceding the young khân and his suite. As we neared the town, the Bráhuís and

inhabitants lined both sides of the road, and we passed between them, amidst jeers, execrations, and menaces. This mortifying exhibition continued until we reached the gardens on the northern side of the town, where we were to be lodged, and we were conducted to a gardener's house, with one room above and another below. We were first placed in the upper apartment, but it was discovered that we should be higher in position than the young *khân*, whose tent was fixed in an adjacent garden, and we were transferred to the lower room, unused by the owners but as a place for fuel and rubbish, on account of mangúrs, large and troublesome bugs.

The horrible imprecations bestowed upon us this day were keenly felt by Lieut. Loveday, who appeared to be nearly exhausted when he entered the apartment assigned to us. The insults of the rabble were feebly repressed by the laughing remonstrances of our guards.

On the following morning, the filthy state of the lower chamber and the grievance of mangúrs being represented, the scruples respecting our elevation as regarded the *khân* were surmounted, and we ascended into the upper room.

We suffered much from the curiosity of the fresh people we encountered here. Our room was very small, and thronged with us, our guards, and visitors. The gardens around us were filled with the levies of tribes, and if we had occasion to leave the chamber

we had enough of insult to endure, and were always pelted with stones and clods of earth. Once a fellow presented his firelock at me, and too close to have missed, had not one Safar Khân, a Lári, averted his aim. On the tops of the walls, and even on the trees in the gardens, spectators were constantly perched. Moreover, the khân's morning and evening darbárs attracted large mobs, and the daily distribution of grain was distinguished by the utmost confusion and violence. In this, the third stage of our confinement, our situation had become desperate indeed, but it was too critical to endure long without change.

We had been at Mastúg three or four days when I was desired to attend the dárogah. His tent was in the adjoining garden, separated from us by a wall only. I found Kâlikdád, my acquaintance, had arrived from Kalât, and had so urgently entreated the dárogah that he might see me as to obtain permission. The dárogah said little, and nothing on business, but told Kâlikdád he might take me aside and converse with me. We went and sat by the bank of a canal of irrigation near. Kâlikdád detailed the efforts made by Faiz Ahmed in my favour at Kalât, and of the success attending them, until the tale about the húndís upset everything; that, before the dárogah left Kalât, Faiz Ahmed had made another effort, and had sworn on the Korân that the story was untrue, and that I had no húndís. The dárogah replied, that he

could not, as a Mússúlmân, reject Faiz Ahmed's oath; still, he confided in his own intelligence; but, whether I had or not húndís, he would, in consideration of Faiz Ahmed, consent to liberate me, but not until the mokadamí, or contest, was over, and then I should go neither to Quetta nor to Kândahár. Faiz Ahmed compelled the dárogah to swear upon his beard that no injury should happen to me. I observed my fate was in other hands than the dárogah's, and I absolved Faiz Ahmed and himself from all interest in the matter. Kâlikdád said the dárogah was a man of his word, which I ridiculed. He then told me that he was deputed by Faiz Ahmed solely to watch over me, and to keep the dárogah to the observance of the pledge he had made. Kâlikdád added he had brought my servant, Rasúl, with him, and I prayed him to keep him quiet, as he was better at large than with us, and we needed no more company.

The packet detained by the dárogah was at last sent to Lieut. Loveday, and another letter was proposed to be written to Capt. Bean: the dárogah, besides, consented to write to the envoy and minister, but would not listen to a letter for the king.

Before these were framed, some one from Quetta sent intelligence that Ghúlám Khân (brother to the late Dáoud Máhomed, and to Khân Máhomed, who had played the evil part at Karéz Amânúlah,) would repair to Mastúng, and that it was necessary to observe great caution, as he had concerted with

Capt. Bean to rescue Lieut. Loveday. So accurate was the intelligence received by the dárogah of Capt. Bean's actions, and even of his sayings, that he must have had informants in the persons employed by the political agent, if not amongst those in his confidence. About this time it was known at Mastúng that Sherbet had been to Quetta, and had shown to Capt. Bean the ring given to him by Lieut. Loveday. We did not know what to make of it, as Sherbet, according to Lieut. Loveday's account, had not been told to go to Quetta; yet it proved true, he had gone there to get money from Capt. Bean. The Bráhuís seemed to enjoy it as a joke, and were for some time laughing and talking about Sherbet and the ring; and Sherbet much exceeded his four days' leave of absence; when he did return, he was unable to force the guards, but contrived to deliver, through others, some papers and a bottle of brandy, received from Capt. Bean for Lieut. Loveday.

Ghúlám Khân at length appeared in the camp, alleging that he was in quest of a camel stolen from him at Quetta. Increased precautions were adopted towards us, and an additional guard by night was set over us. Ghúlám Khân was strictly watched, although much outward respect was shown to him. Lieut. Loveday was sent for one evening by the dárogah to see Ghúlám Khân, and told me, on his return, that the old hypocrite affected extreme civility, rose when he entered the tent, and

neglected no mark of respect. Ghúlám Khân was compelled to proceed to Kalât. This man had been a prime instigator of the disorders committed by the tribes in the Bolan pass; the enemy of Meh-ráb Khân, he became necessarily the friend of the English, and now reappeared, as was believed, laden with the favour of the political officers. His brother, Khân Máhoméd, had, as before noted, urged the dárogah to fetter Lieut. Loveday. About this time I was summoned to the dárogah's tent, as it proved, to witness the fragment of an intercepted dâk, or post. The dárogah said, three messengers with the packets had been killed, and he desired me to tell Lábadín that it would be better to make peace and prevent such mischief. The dâk was of old date, and amongst the few papers preserved was, singularly enough, a copy of Lieut. Loveday's despatch, announcing the capture of Kalât by the rebels. I was not asked to read the letters, indeed, was not permitted; for, having taken up a document purporting to be intelligence from Khiva, I wished to have read it, for my own satisfaction, and it was snatched from me.

Upon another day I was taken to the young khân's tent, where, besides the youth, were the dárogah and a host of rabble, sitting over the contents of a whole dâk from India, a recent prize. It was comprised entirely, as far as I observed, of newspapers and private letters, with the exception of a public letter from Ferozpúr; a circumstance which

Lieut. Hammersley, at Quetta, explained, by informing me that official letters had been for some time despatched by Kábal. The dárogah again observed, that four messengers with the packet had been slain, and I was anew exhorted to represent the evil to Lieut. Loveday. I was not asked to read the letters by the dárogah or young khân; but the mob sitting around would throw them towards me, asking, what is this, what is that? and, throwing them back to them, I observed they were letters from men to their fathers, mothers, brothers, and sisters, and so forth, and could not concern them. They became angry, and very abusive; neither did I care or fear to retort. The dárogah himself was busy in reading Persian letters; he found one which contained, as he said, a bárât, or money-order, that he thought worth keeping, and then took up another; but when he had in part perused it, he cast it away, exclaiming it was bí fâhída, or profitless. He then rose and directed me to be led back. My friend Kâlikdád had been summoned to this scene, and, when I had gone, the young khân remarked to him, "Your acquaintance refuses to read the letters;" and the Bráhúís asserted that I was worse than Labadín, and jeered them; Kâlikdád explained that, amongst Feringhís, it was infamous for one to open and read the letters of another, and that great men would die rather than do it. On the road to our prison apartment, some who wished me well came by my side, and entreated me to be careful in my

language, or, as they said, the Bráhuís would cut me to pieces. I was too enraged to be able to conceal my feelings, and replied, "Curse the scoundrels, it's the only thing remaining for them to do."

The letters to Capt. Bean, and the envoy and minister, were at length written, and sent to Quetta, with a letter from Lieut. Loveday. That officer took the opportunity to correct Capt. Bean, in respect to his unfounded suspicions relating to myself, and instanced, what he was pleased to call my noble and devoted conduct at Kalât, besides pointing out the extent and irreparable nature of my losses. I was perfectly indifferent as to what Lieut. Loveday might write, but he considered himself bound in justice to refute Capt. Bean's prepossessions. I was not present at the interview between the dárogah and Lieut. Loveday when these letters were decided upon, but had seen copies of what was intended should be written. Afterwards the dárogah sent for me, and asked my opinion of them. I replied, that the letters to the envoy and minister had been pronounced by Lieut. Loveday, to be very good; but I would not venture to say so much for his (the dárogah's) own letter to Capt. Bean. He told me not to be afraid, and to tell him what harm there was in it. I said its tone was much too high, and that, if he had an object to gain, and that object worth gaining, he should at least be moderate in his language. The dárogah affirmed that he had no help, for Bean had written

to him in the same style. At this meeting, the dárogah being somewhat reasonable, I conjured him to think seriously on the state of things, and, by a little concession, facilitate the commencement of arrangement, which never would be accomplished so long as letters merely recriminatory and boastful were exchanged between Capt. Bean and himself. He declared, that he sincerely desired an arrangement; when I ventured to tell him, there was one thing, if he would do it, which would compel the government to accord terms. He asked what? I replied, to appoint Lieut. Loveday your envoy, and despatch him to Quetta. He looked amazed; but I continued, that no one would do his business so well; experience had opened his eyes, and he had become so convinced of former errors, that he was prepared to advocate the cause of the khân, and Bráhúís, to an extent far beyond what I could conscientiously advise. The dárogah said, Labadín would betray him. I answered, he could not, or he would be spurned by his own countrymen; and then added, I know you have promised Faiz Ahmed that I shall be dismissed, and that I shall not be harmed. I am in your hands: keep me, dismiss Loveday, and if peace be not the result, cut me to pieces. The dárogah stared at me for two or three minutes, when, shaking his head, he said, he would not release Labadín. Much more passed, but the dárogah represented, that he must await answers to the letters sent. Kâlikdád, who was

present, told my servant that, fearful my plain-speaking might offend, he had, when I was gone, put forth some excuse for me, but the dárogah assured him that he was pleased I should speak my mind, and that my frankness was a proof of honesty.

The extra guards by night were regularly changed, so that we never had the same set of men twice. They sat up all night, and were supplied with oil to replenish the lamp kept burning at the foot of Lieut. Loveday's bed. To divert their inclination to sleep, they told tales and sang songs, without any respect to our rest. At length musical instruments were brought, and kept ringing until morning, so that it was impossible to sleep. Both Lieut. Loveday and myself thought it was a plan to annoy us. For two or three nights we had endured this new evil, when the dárogah, at the instance of Kálikdád, sent for me very late. My head at the time was distracted, as I had no bed like my companion, nor any pillow on the ground, and the grating of the harsh music horribly vibrated through my ears. I said to the dárogah's man, that his master had hit upon a good method of destroying us with his infernal music, and the fellow nearly tumbled over with laughter. On seeing the dárogah, he asked if I was well, and I asked how I could be well, when we were allowed to sleep neither by day nor night, and mentioned the music. I also told him he had better kill us at once, than in so cowardly a manner.

He smiled, and desired me to return. That night the music was continued, but for the future he directed Molahdád to take the instruments away from the men who brought them. Kâlikdád, it seems, was exceedingly afraid the dárogah was practising some severities upon us, not thinking I should complain so strongly about mere music, and, when I left, he taxed the dárogah, but the old man denied it, protesting he did not wish to give us pain, but that, if we got away, he should be laughed at. As for me, he said I was drunk.

The letters sent to Quetta were not replied to promptly, and this occasioned my being sent for one night, when Molahdád and Rais Hárún were present; for the dárogah had so unconquerable an aversion to Lieut. Loveday, that he was often accustomed to apply to me when he had anything to communicate to, or ask of that officer. He now wished to know why no reply had been sent from Capt. Bean. At this meeting he asked Molahdád, in Bráhuíkí, whether it would be of any use to send me to Quetta. Molahdád answered that I should be murdered on the road. Rais Hárún, here mentioned, was an aged inhabitant of Kalât, trusted by the dárogah, and, therefore, placed by him as a check upon the guards in our apartment. He was reserved and civil, but unrelentingly vigilant.

As at Kalât, we were supplied with provisions from the young khân's kitchen, but at length be-

gan to suffer exceedingly in our narrow apartment. Lieut. Loveday was attacked with an ague every second day. Sampat was also sick. I had no fever, but was otherwise unwell, and two or three of our keepers were ailing. Rais Hárún, amongst them, was brought very low.

We knew little of what was passing amongst the Bráhuís, or more than could be gathered from the conversation of those about us, in which they were chary, having the belief that I understood them. Some time after we reached Mastung a kâfila of eighty loads of tobacco, almonds, &c., belonging to the town, and destined for Kachí, was plundered, when about to start, by the lawless men assembled in the gardens. A quarrel ensued, and Máhoméd Khân, Sherwâní, absented himself from the insurgent councils for some time. Now, a difference of opinion prevailed as to the better course to be followed, this same Máhoméd Khân proposing to march into Kachí instead of attacking Quetta. About this time, moreover, a réport spread that a kâfila of government stores was on the road from Dádar to Quetta: the Bráhuís put themselves into motion, and set off to intercept it. The report proved false; and there was time to recal the men on foot, but the horsemen had gone too far in advance to be overtaken, and had a journey to Mâch, a spot in the Bolan pass, for nothing, but to return as empty-handed as they went. It was calculated that a thousand horse

and about five hundred foot, started on this foray, and which was nearly the strength of the camp, few remaining in it.

We, of course, were able to tell when any fresh arrivals came into the insurgent camp, as they generally visited us. Naihâl Khân, of Kotra, had joined at Kâréz Amânúlah, and Máhoméd Khân, Eltârz Zai, of Kotra, joined at Mastúg. With the latter came Mír Bohér, of Zehrí, but with only fifty followers,—neither could he have ventured into the Sahárawâní camp, to save himself from future vengeance, but under the protection of the Kotra chiefs, uncles of the young khân. He was entirely distrusted, and called to no deliberation. No other chiefs of Jhálawân were present, and no one of the least consequence from Kachí, or other places. At the period when the greatest number of men was assembled, it was said that forty kharwârs of grain were expended daily. It was wonderful to conceive where it could be found; but there is little doubt, but that for the aid of Díwân Rámú, the rebellion could neither have originated or have been sustained.

The tidings of the disaster of Major Clibborn's force in the Kâhan hills did not produce so much sensation as might have been expected, the Doda Marrís, I believe, declining any intercourse with the insurgents, or to make common cause with them. The dárogah was fond of saying, that, if peace were made, he would undertake the chastisement of these Marrís.

When Lieut. Loveday had written his last letter to Capt. Bean, the dárogah desired him to request that Saiyad Mobárak Shâh, of Karání, and Múnshí Ján Alí, should be sent over to treat. In course of time, we heard that a person resembling the saiyard was in the camp, and so it proved. In the evening I was summoned, and Lieut. Loveday desired me, if there was any letter, by all means to open it. I found the dárogah and saiyard together, and, on entering the tent, the former was explaining to the latter, who wished Lieut. Loveday to be called, that his blood boiled at the sight of him, as he had fed his dogs on human flesh. Letters were produced, and after urging, to no purpose, that Lieut. Loveday should be called, I said I was authorized to open them, and did so; after which I gave a version of such parts of them as could do no harm; and in these letters there was matter relating, for instance, to Sherbet and the ring, which it did not behove the dárogah to know.

I then renewed my entreaties that Lieut. Loveday should be called, and so earnestly, that the dárogah, being alike pressed by Saiyad Mobárak, yielded, first asking me whether he was in his senses, and collected. When Lieut. Loveday came, the saiyard explained, as he had before done to me, that he was commissioned by Capt. Bean to inform them that instructions had been received from the envoy and minister to treat, that

there was one condition to which the khân must consent, and then all other terms should be granted. Lest, he added, addressing the dárogah, you should consider me nákâbil, or unskilful, in not ascertaining what that one condition was, I asked Capt. Bean to disclose it, and he said that I must first go and learn what the khân and Bráhuís wanted. The dárogah, this evening, was reasonable; Lieut. Loveday was pleased at the presence of the saiyaḍ, by whose intercession the fetters were remitted; and many thought a ray of hope beamed through the dark clouds of despair which enveloped our prospects.

On the following day both Lieut. Loveday and myself were summoned to a formal interview at the khân's tent, where the sirdárs and principal men were convened. On the right of the khân were sitting two saiyaḍs of Kalât, Máhoméd Khân Sherwání, Malek Dínár, Máhmúdshâhí, Máhoméd Khân, Eltárz Zai, and another person. On his left were Akhúnd Máhoméd Sídik, and various chiefs I did not know. Saiyaḍ Mobárák Shâh and the dárogah were seated in front of the khân, and to their right Lieut. Loveday and myself were placed. After salutations, the Akhúnd made an oration, setting forth what was wanted; the dárogah also spoke briefly, and the young khân attempted a speech, saying something about Súlah! súlah! peace! peace! and Samshír! samshír! sword!

sword! meaning, that if peace were not granted, the alternative must be the sword. Lieut. Loveday was called upon to speak, and said, that he was aware the Bráhuís required subsistence, that the khân wanted his father's country and money, that he had always pressed these things on Capt. Bean's consideration, and should do so again. I was told to say something, and observed, I had nothing to say. This conference was remarkable for the order observed; no one spoke amongst the Bráhuís but the three persons mentioned; at least, not audibly; the saiyads on the khân's right, however, whispered to him many remarks to the prejudice of Lieut. Loveday, and of his appearance. The demands put forth were extravagant, and the dárogah's tone was different from that he employed on the preceding evening.

Letters to Capt. Bean were despatched by Kamâl Shâh, another saiyad, and companion of Saiyad Mobárák, who awaited his return to camp. Mobárák Shâh and the dárogah called on Lieut. Loveday, and the former called once or twice alone, but always so watched that he could communicate nothing if he had wished.

The first time I saw Mobárák Shâh the dárogah asked him, in Bráhuíkí, whether there would be any benefit in sending me to Quetta; the saiyad hesitated, and made no reply; now, when he came to see Lieut. Loveday, he said, that when Capt.

Bean's reply reached, and he returned, as he could not ask for Lieut. Loveday, he would take me with him.

The period allowed for the reply in question had passed, and a letter came from Kamâl Shâh, stating, that he met with nothing but promises and delays. Eventually, however, he appeared, bearing letters for the young khân and for Lieut. Loveday. A packet, containing Capt. Bean's letter, and many private letters, was given to the latter, without observation, and unopened. The private letter, explanatory of the terms proposed, I did not think objectionable, as, on condition of holding Kalât from the shâh, the son of Mehrâb was to be acknowledged khân of Balochistân. Sahârawân and Kachí were not to be immediately restored, but remuneration was held forth. It was even said, that the only way by which an advance of money could be justified would be by the prompt acceptance of the terms. Supposing Capt. Bean wrote in sincerity, I supposed that the Bráhuís had no occasion to be displeased.

We heard, however, that high indignation was excited by Capt. Bean's letter to the young khân, but it was not shown to us, nor were we made cognizant of its contents.

Some time after I was summoned by the dárogah, and Lieut. Loveday gave me Capt. Bean's letter, that I might be prepared if it was needed. I put it into my pocket. Máhoméd Khân, Eltárz

Zai, and many chiefs, were present, but none of the sirdárs or principal ones. They had a batch of newspapers lying before them, which had been sent for Lieut. Loveday, but in a parcel separate from the letters. I was plagued to tell them what they were, and found it difficult to make them understand. They told me to read them in English, and I read two or three lines of a new tragedy reviewed in one of them, and appealed to the dárogah that it was verse. He caught the rhythm, smiled, and said it was poetry. The chiefs amused themselves by worrying me, and throwing first one paper and then another at me, asking what they were, and I asked them if they had not eyes, and could not see they were all the same. They were pleased still to annoy, and became very scurrilous, when I appealed to the dárogah if he was not unreasonable in allowing them so much freedom, and he smiled, and his eye chancing to glance upon my pocket, he asked what I had there. I told him Capt. Bean's letter, and he then inquired what was written in it. I answered, that Lieut. Loveday had given it to me that I might tell him, but he could not expect I could do so before such a set of fellows as those now with him. He seemed by his looks to approve this answer, and Máhomed Khân, taking pity, said, "Let him go back to his room." The dárogah took up the words, and told me to return.

At noon there was a numerous meeting at the dáro-

gah's tent. It was noisily conducted, and terminated by the repetition of *fátíha*, and the determination to kill both of us, and advance upon Quetta. We soon learned the circumstance from the conversation of our guards, who, in anticipation, assigned to each other our respective garments, one selecting Lieut. Loveday's postín, another fixing on my lúngthí, and so forth. Lieut. Loveday understood enough of the Bráhúí dialect to comprehend the drift of what was said, and became dejected. He had never, I believe, really feared that worse could happen to him than mere detention as a hostage for Réhimdád, a Bakkar prisoner. Saiyad Mobá-rak took leave of us, saying that no letters would be given to him, and that negotiation was closed. The dárogah sent for Lieut. Loveday's seal ring, which was given up.

Lieut. Loveday communicated to me his fears, and I remarked that we were in the power of the villains, and helpless, but, to console him, pointed out that the saiyad was still in camp, and so long as he remained violence would be deferred. Neither could it be done without the consent of the dárogah and sirdárs, who, we were told, were absent when the *fátíha* was repeated. The people about us seemed to think the resolution final, and Lieut. Loveday observed to me, that Molahdád's countenance was changed. All who dropped in also made no secret of the affair, and gave us up for lost. The tragedy was to be enacted

next morning, previous to an intended march to Tíri.

Naíhâl Khân, the cook, was to be spared, because he was a Mússúlmân, and Pír Baksh, the son of Kâlikdád, a brother of Réhimdád, told Sampat he should be saved, and put over his grain-stores.

In the evening Naíhâl Khân went to the khân's kitchen for our daily meal, which was given as usual, but he returned in great terror, and repeated the horrid language he had heard, and wept bitterly, exclaiming in his agony, Oh! the asbâb! the asbâb! the property! the property! we have been victims to the property! In truth, such was, I believe, the case, though it was now useless to reflect upon it. Lieut. Loveday was nearly unmanned by the grief of his servant.

Of those about us, Rais Hárún seemed most affected, and taking his opportunity, earnestly told Lieut. Loveday to ask to see the dárogah. "Who will procure the meeting?" said Lieut. Loveday. "I will," answered the Rais. "Why do you not speak to me? I can manage so much as that." Lieut. Loveday gladly requested him to exert his influence. The Rais instructed him what he should say, and how he should act at the meeting. Amongst other things, he advised Lieut. Loveday to urge that I might be sent to Quetta, to represent his situation to Capt. Bean; and recommended that Lieut. Loveday should lay hold on the dárogah's

garment, and implore his protection. Lieut. Loveday promised to say and to do all, and the interview was arranged.

With the dárogah were Saiyad Mobárah Shâh, Rais Hárún, two Hindús, Rámú and Tékh Chand of Kalât, and, I believe, Molahdád. When we first entered there were also the young son of Réhimdád, the Bakkar prisoner, the son of Kâlikdád, nephew to Réhimdád, with two or three sai-yads of Mastúg. They had, clearly, been soliciting the dárogah's mercy, being interested, on account of the fate of Réhimdád; and the old man spoke kindly to them, while the sai-yads as they retired said, "Peace, dárogah, peace."

Capt. Bean's letter to the khân was handed to Lieut. Loveday, who read it, and loudly expressed indignation, both at the matter and at the terms in which it was conveyed. 1st, The khân was to surrender Kalât; 2nd, he was to go to Kândahár, and make his obedience to the shâh; 3rd, he was to do whatever was hereafter required of him. On these conditions he should be acknowledged. Sai-yad Mobárah was ashamed of his mission, and condemned the letter as heartily as Lieut. Loveday. The dárogah said he would preserve the letter, to show the lord sahib what a fool Bean was.

In the course of conversation, Lieut. Loveday asked the dárogah to allow me to go to Quetta, to represent his situation, but the dárogah said I should not go. He repeated the request five or six times,

—the dárogah refused. At length, when we were told to return to our chamber, Lieut. Loveday placed his hands on the darogah's feet, saying he was his prisoner, and at his mercy, but craved his protection. I did not think the dárogah was displeased at the act. He said, at first, "Khaír ast," it is well; and, finally, Lieut. Loveday continuing his hands in their position, he said "Khâta jam báshí," or, be at ease. We took leave, and Rais Hárún was much pleased that Lieut. Loveday had performed his part so well. This night, however, the fetters were again used.

About midnight Rais Hárún came, and informed us, that he had been until that time striving to persuade the dárogah to sanction my journey to Quetta, but to no purpose.

Early next morning the Rais was again with the dárogah, and on his return, to the surprise of every one, told me to get ready for Quetta, and Lieut. Loveday to prepare a letter for Capt. Bean. Saiyad Mobárák Shâh then came and conversed some time. He said Capt. Bean was a very good man, but was too obstinate, and prayed me to entreat him to yield a little in his obstinacy.

Lieut. Loveday was engaged in writing a letter; and other delays took place, until noon. I was very doubtful whether I should be permitted to leave, and to get ready gave me no trouble, as I had no other clothes than those I wore. At length, however, I was told to come out of the room, and, to my amaze-

ment, instead of being conducted to the dárogah, to the khân, or to any one else, I was led straight through the gardens and put behind another man on horseback. Crowds of Bráhuís assembled to see the íl, or brother of Labadín, as they called me, but displayed merely a little mirth, much to my satisfaction, and that of Molahdád, who, with four horsemen, was to escort me to Feringabád, and who had feared obstruction from the unruly mob. When we had quite cleared the gardens of the place, we awaited the arrival of Kamâl Shâh, who was to accompany me to Quetta, and bring back Capt. Bean's answer, should I remain. On taking leave of Lieut. Loveday I promised to request Capt. Bean to go as far as his instructions permitted him. Lieut. Loveday said, "Tell him to go beyond them." In shaking hands with him, I observed, "Some of these people may not believe I shall come back; you know I will."

When Kamâl Shâh joined us, a horse was provided for me, and we started for Quetta. Molahdád and his party accompanied us nearly to the Lak, or small pass, north of Feringabád. In a line with the village of Tírí three or four horsemen were standing to the left, with their horses' heads turned towards us, and, after a pause, advanced in our direction. Molahdád and I were considerably in front when they came up with Kamâl Shâh behind us, and it turned out that, though they lagged

behind, they intended to profit by his company, and go to Quetta. I heard Molahdád tell his party that they were *chárís*, or spies.

Upon gaining the crest of the Lak, the boundary between the Mastúng and Quetta districts, the *saiyad* asked me if we should wait for the horsemen behind, falsely stating that he had engaged them as a protection to me. I answered, he might please himself, but his servant preferring to go on, we did not halt. A bleak plain stretches for five or six miles from the Lak, to Sir í âb, where may be said to commence the cultivated plain of Quetta, which we passed without meeting any one, although we observed a horseman skulking in a ravine to our right, apparently wishing to escape our observation. It was night before we approached Quetta, the two or three hamlets we passed through being deserted by their inhabitants, and the village of Karâní, at the skirts of the hills, on our left, being denoted by the numerous fires; for, belonging to *saiyads*, and therefore a neutral place, it had become a refuge to the trembling people of the plain, as well as to many *Bráhúís*. As we advanced we were challenged by the outpicquets of the force, and detained until Lieut. Hammersley, the assistant to Capt. Bean, was informed of our arrival. A messenger returned with instructions to allow us to proceed. Kamâl Shâh told the picquets, if four horsemen arrived, as he ex-

pected, to inform them he had gone to Karâní. I privately suggested their detention, and report to Lieut. Hammersley.

When I saw Lieut. Hammersley I told him I much wished to give Lieut. Loveday's letter to Capt. Bean immediately; and we walked to the town where the political agent was residing, in the old citadel, or mírí. Capt. Bean arose from his slumbers, and repaired to a room, where we joined him, and I presented the letter of which I was the bearer. He was displeased at the contents, inferring, from his remark, that the situation of Lieut. Loveday only excused his manner of writing. I said little, but thought the observation unfeeling and needless, for though I cannot remember what was written, the letter contained nothing objectionable. We conversed but for a short time, and were retiring, when Capt. Bean called Lieut. Hammersley back, who signified to me that Capt. Bean invited me to breakfast next morning. Lieut. Hammersley conducted me to his tent in the camp, which he shared with Lieut. Cooper of the artillery, where I passed the night.

CHAPTER IX.

Conversation with Capt. Bean. — Placed in arrest. — Singularity of the proceeding. — Capt. Bean's queries. — Meeting with him. — His reason for his conduct. — Impressions as to the Envoy and Minister. — Inhuman treatment of Capt. Bean. — Apprehensions at Quetta. — The Envoy and Minister's letter. — Defeat of the Bráhuís, and death of Lieut. Loveday. — Recovery of Kalát. — Revolution in feeling. — Letters from Calcutta. — Inquiry of Mr. Ross Bell. — Capt. Bean's confession. — Close of Mr. Bell's inquiry. — His recommendation to Government. — Support of the Envoy and Minister. — Evasion of the Government. — Colonel Stacey's generosity. — Departure from Quetta. — Incidents in the Bolan Pass. — Arrival at Dádar. — Molahdád's testimony. — Route through Kachí. — State of the country. — Mír Fatí Khán. — His gratitude and offers. — Arrival at Karáchí. — Bombay. — Settlement of Balochistân. — Colonel Stacey's acknowledgment. — Benefits of Colonel Stacey's successful exertions — Departure from Bombay to England. — Memorial to the Court of Directors. — Second Memorial. — Results. — Concluding remarks.

IN the morning I followed Lieut. Hammersley to Capt. Bean's residence, and had a long conversation with him on the affairs of the Bráhuís, as well as on the situation of Lieut. Loveday. I regretted, for the latter officer's sake, that I was too plainly addressing a weak man, puffed up with absurd conceptions of his official importance, and so uninformed of the nature of things, that it was wasting

words to speak to him. He had not the politeness to ask me to be seated, and gave audience much in the same way as a heavy country magistrate in England would do to a poacher.

Urging the necessity of making every effort to relieve Lieut. Loveday, I noticed the interest taken by the dárogah, and others in the rebel camp, as to Réhimdád, one of the Bakkar prisoners, and proposed that some assurance should be made about him, with the view of creating amongst his friends an interest in the preservation of Lieut. Loveday. This did not accord with Capt. Bean's notions, but he said he would write to the dárogah now, which I understood he had not before done, and likewise to Molahdád (Lieut. Loveday's keeper), offering him a sum of money to effect the escape of his charge. I knew this would be useless, still it might be tried.

When I alluded to the subject of my return, Capt. Bean said there was no reason for it, and he should write to the dárogah that he had detained me for a few days, to know better about his affairs. I observed, that to give me a fair chance, if I was to return at all, it was right I should be punctual. He replied, my return could not save Lieut. Loveday, nor improve his condition; moreover, I had brought no letter from the dárogah. He affected to believe that no harm would befall Lieut. Loveday, as the Brábhúís never killed their prisoners.

Capt. Bean finally informed me, that he had been so good as to provide an abode for me while I might

remain at Quetta, and he directed a person to show the way to it. I was conducted to the upper apartment of a Hindú's house, and immediately an armed guard of troopers and chaprássís was placed over it. Beyond doubt I was a prisoner, though Capt. Bean had not let fall a word to intimate his intention, and I could but smile at the oddness of a man inviting me to breakfast, and then sending me into confinement.

Of course, I remembered the paragraph in Capt. Bean's letter to Lieut. Loveday, which even made my journey to Quetta more agreeable to me, as giving me the opportunity to demand an explanation of it; yet, supposing that Lieut. Loveday's testimony in reply thereto would have satisfied, in some measure, the political agent in Sháll, I made no allusion to it in the conference I had just held with him, not wishing to ruffle his mind, or to distract his attention from Lieut. Loveday's case.

I could not, indeed, forbear to reflect that I had met with an odd reception in the camp of my countrymen, after conduct which Lieut. Loveday had been compelled to own was "devoted and noble," after long endurance of outrage and suffering in the bondage of the Bráhuís, and after most serious losses; all of which evils had been incurred through the desire to be useful to the very government whose servant had ventured upon so indecent a step.

I was conscious that Capt. Bean would repent his

conduct, whether due to simplicity or to a baser motive, and had the consolation to know that inquiry (its necessary consequence) would, if honestly carried out, reveal many circumstances redounding to my credit, which otherwise might have remained unknown.

Anxious to learn the reasons for my confinement, I was glad to receive a letter from Capt. Bean, on the second day of my arrest. Although it contained merely queries as to the route by which I had travelled to Kalât, and why, having once left it, I had returned to it; I answered this communication, knowing him to be as well acquainted as myself with the route; although I had never left Kalât, as he seemed to hint, and therefore had never returned to it. Grieving that he should labour under delusion of any kind, I again wrote to him, suggesting an interview, as the better course for removing his misunderstanding. This led to a meeting, when I was surprised to hear that his suspicions had originated in a letter from Major Outram, about a Russian agent and an army of Arabs in Kej; and though I marvelled at being mistaken for a Russian agent (the only inference I could draw from the tale), I concluded I must abide what there was no help for, and await the result of a report, which he said had been made to the envoy and minister at Kâhal.

I left Capt. Bean, not much enlightened upon the subject of my arrest, but rather with feelings of

pity than of anger, and not doubting but that the envoy and minister would repudiate his suspicions, might, at the time, have given myself no further trouble. My imprisonment was, however, accompanied with treatment so ignominious and unjustifiable, that I could attribute it only to the operation of a malignity of purpose, which, from whatever cause arising, Capt. Bean was unlikely to avow. Considering, therefore, that, as a British subject, I had rights which were not to be wantonly invaded, and that I was privileged to know the reason for my confinement, I called upon the political agent to state it in plain terms. I record his reply :—

“ To MR. MASSON, Quetta.

“ SIR,

“ In reply to your communication just received, I beg to acquaint you that you are detained here by authority, which authority has been applied to for further instruction, and which, when received, will be duly communicated to you.

“ I have the honour to be, &c.

(Signed)

“ J. D. D. BEAN,

“ Political Agent in Shâwl.”

“ Quetta, the 29th Sept. 1840.”

Aware, from previous conversation, that the authority alluded to was the envoy and minister, this document relieved me from the pain of holding further communication with Capt. Bean. If the fact were truly stated, the order for my arrest must

have been received at Quetta previous to my arrival there, and this led me to reflect on the possibility that the envoy and minister, indulging his personal resentment, had resolved to interrupt my travels and researches, which I could conceive might be disagreeable to him, both as being carried on without his patronage, and as calculated to interfere with others, working in the same field under his favour. Such impressions, however discreditable to the honour of the envoy and minister, and of human nature, I could not dismiss wholly from my mind, well knowing that that unfortunate man was one of a class who lightly estimated the respect due to those who had chanced to incur their displeasure, and I could fancy I had mortally offended him, in presuming to act upon my own will in the recent expedition to Kâbal. It was still difficult to believe that, even for so disgraceful an object, he would be so bold as to fabricate charges of high treason against me; to go so far he must be a demon, and this was more than I supposed him to be; yet, reverting to Capt. Bean's letter to Lieut. Loveday, I knew not how to think otherwise, for therein it was pretty plainly intimated, that my presence at Kalât had been connected with the outbreak, and if so, certainly I had been guilty of high treason.

Under this new aspect of the case, I addressed the envoy and minister briefly, and despatched a longer letter to the officiating secretary to the

supreme government; moreover, to obviate the chance of any objection being raised to my future travels, I wrote to the governor-general's private secretary, Mr. Colvin, requesting his lordship's permission, if necessary, and explaining that I should have asked it before leaving Karachí, had I thought, or even had I suspected that, as a matter of courtesy, it would have been required or wished.

I had now, awaiting the result of these several applications, to linger in confinement, which Capt. Bean's inhumanity made as annoying as possible. His first intention seemed to be literally to starve me, and on one occasion I passed two entire days and three nights without food. As I scorned to refer to him on such a point, I might have fasted longer, had not one of the guard, unsolicited by me, gone and reported the circumstance. Colonel Stacey, besides, who was in the camp, and the only officer who, in face of the known rancour of Capt. Bean, had the courage to call upon me, made some representation to the political officers, which procured a promise that I should be kept from dying of hunger, and the consequence was, that two cakes of dry bread were brought to me morning and evening from the bazár. On this fare I subsisted several days, until a second representation from Colonel Stacey procured me the addition of 'three-farthings' worth of sheep's entrails, also from the bazár, and brought in an earthen platter; a mess, certainly,

which any dog in Quetta might have claimed for his own. I thought this kind of insult was carried too far, and sent the foul mess to the camp. Colonel Stacey did more than I wished, as I had merely written to him to witness it; for he showed it to his brother officers, and then had it conveyed to Lieut. Hammersley, the assistant of Capt. Bean. This brought Lieut. Hammersley in haste to me, and he exclaimed, very innocently, "Good God! why did you send that mess to Colonel Stacey? Why did you not send it to me? It will disgrace us." I thought that was a subject for his consideration, not mine, and told him so; when, after some conversation, he proposed to make me an *advance* of one hundred rupees, to which I consented; and I may also observe, that some time after I repaid him the amount. At the commencement of my incarceration, a felt cloak had been stripped from the back of a Hindú walking in the street, and this was intended to cover me by night. I could not use a garment filled with vermin, and suffered somewhat from cold, until Colonel Stacey kindly supplied me from his limited camp stock with such articles as relieved me from cold, and enabled me to change my clothes.

For some days after my arrival the movements of the Bráhuís at Mastúg were cause of anxiety at Quetta. Sometimes extra companies were marched into the town, and the camp was under arms,—a force of three thousand disciplined men,—

apprehending attack from half the number of rude, and ill armed insurgents! At length a report prevailed of the rebels' advance to Berg, and Lieut. Hammersley started with the Kâssí irregular horse, to reconnoitre. On approaching Berg, he fell in with the advanced guard, and fled in such haste that two or three men of his party, worse mounted than their companions, were overtaken and slain. So well had the flight been sustained, that on reaching Quetta one or two horses fell dead upon the ground. The Khâkâ peasantry of Berg gallantly defended their property against the Bráhuí spoilers, which so much disconcerted the latter that it favoured a split in their councils, and led to their retreat upon Mastúg, whence they finally marched upon Dádar.

The road to Kalât being now open, and the requisite marching preparations being completed, the force under Major-General Nott moved from cantonment to an adjacent village. Just at this time the reply of the envoy and minister to my letter arrived, for so I was informed, but it was withheld from me for some five or six days, until the army had passed Mastúg; and I could not but suppose the reason to be, that Capt. Bean had learned I had received permission from the major-general to accompany his corps to Kalât, in case a satisfactory reply from the Kâbal functionary arrived. When the letter was ultimately handed to me, it proved a most extraordinary one, and I

place it on record, deeming it as worthy of such distinction as the preceding one of Capt. Bean.

“To C. MASSON, Esq. Quetta.

“I have received your letter dated the 29th ultimo, and in reply, I have the honour to acquaint you that I did authorize Captain Bean to detain you at Quetta, until the pleasure of the Governor-General in council should be ascertained as to your being permitted to prosecute your travels in countries subject to the crown of Cabool, since, so far as I know, you are without permission to do so, either from the British Government, or from his Majesty Shâh Shooja ool Moolk.

“I have the honour to be, &c.

(Signed) “W. H. MACNAGHTEN,
“ Envoy and Minister.”

“Cabool, 10th October, 1840.”

I was astonished to find no mention of Capt. Bean's suspicions, and grounds stated for my imprisonment, which, judging from that officer's silence, must have been as novel to him as to me, and therefore in acknowledging the receipt of the communication I took care to allude to them, and to express my surprise on other points.

I then wrote a second letter to the private secretary of the governor-general, withdrawing my request for permission from his lordship to travel, feeling it beneath me, on every account, to solicit what his lordship had not the legal power

to prevent, particularly when the envoy and minister had made the question of such permission the plea to justify his arbitrary and shameless conduct.

As the matter had been referred to Calcutta, I was satisfied with having formerly addressed the officiating secretary, and did not trouble myself to offer other explanation in that quarter, but it was with much disgust I found myself doomed to exist for an indefinite period, in captivity, with the political agent of Quetta as my jailer.

After the force marched upon Kalât, tidings were received of the dispersion of the Bráhuí camp near Dádar, and of the slaughter of Lieut. Loveday, an event which, I must confess, did not surprise me, for it was one which some unforeseen good fortune or accident only could have prevented. The companion of the ill-fated officer at Kalât, the malice of my enemies had unwittingly saved me from a similar end,—my certain portion had I been with him in the camp.

Whether all was done that ought to have been done, or that might have been done, to preserve Lieut. Loveday, I shall not inquire. To exchange prisoners is no unusual practice, and a proposal to have released Réhimdád from Bakkar might have prevented Lieut. Loveday's death, as, unquestionably, it would have given many an interest in his preservation. My permission to depart from Mastúg to Quetta, with Lieut. Loveday's letter, had Capt. Bean's desire to come to an understanding

been sincere, which there is much reason to doubt, might also have been made instrumental both for such object and for Lieut. Loveday's release. Neither would I have shrank from any fair risk to aid in the promotion of these objects; however, in one respect, they were indifferent to me. Capt. Bean, in one of his latter notes to Lieut. Loveday, professed to be amused at the interest pretended by the Brahúís for the Bakkar prisoners, as they had effected the ruin of Mehráb Khân, and as Capt. Bean's notions were peculiar, there was no gainsaying them. Mr. Ross Bell, however, about this time, restored these men to freedom. I know not his motives, neither the precise date, though I am nearly certain it was before he could have heard of Lieut. Loveday's death; and I should hope the release was made with the view to avert that catastrophe, which unquestionably it was well adapted to do.

News of the success at Dádar, and Lieut. Loveday's doom, reached the force of Major-General Nott as it entered into Kalât, deserted by its inhabitants. A deputation was with difficulty assembled to meet the general, and to inform him, that the evacuated town was at his mercy. Colonel Stacey marched into the citadel and hoisted the British standard, the band playing the appropriate tune of "Order in the land." Mír Azem Khân, the young khân's uncle, who had been left governor, fled as soon as he heard that the force had reached

Mastúng, and in such haste that he left the town bare-footed. He carried with him, however, the sípáhís, who had formed Lieut. Loveday's escort, and sought refuge in Zehrí. These men were soon recovered by the promptitude of Lieut. Hammersley, with the exception of the aged and infirm Súbahdár, who strayed from his path on the journey to Kalât, and was never more heard of; and of a youth, Omar Darâz, a múnshí, who understood English pretty well, and who returned to Zehrí after having left it, terrified by the toil and peril of the mountain route.

When I was at first imprisoned at Quetta I could not but be aware that there was a general bad feeling against me on part of the several officers in camp, as to which I was careless, knowing that it arose from the unfounded statements made by the political agent and his assistant, and would, therefore, change in time. Before the departure of the force towards Kalât a better disposition began to prevail, and, after the recovery of the place, when every opportunity had been afforded to obtain a knowledge of the occurrences there, and of the part I had taken in them, I inquired of an officer, on his return, as to the opinion now entertained by his companions, and was answered, that there was but one opinion, that my treatment was most unmerited, and that government would be obliged to give me a situation.

A regiment had been left in Kalât, and details stationed at Mastúng, while the bulk of the force,

under the major-general, retired upon Kândahâr, without passing through Quetta. Having crossed the Khwojak Pass, Colonel Stacey received orders from Mr. Ross Bell to assume political charge of Kalât, as he justly observed, that an officer of experience was required to settle a country so completely disorganized.

About this period I received letters from Mr. Colvin and Mr. Maddock, the latter, secretary to government, informing me that my case had been placed in the hands of Mr. Ross Bell. A copy of the instructions to Mr. Bell accompanied the secretary's letter, and I quote the concluding paragraph, as a proof of the trifling and wanton mode in which an individual's feelings and interest may be treated, when it is thought fit to do so. I say nothing of its absurdity.

Extract.—"Mr. Masson will be informed that the subject has thus been placed in your hands, and, under any circumstances, his lordship, in council, is disposed to believe that it will be advisable, that that gentleman should not at present continue to prosecute his travels in the Afghân and Baloch countries; but if you should be satisfied that no important inconvenience is likely to follow a permission to Mr. Masson to pursue his own wishes in that respect, you are at liberty to act upon this view, after communication with Sir William Macnaghten; otherwise you might facilitate his early return to Bombay."

Within a few days I received a communication from Mr. Ross Bell, followed, before my answer could have been received, by another, apprising me that he had directed Capt. Bean to afford me an "opportunity of recording any explanation I might consider proper, regarding circumstances connected with my proceedings, as might have appeared to him to be peculiar."

Could I have forgotten the insult offered to me, or have lightly considered how my feelings and liberty had been sported with, I might have been amused to find the officer directed to inquire into my conduct,—thus compelled to admit that no reason for my arrest was contained in the evidence before him, supplied by the envoy and minister and by Capt. Bean,—and to witness him reduced to crave that the latter officer would, at least, inform me what his suspicions were.

Capt. Bean was constrained to address Mr. Ross Bell, and to send a copy of his letter to me. I know not if he was ashamed of his production; I was both ashamed to receive and to notice it. The miserable man concluded by the remarkable confession, that his "reply to Mr. Bell's communication of the 13th ultimo would have acquainted him that nothing further had transpired by which the disloyalty of Mr. Masson as a British subject could be established;" and this, after the collection of a host of depositions at Kalât, and after the examination of the sîpâhîs and servants of Lieut. Loveday.

Mr. Ross Bell, who at this time had in attendance upon him the ex-chiefs of Kalât, Mír Bohér of Zehrí, and numbers of Bráhuí chiefs, and others who had been present at Kalât throughout the period of my stay there, of course possessed the most satisfactory evidence as regarded my conduct, which could not be but well known to all of them ; and this was so complete, that again, without waiting for Capt. Bean's letter, or for my explanation, he addressed me, under date the 9th January, acquainting me " that the inquiry he had been directed by government to institute had been brought to a conclusion ; that he considered me entirely freed from the suspicion, which was, in the first instance, attached to me with reference to the late unfortunate events at Kalât, and that he was satisfied that my conduct as regarded Lieut. Loveday was actuated by desire to be of service to that ill-fated officer." The letter closed by regretting " that any misapprehension should have caused me to be so long detained, and by stating that copies of this letter, and of the correspondence connected with it, should be submitted for the consideration of the Right Hon. the Governor-General of India in council."

I had no reason but to be satisfied with Mr. Bell's conduct of the inquiry, which was necessarily limited, and, as he afterwards told me, he had nothing to do with the underplot ; but I should have been better pleased had it been carried further, for I still found that " suspicions" had been attached to

my conduct, and I conceived I was entitled to know why,—a mystery not explained by Capt. Bean,—neither do I know to this day. In his report to government, Mr. Bell, however, stated, that “no grounds of suspicion ever existed,” and he recommended that I “should be remunerated for the trouble and annoyance to which I had been so unjustly subjected.” When I subsequently saw him, he informed me of this recommendation, and further, that he had called upon the envoy and minister to support it. I also learned, from an authentic source, that the latter functionary responded to the call, and while endeavouring to defend Capt. Bean, recommended that I should receive compensation. The supreme government was probably at a loss how to act upon this occasion,—the magnanimity of acknowledging error was not one of the virtues inherent in the nature of the clique then surrounding the governor-general; and, playing upon his feeble energies, the members of that clique had made themselves a little too conspicuous in the affair, and it was terrible to be compelled to confess discomfiture. It was, therefore, resolved to refer the matter to England, and there to the secret committee.

In the first letter I received from Mr. Bell, of the 14th December, he had desired me to state my wishes with regard to my future movements, and to inform him of the line of country it was my intention to pass through in the event of prosecuting my travels in Central Asia. I did not choose to do

quite so much, and in reply, merely observed that I should be pleased to revisit Kalât under the hope of recovering some of the manuscripts I had lost. In Mr. Bell's second letter, of the 22nd December, he wrote, that if I was desirous to return towards Shí-kárpúr, no objection existed, at the same time desiring me to consider no wish was conveyed on his part, the only desire being, as far as lay in his power, to shorten detention. In Mr. Bell's third letter, of 9th January, he, without hesitation, acceded to my wish to revisit Kalât, and informed me that he had addressed both Capt. Bean and Col. Stacey, to provide escorts to ensure my safe arrival. I had, however, acted on the intimation conveyed in the second letter, as I found myself just in that situation in which, wherever I went, I must neglect something, and I judged, upon the whole, I had better proceed towards Mr. Bell, especially as I did not then know the inquiry would be so soon closed. Moreover, my friend Col. Stacey was at Kalât, and I could depend upon his exertions in behalf of my lost manuscripts.

It behoves me to record that Col. Stacey, as soon as he knew Mr. Bell had charge of the inquiry, at once wrote to him, pointing out the injustice of my confinement as a malefactor, and offered himself as security for my liberation, on parole. He, moreover, furnished testimony which was important, as he was placed in a position to be well acquainted with my innocence or guilt.

As Capt. Bean had been desired by Mr. Bell to provide me with an escort through the Bolan Pass, in case I proceeded to Shíkárpúr, he informed me that a saiyad was just starting, in company with a hávildár's party for Dádar, in charge of the camels of some regiment, and that the opportunity was a good one. I did not stay to inquire whether it was or not, but left Quetta, on foot, and joined the saiyad at Sir í âb. We thence proceeded to Sir-í-Bolan, and again marched to Bîbí Nání, where, at midnight, we heard the pleasant tidings that a marauding band of two hundred Marrís was located at some distance from us. We immediately decamped, and on the road to Kirta, the moon having sunk beneath the horizon, observed through the darkness in our front a number of small lights, plainly proceeding from the kindled matches of an armed party. We first suspected we had fallen into the danger we had sought to avoid, but on our unknown visitors arriving parallel to us, they proved to be Bráhuís, carrying a kâfila of merchandise through the pass, and set into motion by the same fear of a meeting with the Marrís as we were. We passed Kirta on our left before day, and proceeding through the remaining portion of the hills, finally halted, towards evening, on the plain of Dádar, some three or four miles from the British camp.

Next morning I walked down to the camp, and had the pleasure to meet old Karáchí friends in Major Forbes and his brother officers, of the 2nd

Bombay grenadiers, and remained their guest four or five days before starting for Shíkárpúr. While at Dádar, Molahdád, who had been the keeper of Lieut. Loveday and myself, called upon me. He had now little reason to conceal anything, and I inquired of him respecting certain points. His answers were generally as I anticipated; but he informed me of one circumstance attending the correspondence of Capt. Bean with the young khân in his ostensible effort to effect an arrangement, which demands attention. Capt. Bean's letters were invariably couched in the style assumed by a master addressing a slave, and were consequently deemed to be insincere. I was struck with this information, and desired Molahdád to repeat the opening address of any of the letters he might remember. He did so, and it was obvious that from such letters no good could arise. Whether Capt. Bean, or his múnshí by whom he was governed, was to blame on this account, I know not.

From Dádar we journeyed across the plain of Kachí to Hâji Shehár, Bâgh, Kâsim ka Jok, and Barshora on the edge of the Pat of Shíkárpúr, which we crossed, and at Jâní Déra met Mr. Ross Bell. So entirely had the country been devastated, that I could no longer recognize it to be the same I had traversed some fourteen years before. Villages, then flourishing, had ceased to exist; those remaining were destitute of their attendant groves of trees, and even the very waste had been denuded of the

jungal of small trees and shrubs, once spreading over its surface. There was no fear, indeed, of losing the road, as formerly, for that was now well marked by the skeletons of camels and other animals, whose bleached and bleaching bones too well described it, and the nature of the operations which had been carried on. I passed two days the guest of Mr. Bell, who made me an unreserved offer of anything in his camp; and, on parting, I received from him many assurances of his good opinion, and even of his esteem.

At Sakkar I met, at the Residency, Fatí Khân, the brother of the ex-chief of Kalât. He was overjoyed at seeing me, though our intercourse had been very trifling; and I had no great opinion of him. In contrast with the proceedings of the political officers at Quetta and Kâbal, as well as of those of the government, I may be excused if I relate, that this young man came privately to me, and prayed me to accept a sum of five hundred rupees, being what he could then command, and the best horse he had, while he conjured me to visit his brother, Shâh Nawâz, at Larkhâna, who would give me tents, and share with me everything he possessed. I of course declined his offers; and though I should have liked to see Shâh Nawâz, he was too far out of the way. I however had heard from others, how much he rejoiced at my escape from destruction, and how deeply he valued my disinterested exertion at Kalât. Such marks of

gratitude did the khân and his brother honour, and were at least satisfactory to my feelings.

From Sakkar I dropped down the river to Haidarabâd, and again at the Residency found myself with old friends, and after a stay of two or three days, passed by land to Karáchí, whence I had started the year before, on an excursion, which had turned out more pregnant with singular incidents than any other I had made throughout my career.

I thence sailed to Bombay, where I passed some months, expecting to hear further from the government.

While there, intelligence arrived of the settlement of affairs in Balochistân, by the visit of the son of Mehrâb Khân to Quetta, and his consequent acknowledgment, in the room of his late father. This arrangement was entirely owing to the exertions of Col. Stacey, who had to encounter not merely the obstacles opposed by the fears of the youth and his advisers, but those thrown in his way by a party amongst the political officers who were desirous of obstructing the determination of the government, and to keep the country in an unsettled state, for some reason or other. Curious was the form the opposition assumed; and if Col. Stacey could be persuaded to publish a narrative of the transactions of that period, it would be instructive as well as amusing, from his own varied adventures, while, for the better discharge of his duty, and for the purpose of restoring confidence,

he boldly ventured, without a sípáhí, into the camp of the fugitive khân.

From January to July the son of Mehráb Khân could not be brought to trust himself in the power of the political officers at Quetta, although to receive the dominions of his father. On the 26th of the last month, he joined Col. Stacey, and proceeded in company with him to Kalât. The colonel on this occasion was pleased to address me, and his letter concluded with a paragraph which the queer conceits of Capt. Bean, and others, will permit me, without impropriety, to insert—"Let me thank you for your kind advice when in your prison. I am grateful for it, and you must be gratified that, acting on it, I have accomplished what the world said was impossible."

The submission of the khân being followed by the pacification of Balochistân, the remote benefit of the colonel's exertions was very signal, for had that country continued in a disturbed state the force at Kândahár would, in all probability, have been involved in calamities similar to those which befel the unfortunate force at Kâbal; whereas it was, in the hour of need, strong enough to maintain its position, to uphold British reputation, and to coöperate effectually in the necessary measures consequent on an honourable and expedient evacuation of the country, which the present governor-general, soundly exercising his judgment, at once fearlessly determined upon.

Finding the silence which the government of India had adopted as to my case, in no wise likely to be dispelled by any effort of mine, I decided to proceed to England, and to make an appeal there. I, however, became cognizant of a little more that had passed, and learned that the secret committee, to whom the matter had been referred, had alike suggested the hush system, commending the acquittal and release, but disrelishing the point of compensation, or, in other words, admitting the injustice, but withholding reparation. I despatched, in consequence, a memorial to the Court of Directors, praying for the papers connected with my arrest and imprisonment, which I supposed I had a right to demand, and immediately after sailed from Bombay to Suez, and passing through Egypt, eventually reached London in February of the past year.

My Memorial to the Honourable Court had the fortune to be unnoticed, on the ground that it should have been forwarded through the channel of the government of India. I therefore framed another, claiming the compensation recommended by the Court's own officers, Mr. Bell, and the envoy and minister. This was received, and so far noticed, that it has been forwarded to the Indian government for consideration and report; as, strangely enough, the Court of Directors have not the documents necessary to form an opinion on the matter!

They are with the Board of Control, who refuse to give them up, if I rightly understand the subject. The result of the Court's reference, time will develop. The Indian government has, happily, passed into other hands, and is more efficaciously administered than formerly; and, as I also hope, more justly, it may be that I may not lament the reference.

Throughout the transactions, which I have briefly instanced in this chapter, it never seemed to occur to any of the parties arrayed against me, that there was such a thing as law established in England, or that there were tribunals to which a British subject might look for protection and redress. Never, for a moment, did they appear to entertain the notion that they were responsible for their actions, and, from the governor-general to the political agent in Shâll, there seemed but one conviction,—that their pleasure stood in place of law.

They have had their day of abused power and levity, and of authority they were incapable to wield; many have been overwhelmed in its exercise, and a few have escaped to the insignificance from which accident had, for the moment, elevated them.

On me devolves the task to obtain satisfaction for the insults and injuries some of these shallow and misguided men thought fit to practise upon me. It was first necessary that their charges and

insinuations should be proved false and imaginary ; so much has been done without an effort on my part. Whatever steps I may take, they can have no reason to complain, and they will have the bitter reflection that I am not the aggressor.*

* In the course of this chapter, Major Outram's name occurring in connexion with the reason given by Capt. Bean for his conduct, it behoves me to insert, with reference thereto, an extract from a letter of a mutual friend, dated "Camp Sukkur, 28 Nov. 1840 : Major Outram desires me at the same time to express to you his great annoyance at your detention at Quetta, in consequence of some misunderstanding on the part of Capt. Bean, of his (Major Outram's) expressions respecting you ; and he begs me to assure you of his being perfectly unconscious of ever having cast the slightest suspicion on your character. The moment Major Outram received your letter he wrote to Capt. Bean to the same effect, as also to request an explanation of the grounds on which he (Major Outram) was quoted as an authority for your detention ; for so far from the slightest wish to interfere with your views in any way, Major Outram would be most happy to have it in his power to serve you ; and trusts you will never scruple to command him, when he can be of any assistance. The above explanation will, I feel certain, tend to satisfy you that Major Outram is in no way to be held responsible for the annoyance you have undergone, and that it must be traced to circumstances over which he, at any rate, can have had no control, directly or indirectly."

MEMOIR
ON
EASTERN BALOCHISTAN,
OR
THE TERRITORIES OF THE
BRAHUI KHAN OF KALAT.

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MEMOIR

ON

EASTERN BALUCHISTAN.

PART I.

GEOGRAPHY.

BALUCHISTAN comprises the extensive regions between the confines of modern Persia and the valley of the Indus. To the north, Sístân and Afghânistân, to the south, the ocean marks its boundaries.

It is my intention, in this Memoir, to treat only on the eastern provinces of this country, or those included under the dominion of the khân of Kalât. Of the western provinces, or those bordering on Persia, our knowledge is, unfortunately slight: and I regret my inability to increase it, since they constitute, on many accounts, the more interesting portion of Baluchistân. As regards the eastern provinces, a personal acquaintance with many of them will justify the formation of tolerably correct notions of the remainder, and renders the

task comparatively easy to appreciate the value of reports and statements received of them. Such information, in this case, has a degree of utility, and is applicable, being within the scope of scrutiny and verification.

For the better elucidation of the Kalât territory, its distributive arrangement is desirable. This object is facilitated by the favourable position of the central provinces of Sahárawân and Jhálawân, extending in a continuous line from north to south. To the north, resting upon the country of the Afghâns; to the south, connecting with the maritime province of Las. We may, therefore, be permitted to separate the khân of Kalât's territory into four principal sections. The first, embracing the provinces to the west of Sahárawân and Jhálawân; the second, including the maritime provinces; the third, the central provinces of Sahárawân and Jhálawân themselves; and the fourth, the provinces to the east of the last. This arrangement, besides being suggested by considerations of locality, is sanctioned by the diversity of dialects current in the provinces of the several sections, as will be seen when it becomes our duty to draw attention to that subject.

The first, or western section, comprises the subdivisions of Núshkí, Khárân, Múshkí, Panjghúr, Kej, Kolwah and Jhow.

The second, or maritime section, includes the provinces of Las, Hormára and Pessaní.

The third, or central section, is formed of the great provinces of Sahárawân and Jhálawân; to which are added the districts dependent on the capital, Kalât, and which are intermediately situated between the two.

The fourth, or eastern section, includes the provinces of Kach Gandâvâ, Hárând, and Dájil; the last two bordering on the river Indus.

FIRST, OR WESTERN SECTION.

NUSHKI.

A considerable province to the west of Sahárawân, about five days' journey from Kalât, and four from Mastúng or Shâll. It is bounded to the north by the Afghân district of Shoráwak; to the south by waste lands stretching for two marches, and dividing it from Khárân; to the east, by hill ranges separating it from Gúrghína, a dependency of Sahárawân; and to the west by the sand desert, extending to Sístân.

There are no towns or villages, properly so called, in Núshkí; the inhabitants residing in tents. Through its limits flows the river Kaisar. Its waters are said to be unavailable for purposes of irrigation. During the latter part of the year its

bed is nearly or quite dry. When replenished by the rains of spring, it is unable to force a channel through the sands, and is lost amongst them.

Notwithstanding the nature of the soil, and its vicinity to the desert, there is an extent of land devoted to the cultivation of wheat by the inhabitants of Núshkí, sufficient not only to supply their own wants, but to yield a surplus for export to Kalât and the neighbouring provinces. This land is at the very skirts of the hills, and of the description called khúshk âwâh, which owes its fertility to the bounty of the clouds. It need not therefore be pointed out, that the harvests of Núshkí may, by accident, fail.

Amongst the products of Núshkí, assafoetida merits notice, as the gum resin is collected and sent to Kalât for sale. Large quantities of the green plant are also brought to the capital, in season, and while purchased generally by all classes, is particularly sought for by Hindús, as a condiment. The hills which furnish assafoetida yield also rawâsh, or native rhubarb, and its roughly acidulated leaf-stalks are made to serve as food.

Núshkí is inhabited by the tribe of Zigger Míngghals, who anciently dwelt on the Dasht Gúrân near Kalât. Impelled by numerical increase, they migrated into the more ample domain of Núshkí, and there established themselves, to the prejudice of the Rakshânís. Of the latter, two tomâns, or clans, still reside at Núshkí. The present chief of the

Zigger Mínghals is Fázil Khân, son and successor in authority to Bahâdar Khân, whose memory is revered even beyond the narrow circle of his influence when living—a tribute due to his humanity and generosity, and to the hospitable reception he was wont to accord to the merchant who visited his sequestered seats.

The inhabitants of Núshkí do not migrate in the winter season. It is asserted that it would be inconvenient to do so, from the great numbers of their live stock, as camels and sheep. At any rate they are not compelled, like the tribes of the bleaker regions of Sahárawân, to shift their quarters from severity of climate. Situated at the foot of the hill range supporting the plateau, or table lands of Sahárawân, and on the skirt of the great desert of Sístân, which may well be conjectured to have been in some former state of the globe covered with the waters of the ocean, the depressed elevation of Núshkí is adverse to the development of the rigors of winter. Snow very rarely falls, and when it does, only as a perishable emblem, to melt and to disappear.

There is a breed of horses in this province which, if not eminently distinguished, is still valued, and it possesses also a variety of the tází, or greyhound, of much repute in Balochistân, and prized in more remote countries.

KHARAN.

A province west of Sohráb, the northern extremity of Jhálawân. Separated by large waste and hilly tracts from the surrounding districts, it has to the north, Núshkí; to the south, Múshkí; to the east a portion of Jhálawân, as just noted; and to the west, but at a long interval, Panjghúr.

The grains cultivated in Khárân are chiefly wheat and barley, grown as in Núshkí, on khúshk âwâh lands. It may be inferred that the produce is inadequate to the demand, as wheat is imported into Khárân from Núshkí and other places. The inhabitant of Núshkí vends his goods at the capital for money; the inhabitant of Khárân barter his commodities for grain.

Amongst the products of this province, shakar gaz must be noted. It is a sweet gum, exuding from a variety of the tamarisk tree, and liquescent in the ordinary temperature of the atmosphere. In Khárân it is used as a condiment; at Kalât, as a luxury, being dissolved in water, and drunk as sherbet. As large quantities of this gum are brought to Kalât, the proportion of trees bearing it must be considerable, and the fact would seem to prove that the country about Khárân is much broken, and intersected by the beds of water-courses and torrents, while the surface of the soil may be presumed to be impregnated with natron and other efflorescent

salts, conditions suitable to the growth of the tam-risk.

Assafoetida grows in the hills of Khárân; the gum resin is not an object of attention. The date tree flourishes in the level country; its produce, with melons, are the only fruits.

Khárân has two small towns, one named after the province, the other called Wâshak. It is inhabited by the Núshírvâni tribe, whose principal chief, in 1831, was Mohém Khân, of the Rakshâní branch. Then disaffected to the government of Kalât, he was a refugee at Kândahár. Desirous to transfer to his own coffers the scanty revenue remitted by the province to the supreme chief, he was resisted by the Alif Zais, another branch of the Núshírvâni tribe resident in Khárân, and so effectually, that he was constrained to fly.*

A tenth of the produce of the soil is paid to the officers of the khân of Kalât, as revenue; a burthen so light, that, until a heavier one be imposed, or demanded as a return for protection, the inhabitants would scarcely wish to incur the risk of a change of masters.

He has since died, and been succeeded by Assad Khân, who, in recent Baloch history, has become memorable for the asylum he afforded to the son of Mehráb Khân, and for his share in the events which have led to the restoration of his *protégé* to the masnad of his father.

MUSHKI.

An extensive province west of Jhálawân, and seven days to the south-west of Kalât. To the south, it has Jhow, and to the west, Kolwah.

This large tract is not distinguished for any particular article of produce; whence it may be assumed that the cultivated lands are of the khúshk âwâh class, as in other parts of Balochistân, and that the quantity of grain grown does not exceed the consumption. It is probable it may not equal it, but the numerous flocks of the Baloch tribes tend to obviate any inconvenience arising from a deficiency of grain. Indeed, they render them, in great measure, independent of it.

Múshkí is inhabited by various tribes, as the Mehmasaní, the Núshírvâní, and the Mírwârí. It has several towns, villages, and castles, as Shahár Kalât, Sheríkí, Gajar, Míhí, and Múshkí, held by officers of the khân of Kalât; Gréshar, occupied by Sáj-í-dín, Sâka; Perwâr, said to be large, and Míání Kalât, in the hands of Mírwârí chieftains; Gwarjak, a fortress of repute for its strength, a strong-hold of the lawless Mohém Khân, Rakshâní; with Jibbarí, another large fortress in possession of Rústâm Khân, chief of the Mehmasaní tribes, who, of late years, has paid but an equivocal allegiance to Kalât.

KOLWAH.

A spacious province, to the north of the maritime province of Hormára, and four or five days from the coast. To the east, it communicates with Múshkí, and on the west a desert interval interposes between it and Kej.

It is inhabited by various tribes, as the Mírwârí, Rodáhí, Homeráí, and Núshírvâní. It has several villages and castles, as Rodáh Khân, chief place of the Rodáhí tribe, who, besides, hold Siggak, Húr, and Mádag; the last a castle, said to be large, but neglected; Balor, the residence of Mír Bízan, principal of the Homeráí tribe; Goshának, a fortress occupied by Mír Dostín, sirdar of the Mírwârí tribe; Shahár Mirdád, Dád-í-Karím, and Múlla Hassan, Ahwára, held by other Mírwârí chiefs; Shahár Shâhdád, belonging to Shâhdád, a nephew of Mohém Khân, Rakshâní; with Shahár Ibráhím, in the trust of the Khân of Kalât's officers.

The inhabitants of this province, as well as those of Múshkí, keep up little or no commercial intercourse with Kalât. With the ports on the coast an exchange of commodities is maintained; rice, dates, cotton cloths, spices, and dye-stuffs, being received in return for wool, roghan, hides, and bdellium. The traffic of the preceding province, Múshkí, is directed principally *viâ* Jhow to Súnmiání; a small portion of it, with nearly the whole of that of Kolwah, finds

its way to Hormára. From the last place considerable quantities of dried and salted fish are expedited inland. It is clear that the inhabitants of the interior of Balochistân derive no inconsiderable part of their subsistence from the coast. A country so sterile, and little productive, as to be incompetent to support its own meagre population, can offer trifling prospect of advantage to recompense enterprise and adventure, and no temptation to excite political cupidity.

JHOW.

A smaller province than the preceding, is separated from the maritime province of Las by a well-defined hill range, its boundary to the east. To the north it borders upon Múshkí; to the south upon waste and sandy tracts, stretching to the ocean. Westward it inclines towards Hormára and Kolwah.

Its inhabitants are of the tribes Mírwârí and Hálada; the latter, although admitted to be Bráhuí, do not enjoy great consideration, and would appear to be of essentially pastoral habits. The only town, or village, is said to be Nandarú. In this province is an ancient site, where coins, trinkets, &c., are frequently discovered. I had not an opportunity of visiting it. Ancient artificial mounds are here, as in other parts of Balochistân,

called dams. In Jhow, many have distinctive names, as Saiyad-dam, Lindro-dam, Katro-dam, &c.

PANJGHUR.

A fertile province to the north-east of Kej, and fourteen easy marches from Kalât. To the west are the districts of Magghas and Sib, independent of the Kalât authority. It is inhabited by the Gitchkí tribe of Bráhuís, the more potent chief of whom is named Gwárân. His obedience to the Kalât government is perfect, and he is in consequence respected, as well as confided in, by it. There are ten small towns or villages, represented as being clustered together in Panjghúr, viz. Isáhí, Tásp, Khodâ Badân, Karím Khân, Vashbúd, Súrík Horân, Sorídú, Dúzanâb, Khallak and Titchkhân.

Panjghúr is celebrated for its groves of date trees. Their fruit is exported to Kalât as a luxury. It also produces grapes, said to be of good quality, and, what is more useful, excellent corn in abundance. Amongst its vegetable products, turnips are plentifully raised. The nature and variety of the cultivated objects in Panjghúr attest the fertility of the soil. The agricultural habits of the inhabitants have softened their manners, and they are as much distinguished from their turbulent neighbours, for their peaceable demeanour, as for their superior acquirements in the arts, and conveniences of life.

A kârdâr, or agent of the khân of Kalât, is resident in Panjghûr, to receive his master's revenue. Levied in the proportion of a tithe of the fruits of the earth, its amount is transmitted to the khân's treasury in gold.

KEJ.

The most western province of the Kalât territory. It is distant from the capital twenty-one camel-marches, and about seven or eight marches from Gwâdar, on the coast.

There is reason to believe that it was formerly a place of much importance ; on which account, the fullest information regarding it would be desirable. It is our misfortune to know less about it than any other of the Kalât khân's provinces. It still figures eminently in the legendary lore of Balochistân, and is the fairy land of this part of the world.

Nasîr Khân marched a large army into Kej, and its firm and steady retention was always one of the measures mainly engrossing his attention. His successor, Máhmúd Khân, found that its remoteness was favourable to the rebellious projects of the turbulent chieftains residing in it, and towards the close of his reign it no longer acknowledged allegiance to him. His son, Mehráb Khân, signalized the commencement of his rule by vigorously assert-

ing his authority in Kej, but the subsequent troubles of his reign have again rendered its submission little better than nominal, the principal town, of the same name as the country, being only held in his name. The importance of Kej, and the evil arising from the diversion of its revenues, which, when paid, are forthcoming in gold, could not but be felt by the present government of Kalât. Accordingly, in 1828 or 1829, Jám Alí, the chief of Las, under orders from Kalât, with his own troops and those of his allies, marched from Béla to Kej. The expedition is affirmed to have been successful; but its return would appear to have been followed by a recurrence of all the disorders it was intended to repress. In 1831 the serious notice of the government was again directed to the affairs of Kej, and the whole of the Bráhuí army, under command of the khân's brother, Mír Azem Khân, and the minister, Dáoud Máhoméd Khân, broke ground from Sohráb in Jhálawân, and took the road to Kej. Little good could, however, be expected, as the royal army was chiefly composed of leaders and their followers, in concert and connivance with the disaffected, against whom they professed to march; and the expedition was attended with no substantial advantage. Kej is inhabited by many tribes, but the Gitchkí would seem to be the dominant, if not the more numerous. Their chief, Shékh Kâsim, dwells at the town of Kej. It would be interesting to ascertain whether any part of the population

of this province correspond with the Dêhwârs of Kalât and the Tâjiks of Upper Asia. It was a point on which I could not satisfy myself by inquiry. Above half the population, however, are of a religious sect, called Ziggers, who dispense with the observance of prayers, rites, and other ceremonies, which more orthodox Máhomedans consider indispensable.

There are many towns or villages, and castles in Kej. The capital bears the same name. It is distinguished by its arg, or citadel, which being also called mîrí, or palace, is probably an analogous structure to that of Kalât, serving, like it, both for fortress and residence of the chief. This stronghold is held by Bijâr, on behalf of the Kalât khân. There are, besides, Núkí Kalât, Tarbat, Gúshítang, Maksúdí Kalât, Pídrak, Ghwerkap, &c., &c., places of more or less consequence.

From Kej there is a commercial intercourse with the ports of Gwâdar and Charbâr, on the coast, and a kâfila occasionally passes between it and Kalât.

SECOND, OR MARITIME SECTION.

Comprises the countries bordering on the sea, from the western limits of Sind to the vicinity of Gwâdar, whence the continued line of coast becomes subject to the Arab chief of Maskât. The eastern extremity of this extensive tract is occupied

by the province of Las, obedient to its own chief and government, yet acknowledging the supremacy of the *khân* of Kalât. The remainder is a sterile sandy space, intervening between the ocean and the mountain chains supporting the more elevated provinces of the preceding section. Unblessed by fertilizing springs and rivulets, its arid surface displays a dreary succession of yawning ravines, parched wastes, and undulating sand-hills. The scanty vegetation serves to exhibit the poverty of the soil, and to attest its inapplicability to culture. The fervid heat of the sun, on these inhospitable shores, is indeed moderated by the winds, which rage during the greater part of the year, and with so much violence that it becomes questionable whether the inconveniences they occasion are compensated by the exemptions from other evils which they bring with them. Yet, on this desolate coast, we find two small ports, Hormára and Pessaní, flourishing by their little traffic, and maintaining a commercial communication between the natives of the country and those of regions distant and beyond the seas. In former days—but the advantages must have been greater then than now—European intelligence did not neglect this unpromising tract. The substantially constructed remains of forts, and residences on various parts of the coast, testify to the settlements of the Portuguese. Of these, a considerable one existed between Hormára and Pessaní, at the creek of Kalamat; a locality, whose interest was

enhanced by the circumstance of its being one of the recognizable stations of the Macedonian fleet under Nearchus. Yet, while freely admitting that the trade with the interior of the country in those days ought not to be estimated by its actual low scale, I cannot believe that the numerous Portuguese stations along the coast were due to it, or supported by its profits. I rather suppose they were intended to preserve the communications between their Indian ports and their great emporium, Ormuz; which, at that early era of navigation, may have been closed by sea during the periodical winds, as they are now to natives. The opulence of Ormuz is remembered but as a dream gone by, or as a subject to moralise upon. Its fall necessarily involved that of its dependent posts and settlements.

LAS.

A large province, with well-defined boundaries. To the east, the termination of the great hill range, dividing Sahárawân and Jhálawân from Kach Gandâva, and Sind, called, in maps, the Hála Mountains, but known to the natives by many and various names, separates it from Lower Sind and the Delta of the Indus. Amongst these hills flows the Hab river, on extraordinary occasions only discharging its waters into the sea. Pursuing a rocky course, it winds through a thankless and

neutral soil, over which range wild Lúmrís, whose property is in their flocks of goats. The road from Béla to Haidarabád crosses the hills, inhabited by the Chúta tribe, and leads by a spot called Shâh Balâl, where is a zíarat, or shrine, of repute, distinguished by groves of tamarind trees and the presence of pea-fowl. These beautiful birds and the groves are considered sacred by Máhomedan and Hindú—so easy to the unreflecting mind is the transition from wonder to homage. To the west, a continuous hill range stretches from the north of Béla to the ocean, upon which it closes beyond the point where the Púrálí river effects its junction. By this range, in the parallel of Béla, Las is separated from Jhow, a pass, or lak, as here called, over the hills, communicating between the two provinces. This lak is remarkable as having been, in great measure, artificially formed. The labour is ascribed, as all such labours are, to Ferhâd. While these two ranges approach to the north of Béla, as to an apex, to the south the line of sea-coast forms the boundary of the province, constituting a vast triangle, the area of which is occupied by an expanse of level, more or less wooded, and frequently marshy, diversified by the tortuous and tamarisk-fringed course of the Púrálí river, by dry open tracts bordering on the hills, and by low sandy hillocks on the margin of the sea.

Las is inhabited by the Lassí division of the

great tribe of Lúmrí or Númarí. Whether they derive their appellation from the country they dwell in, or whether the country is called after them, is uncertain. The Lassís have numerous subdivisions, as the Jámhút, furnishing the jám, or chief; Gúngah, Angáriah, (the name of a German tribe, according to Tacitus,) and Chuta, who claim a close affinity with each other. There are also the Gadúr, Masorah, Manghía, Shékh, Shâhokah, Súr, Váhreh, Sábrah, Mândarah, Rúnja, Búrah, Dodah, &c.

These races acknowledge a consanguinity with the Báttís of Jesalmír, &c. Their origin they trace to Samar, the founder of Samarkand. He had, they say, four sons—Nerpat, father of the Lúmris, or Númarís of Las; the Búlfats, or Númarís of Sind; and the Júkías, also of Sind: Bopat, father of the Báttís of Jesalmír; Aspat, father of the Chaghatais; and Gajpat, father of the Chúra races. It may open a wide field for reflection, perhaps for controversy, but there is every probability that these Lúmrí, and other Jetic tribes, have an origin identical with that of the Jet, or Gothic races, so memorable in the middle ages of European history; and that the same political causes which impelled the one portion in a direction by following which they ultimately reached the shores of the Baltic, precipitated the other portion upon the continent of India. The Lúmris speak a dialect scarcely varying from that current in Sind.

The Lúmris are an active hardy people, and lead

essentially a pastoral life. Their wealth consists of their flocks and herds, which the grass of their jangals allows them conveniently to subsist. Their flocks, however, are principally of goats, and their herds of buffaloes, although they have cows, but in less number. Sheep are probably unsuitable to the nature of the country, the pastures of which, besides being rank, spring from a damp and saline soil. Camels also contribute largely to the comfort and affluence of the Lúmrí people, and are reared in amazing numbers. Agriculture is neglected, perhaps despised; and, confined to the vicinity of the few towns and villages, is in general carried on with Hindú capital.

Wheat and barley are grown but in small quantities, those grains being imported from Khozdár. Júarí and mâsh are objects of culture, with mustard and the cotton plant. Near the capital, a little rice of good quality is grown in the forsaken bed of the Púralí. In the same favoured soil a few vegetables are produced, and tobacco is cultivated. The produce of Las in no wise meets the consumption of the inhabitants; red and white rice, júarí, with various other grains and pulse, are largely imported from the ports of Sind, from Mandaví, Bombay, and even Maskát. The abundance of horned cattle provides large quantities of roghan, and a considerable amount of hides for exportation, and of natural or untended produce; the hills yield abundance of honey, wax, and

bdellium. The camels of the Lúmrís are articles of traffic, and their trained animals are esteemed. The manufactures of the Lúmrís are coarse cotton fabrics, or párchá, carpets, felts, sacks, ropes, &c., woven indiscriminately from the shorn honours of the goat and camel. From camel-hair the âbrah, or cloak, of coarse texture, universally worn by the males, is made. Its virtues, independent of cheapness, are durability, and resistance to rain. The food of the Lúmrís is very simple, and chiefly bread of the inferior grains, with buttermilk. Mâsh also enters largely into their diet, and red rice, boiled up as wat, or frumenty, is a favourite dish. They are accused of eating flesh in a raw state, which means, I presume, that they are not partial to overdone meat. Simple as is the fare of the Lúmrí, and rude as are his manners, he is a slave to the pernicious practice of opium-eating, thereby, while endangering his health, faculties, and morals, offering additional evidence of his affinity with the Báttí, and other degraded races.

The government of the Lúmrí community of Las is vested in an hereditary chief, with the title of Jám. He exercises within his own territories an independent and uncontrolled jurisdiction, acknowledging, nevertheless, the supremacy of the Brá-húí chief of Kalât, to whom, if required, military service is rendered. Although it is understood that the chief of Kalât may not, on occasions of lapses of authority, disturb the natural order of suc

cession, his concurrence in the selection of the future ruler is deemed necessary, and his deputy performs the inaugural ceremony of seating the new jám upon the masnad. The dependence of Las upon Kalât, while so easy as to be little more than nominal, is likely, however, to become more definite, both because the government is visibly deteriorating, and that the connexion is the only precautionary measure which the inferior state can adopt to secure its independence from being destroyed by its powerful and grasping neighbours of Sind, who behold with extreme jealousy the harbour of Súnmiání, and the diversion of a portion of the commerce which they wish should be confined to Karáchí.

The reigning jám of Las is Jám Meher Khân, and, at this time, may be sixteen or seventeen years of age. He is the son of Jám Meher Alí, who died much regretted. A love of justice, and a spirit of moderation, endeared him to his subjects. In the field he proved able, and, at the request of the government of Kalât, undertook, with the levies of his own tribes and immediate allies, an expedition against the refractory leaders of Kej, in which he acquitted himself with credit. The father of Jám Meher Alí was Jám Meher Khân, who for many years presided at the helm of affairs in Las. His reputation, as a man of ability and comprehensive views, stands fair, but it is remembered of him, that he placed no check upon his passions, and in their

gratification scrupled not to compromise the honours of the wives and daughters of his subjects, whether Hindú or Máhomedan. Las was anciently ruled by the Rúnjah tribe; amongst whom one Sappar became famous. His descendants were dispossessed by the Gúngahs, whose two latter chiefs were Jám Dínár and Jám Ibráhím. These, in turn, were compelled to yield to Jám Alí, of the Jámhút tribe, which must have been after the year 1046 of the hejira, as a seal of Jám Ibrahím is still shown at Bélá with that date, and the legend Banda Bádsháh Alam, Jám Ibráhím ben Jám Dínár. The first Jám Alí was succeeded by Jám Rúbana, who slew his brother, the son-in-law of the Ammallárí Búlfat chief, who seized upon Las in resentment. Párah Khân and Izzat Khân, Búlfat chiefs, succeeded each other; but the latter was so cruel and oppressive, that Jám Alí, a descendant of the expelled Rúbana of the Jámhút tribe, applied to Mohábat Khân of Kalât, and by his aid regained Las; whence arose the connexion between the two countries. From this Jám Alí the present chief is regularly descended.

The Lúmris are willing that the stranger should believe, that the military strength of Las amounts to twelve thousand men. Jám Meher Alí, in his expedition to Kej, it is said, carried with him four thousand men, comprising his own and auxiliary forces. It may be supposed that he made extraordinary efforts, which were seconded by his popu-

larity at home and abroad. In 1831 the Vakíl Allá Rika, with a force of four hundred men, was in coöperation with the army of Kalât in Kej, and a body of three hundred men had been placed at the disposal of the Arab chief of Maskát, to serve, as mercenaries, in his armament against Mambása, —a mode of employment frequently adopted with the levies in Las.

The revenue of Las, under Jám Meher Alí was computed to exceed forty thousand rupees; but at present it does not equal twenty-five thousand, while it is expected to suffer farther depression. This revenue arises from the customs payable on merchandise entering the port of Súnmiání, the duties charged on produce brought to the towns, or bazár villages, and the taxes on trades, crafts, &c. The Lúmri peasantry may be considered exempt from imposts, as the sums they contribute on the sale of their produce in towns, in fact, form so many charges upon trade, and are borne by the purchaser or consumer. The more profitable branch of the revenue, is that arising from customs on foreign goods, and they are levied at a fixed rate, depending on weight. This arrangement was made by Jám Meher Khân, to encourage merchants to repair to Súnmiání, in preference to Karáchí; and it was farther agreed to wave the right of search, so vexatiously resorted to by the Sindian officers. The consequences were soon manifested by the number of merchants frequenting Las, and

the beneficial effect on its revenue. Latterly, however, the governments of Kalât and Las, growing enfeebled, the hill tribes between Béla and Khozdâr extort so grossly from kâfilas, under pretence of levying duty, that Afghân merchants, with heavy goods, are compelled to go to Karáchí. Chintzes, muslins, and high-priced goods, bearing a large profit, still find their way from Bombay to Kândahár by the road of Béla and Kalât. Horses are also usually shipped at Súnmiání for Bombay, as on them the tribes exact no duty. Madder, a staple article of export from Kalât and Afghânistân, is always carried *viâ* Sind; even the portion destined for sale in Las, is sent by land from Karáchí. The products of the province have been already noted; with the fisheries, they contribute to a brisk intercourse between Súnmiání and the harbours of Sind, and generally of the line of coast from the mouths of the Indus to Bombay, as well as with the ports of Mekrân and Maskât.

The only towns—calling those places such which have chabútras, or offices to receive customs and duties—are Béla, Utal, and Súnmiání. Its only villages, esteeming those such which boast of mud dwellings, are Líarí, Shékh-ka-ráj, Osmán dí Gote, Wáriara, Phor, Traiarí, &c. Besides these there are various assemblages of Lúmrí huts, in most of which are found two, three, or four Hindus. Béla, the capital, is a small town of about three hundred houses. In native histories it is called Kâra Béla;

and, however long it may have represented the capital of this part of the country, it seems to have been preceded, in the middle ages, by another town, the site of which, or rather of its sepulchres, is pointed out about five miles westward; where at this day coins and trinkets are occasionally found. Funereal jars are also brought to light, filled with ashes, charcoal, and other incinerated substances. In the nearest point of the contiguous hills, separating Las from Jhow, are found numerous caves, and rock temples, ascribed by tradition to Ferhâd and fairies, but which more sober judgment recognizes as the earthly resting abodes of the former chiefs, or governors of the province. They prove, moreover, the extension to the coast of that faith whose excavated records exist over so large a part of the world.

Súnmíání is a town of about a thousand houses. It has a good-sized bazar, and a good number of Hindú traders and artisans. There are also many families of Mehmans, as they would call themselves, or Lútías, as styled by the Lúmrís. Amongst them are two or three opulent merchants; and all of them are in easy circumstances. Professing themselves Máhomedans, they are not considered orthodox; and, together with the Hindús, they engross the foreign and internal trade of the country. Besides the Méds, who form a portion of the maritime and fishing classes, there is at Súnmíání, also at Béla, a part of the fixed population called, by the

Lúmrís, Jadghâl. Considerable numbers of negro slaves are always to be found at Súnmiání, both in employ as well as for sale. Scarcely a family is without one or more of those negroes; and Hindús are permitted to purchase them as freely as others. They are brought from Maskát, and from Súnmiání are dispersed amongst the Lúmrís of the country, and even so far as Kalát. The Mehman merchants entirely conduct this traffic.

The harbour of Súnmiání is spacious, but, unfortunately, a bar of sand impedes the entrance, and the accumulating mass bids fair to close it. The sea gains upon the land, and the present town will, in no great space of time, be replaced by another, more distant from the shore. At Súnmiání coarse calicoes are printed, and there are many mills for the extraction of oil from mustard-seed. They are precisely on the same construction as sugar-mills, but worked by camels in lieu of oxen.

The eruptive disorder on the teats of cows, producing the vaccine disease, is well known in Las; equally so is the fact, that those who have received this disorder from the cow are not liable to the contagion of variola. The disease is denominated *poto-ghow*, or the cow small-pox, *poto* being the Lúmrí as well as Baloch designation for small-pox. But what is still more singular is, that the camel as well as the cow has an eruption on her nipples, producing similar effects to the vaccine; and, as in this country camels' milk is largely made use of for

the sustenance of man, it is ascertained that those who in milking a diseased animal contract what is called the *poto-shúter*, or camel small-pox, become also inaccessible to variolous contagion, equally with those who receive the analogous disease from the cow. I was assured that no fatal results were ever known to follow from either of these potos, from the vaccine or the cameline; and that the symptoms were exactly as in the English disease, confined to a sprinkling of pimples on the hands and arms.

HORMARA.

A small town and port of Mekrán, containing about four hundred houses, which for some years has placed itself under the protection of the *jám* of Las, to avoid being reduced by the Arab chief of Maskát. It receives governors on the part of the *jám*, and a nett sum of one thousand rupees is annually remitted to Béla, as revenue and the price of protection. This little place has a smart trade with the interior, and its shipping frequent the same foreign harbours as the craft of Súnmiání. The country, for seven or eight days' journey in every direction from Hormára, is of the most sterile and uninviting aspect, yet, in particular spots, are inhabitants located, leading a weary existence in the solitudes around them, but contented, because ignorant of better fortune. On the skirts of the

Jabal Malân, a range which presses on the coast between the limits of Las and Hormára, a tribe of inferior consideration, called Gújar, have fixed their seats. Nearer, at a locality named Garúkí, the Sangúr, another tribe of small repute, reside under their chief, Mír Bījár. On the shores of the Kalamat creek, west of Hormára, dwell a tribe deriving their appellation, it may be, from the place; although they believe they came originally from Sind, where, they assert, the tribe still exists in formidable numbers.

PESSANI.

A small port, of two hundred houses, still farther west, dependent on which is the country on the coast between the limits of Hormára and those of Gwâdar. Its chief is Mehráb Khân, of the Kalamatí tribe just noted. He pays no tribute to Las or Kalât, but contrives to avoid the acknowledgment of supremacy to Maskát, by pretending to be a member of the Baloch federation. It must be conceded, his little town and territory are barely worth the coveting. The maritime and fishing population of the little ports on the coast of Mekrân, from Súnmiání to Charbár, are denominated Méd, and comprise four divisions, the Gazbúr, Hormári, Jellar Zai, and Chelmar Zai.

THIRD, OR CENTRAL SECTION.

Includes the provinces of Sahárawân and Jhálawân, with the intermediate districts of the capital. The latter, except in situation, are perfectly independent of the former. In reviewing their position, convenience prescribes their union. The same consideration induces me to comprise amongst the districts of Sahárawân that of Shâll, which may not strictly be said to belong to them, although, since it has been placed under the Kalât government, it has been virtually annexed to the province.

SAHARAWAN.

The more northern of the central provinces, blends its confines with the Afghân districts dependent on Kândahár. Computing from the north, to the borders of Jhálawân, it has an extent of above one hundred miles; and its breadth, from east to west, although a little varying, will, in general, nearly average the same distance. To the north, it connects itself with the Afghân districts of Peshing and of Toba; to the south, it runs into the province of Jhálawân, encircling the little nucleus of the capital with its environs. To the east, parallel ranges of hills, a formidable barrier, separate it from Dádar and Kach Gandává. Tra-

versing these ranges, and in a direction exactly contrary to them, is a range marking the course of the Bolan river, and the line of the celebrated pass, leading from the Dasht Bídowlat to Dádar, the great route of communication between the western Afghân provinces and the countries opening on the Indus. To the west, a series of high hills, although distant, preserving their parallelism to the preceding, divide the province from the Afghân districts of Shoráwak, and from the Baloch province of Núshkí. West of Sháll and Mastúng is the Afghân district of Sherrúd, which, it must be noted, while amongst the inferior hills, is east of the principal chain. This chain extends far north, forming the western boundary of Peshing, and is called the Khwojá Amrán mountain. The eastern range, while, perhaps, without any general name, has a multitude of local appellations. Where it overlooks Kalát, it is called Arbúí, and the superior range, frowning on the plains of Kach Gandâvá, is called Takárí. Other peaks have the names Nágow, Bohár, &c.

Excepting the Bolan, Sahárawân may be said to have no rivers. A few slender rivulets and torrents, transient and partial, are found only scantily distributed over its wide surface. To compensate this deficiency, a cool temperature, the result of elevation, is favourable to vegetation; and allows the soil to retain, for a sufficient period, the moisture supplied by the vernal rains, as generally to

ensure good harvests of grain. Owing to the same kindly causes, the hills and plains are covered, in the spring and summer, with a profusion of flowers and herbage, yielding copious and admirable nourishment to the numerous flocks of sheep, which constitute the primary wealth of the Bráhúí tribes.

1. Sahárawân, then, includes the district of Shâll, with its villages and dependencies of Ispangalí, Kúchílak, Samangúlí, Berg, Bíníghóh, &c.

2. Mastúng, with its dependencies of Feringabád, Tírí, Khânak, Dolai, and Kénittí.

3. Mangachar, comprising the divisions of Zard, Kúr, Mandé Hájí, Kirch-ab, and Baréchí-nav. To these may be added Khad.

4. Kalât, with its neighbouring villages and dependencies of Skalkoh, Níchára, Chappar, Dasht Gúrân, &c.

5. Kirta, and the petty districts in the hills between Sahárawân and Kach Gandâvá.

6. Gúrgína, Kúrdígap, Nimarg, &c., districts in the hills east of the Khwoja Amrân range.

SHALL.

The most northern of the districts of Sahárawân, was ceded to Nasír Khân by Ahmed Shâh, the first Dúrání sovereign, in reward for his military services in the Persian wars. It embraces many small divisions and villages, as Siríâb, Ahmed Khân Zai, Karâní, Ispangalí, Noshahâr, Berg, Kúchílák,

Samangúlí, &c. To the north, Sháll extends to the Khâka districts of Toba; to the south, it joins the district of Mastúng, and the plain called Dasht Bídowlat; to the east, it has the Khâka district of Hanna; to the west, Peshing and Sherrúd, belonging to Afghân tribes.

The capital of the district, called Sháll by the Baloches, and Quetta, an equivalent for kot, or fort, by the Afghâns, is a small town of about four hundred houses. It has a good bazar, and is the most considerable place between Kalât and Kândahár, and also between Kalât and Ghazní. It is surrounded by a crenated wall of some height, but inadequate, from its slight substance, to offer opposition to artillery. On a lofty mound within the walls is a ruinous citadel, which yet affords a residence to the governor of the town.

The Khâka district of Hanna to the west is considered under the government of Sháll, as are other Khâka districts to the north towards Toba. The submission of these Afghâns must be very equivocal, a furious blood-feud existing between the Afghâns and Baloches. One of the two gates of Sháll, opening upon the east, is named after Hanna, the other fronting the south is named the gate of Mastúng.

The soil here is rich and black, yielding much wheat and rice, besides madder, some tobacco, and the cultivated grasses. The orchards are abundant, apparently of recent growth, and furnish grapes,

apples, pears, plums, peaches, apricots, mulberries, pomegranates, figs, &c. As usual, in these countries, large fields are devoted to the cultivation of melons, in their season. The climate is praised, and I judged it salubrious and equable. Snow falls, and remains on the ground for above two months, when it is customary for the small Baloch garrison to retire to Dádar, leaving the inhabitants to their own protection.

The Afghâns resident in Shâll and its villages are of the Kâssí tribe; and claim affinity with the great Safí clans. The whole fixed population will scarcely amount to four thousand. In the spring and summer, numerous Bráhuí tomâns range over its plains.

MASTUNG.

Includes, besides the town of Mastúg, the dependent villages and districts of Faringabád, Tíri, Khânak, Dolai, Kénittí, &c. It is bounded, to the north, by the lofty mountain Chehel Tan, separating it from the valley of Shâll; to the south by the districts of Mangachar and Khad. On the east, a range of hill, a prolongation of inferior altitude from Chehel Tan, intervenes between it and the Dasht Bídowlat; and on the west another range divides it from the Afghân valley of Sherrud.

Mastúg is celebrated for the salubrity of its climate, and for the abundance and excellence of its

fruits. The cultivated soil is very fertile, and the produce is ample, and of good quality. Madder, grown in large quantities, is an annual export, as is tobacco, which is much prized. Besides the various grains, rice, and the artificial grasses, are cultivated. The fruits of Mastúg embrace all the varieties noted as being produced by the orchards of Sháll, but they are in far greater profusion, and in general have a superior flavour; the temperature being milder, and more favourable to the maturity of many kinds. The mulberries and melons of Mastúg are held to be unrivalled, and almonds are so abundant as to be an article of export.

The climate of Mastúg, Tírí, and Faringabád is entitled to great commendation; Khânak, in the same plain, but with a depressed site, is not equally favoured. The town of Mastúg may contain about four hundred houses, and is surrounded with a crenated mud wall. On a mound within the limits of the town are the remains of a citadel, destroyed, it is said, by Ahmed Shâh. The present town is affirmed to represent the ancient city of Arangabád, whose site is pointed out a little to the east or north-east, and on which, after rains, coins, and other evidences, may be occasionally discovered. The walled-in village of Tírí may occupy as much space as Mastúg, but with half the number of habitations, the greater part of the enclosed area being filled with orchards. At Tírí resides an influential

family of saiyads, one of whom, Saiyad Sheríf, was mainly the cause of the insinuation of Síkh troops into Hárand and Dájil, and has become infamously notorious in the recent events which have convulsed Balochistân. Faringabád is an advantageously-seated village, amid orchards, under the hills over which the direct road leads from Mastúng to Sháll. It may contain one hundred and fifty houses.

Khânak has a village of similar appellation, seated on a large tappa or mound; consequently the site is ancient. It contains about one hundred houses, and dependent on it are three or four small hamlets. Kénittí has a small village, now nearly depopulated. Dolai, to the north of Khânak, has no village.

No Afghâns dwell in Mastúng; some of the fixed inhabitants are Dehwârs, but with them are incorporated many Bráhuís of various tribes. Of these the principal are the Raisání, Sherwâní, Máhmúd Shâhí, Bangúl Zai, and Lárí, with the Sirperra. The favourable site and climate of Mastúng has recommended it as a residence to most of the chiefs of the Bráhuí tribes of Sahárawân. The fixed population of Mastúng, and its dependencies, will not, probably, exceed six thousand.

A division of Sahárawân, to the north, touching on the limits of Kénittí and Khad; to the south

extending to the borders of Chappar, Garúk, and Kârez Garânî, dependent on the capital. To the east, hill-ranges separate it from the petty localities of Kúhak, Kishân, &c.; and, to the west, other hills divide it from Gúrghína. It is subdivided into the quarters of Zard to the north, Mandéh Hâjí occupying the centre chiefly; Kúr, to the west; Kirch-âb, east of Kúr and trending towards Chappar, with Bâréchî-nav stretching eastward to the base of a mountain, called Koh Márân, or the hill of snakes.

Mangachar has a few dispersed hamlets. There may exist on the plain from ten to twelve artificial tappas or mounds, which, covered with fragments of potters' ware, testify to an ancient population. These evidences are not inconsistent with the fertility and natural advantages of the plain; which are considerable, as to the quality of soil and the abundance of water. There are at present canals of irrigation, and subterranean aqueducts. The parts better supplied with water are Mandéh Hâjí, and Zard, which accordingly produce in greater quantities wheat and the cultivated grasses. The other parts of Mangachar have also their canals of irrigation, but fewer in number, and the culture is restricted to wheat. The whole plain is intersected by bands, or ramparts of earth, intended to preserve the rain-water for purposes of irrigation. There are many breeding mares kept on the plain of Mangachar, and it is usual for the horse-dealers of Kalât

to send their cattle there to feed upon the choicer grasses. The soil is of the same rich and ponderous quality as that of Kalât, but much of the surface is impaired by impregnation with saline particles. The plain has a very dreary and bleak aspect, owing to the absence of trees. Many single and ruinous mud huts are sprinkled here and there; and the tomâns, or collections of black tents, on the skirts of the hills, or interspersed over the plain, have in themselves a repulsive and unsocial appearance. A few trees only are to be found at Zard, where there is also a good orchard belonging to Dhai Bíbú, an ancient lady of Kalât; and this is certainly the portion of the plain preferable as to position.

Khad is the name given to a lengthened valley between Mangachar and Mastúng, through which the high road leads from Kalât to the north. On the east it has the first of the three parallel ranges stretching to Kach Gandâvá, which is remarkable for displaying to the west inclined surfaces of rock, as smooth as if a trowel had been passed over the masses when plastic. On the west, the hills called Chotoh divide it from Kénittí and Zard. Khad has no village. It is computed nine Súltânía cosses from Kalât, agreeably to some traditionary admeasurement. By the same standard, Mangachar is reckoned five, and Mastúng twelve Súltânía cosses from the capital. Khad is claimed by the Sher-wâní tribe of Bráhuís.

DASHT BIDOWLAT.

Before quitting the northern divisions of Sahárawân, it is due to notice the Dasht Bídowlat, or the Unpropitious Plain. To the north it has Sir-i-âb of Shâll, Zir Koh, and the Khâka hills. To the south, hills divide it from Merv and Isprinjí. To the east it has the hills of the Bolan, and to the west, Chehel Tan and the lower ranges of Mastúng. Whether traversed from Shâll or Mastúng, it is a good march in breadth, nor is its length less considerable. Its evil name is appropriate only after the harvests have been collected, and the supplies of water have been exhausted, when it is deserted by its temporary residents. Then it is that predatory bands of Khâkas roam over the desolate space and infest its roads, to the peril of travellers and kâfilas. In the spring its aspect is very different, and the Bráhúís are enthusiastic in their descriptions of its verdure and flowers. Its surface, garnished with the lâlá, or tulip, presents, they aver, an expanse of scarlet and gold, and the perfume that impregnates the atmosphere exhilarates the senses to intoxication. In that season it swarms with the tománs of the Kúrd Bráhúí tribe, who are proprietors of the plain, and reap its produce, but retire as soon as it is collected, to Merv.

KALAT AND ITS ENVIRONS.

For convenience, we have included Kalât and its environs amongst the districts of Sahárawân, although they form a distinct and independent tract, under the personal jurisdiction of the khân, or chief of the Baloch community. The town of Kalât, containing within its walls about four hundred houses, and a mírí, or palace, of an antique and imposing appearance, with suburbs comprising other four hundred houses, is situated in a narrow valley, bounded to the east by the hill ranges so often mentioned as extending to Kach Gandâvá. To the west, beyond the hill Shâh Mirdân, on the northern extremity of which the town is built, broken country and ravines extend for a considerable distance. From the town to the opposite hills, to the east, the distance is within a mile, and this confined space, traversed by the generally dry and stony bed of a hill torrent, is appropriated to the cultivation and gardens of the place. To the south of Kalât the valley closes, or is filled by low hills; to the north it somewhat expands, and affords space for the small villages of Garúk, Malarkí, Malgozár, &c. Farther north is the small hamlet of Gárâni, and nearly west of it, the village of Zíárat.

About three miles north-east of Kalât, crossing the first hills, is the village of Skalkoh, walled in, and made up of one hundred houses, inhabited by

the Sherwâní tribe. About fifteen miles south-east of Kalât, also amongst the hills, is the larger village, or small bazár town of Níchára (Noshahár). Seated in a fertile valley, it has much cultivation. About nine miles to the south of Kalât is the small village of Rodinjo, on the road to Jhálawân. It may have twenty houses. On the skirts of the hills east of Rodinjo, and extending to Sohráb, are two or three hamlets; and within them is the village of Máhoméd Taháwar, walled in, with two gates and one hundred houses. About three miles east of Rodinjo is the village of Tok, with thirty houses, and walled in.

Chappar is an extensive plain, west of Kalât. To the north it unites with Kúr and Kirchâb, districts of Mangachar; to the south it extends to the Dasht Gúrân. On the west it has hill ranges of little altitude, until they sink upon the Síáh Koh, or black mountain. Here are no towns or villages, but there are the ample indications of a former population in the fragments of potters' ware distributed over an immense space. The plain is supplied with water by a rivulet issuing from the low hills east of Káréz Garâní, and which, flowing by Garúk and Zíárat, enters Chappar. Considerable quantities of melons are raised here for the Kalât market. The fields are crown property, and the fruits mature some time after those grown in the vicinity of the capital have been consumed. The

Dasht Gúrân, south of Chappar, has beyond it Sohráb, to the east Rodinjo, and to the west a waste and broken country, extending to Khárân. Here is a small village of fifteen to twenty houses, and the cultivation, entirely on the lands called khúshk âwâh, is confined to wheat. This plain is inhabited by the Súnáris, a branch of the Zehrî tribe of Jhálawân, to whose sirdár they are obedient on questions of general interest, but, for sufferance of settlement, make an annual acknowledgment to the sirdár of Núshkí, whose tribe preceded them in the occupancy of the dasht, and who still claim it. Dasht Gúrân signifies the plain of wild asses, but those animals are no longer found there.

The population of Kalât is necessarily mixed; with many Déhwârs there are many Bráhuís, a great number of Hindús, and a large proportion of slaves. The entire suburbs are inhabited by Afghâns. The agricultural classes are nearly exclusively Déhwârs. In this Memoir, in enumerating the towns, or villages, in the respective parts of the country under notice, I have mentioned nearly the whole of them, for they are really so few in number that to do so is an easy matter. I incur the chance of being accused of noting places unworthy of record, but besides that there are no other than these places, I wished to afford data for exhibiting the numbers of the fixed population. I have before estimated that

of Sháll and Mastúg, and by the same mode of calculation, that of Kalât and its environs will not exceed fourteen thousand.

DISTRICTS IN THE HILLS BETWEEN SAHARAWAN AND
KACH GANDAVA.

We have frequently had occasion to allude to the hill ranges between the elevated province of Sahárawân and the depressed level plains of Kach Gandáva. Formed of three parallel chains, and extending north far beyond the limits of Sahárawân, they enclose numerous sheltered and fertile valleys. From the universality of rice as a product of them, an abundance of copious and perennial springs and rivulets must be inferred. To the excellence of the herbage and pasturage, and the adaptation of the hills for the grazing of sheep, the superior meat and fleece of the Bráhuí flocks amply testify. Although very scantily inhabited, there are still amongst them some fixed villages, and there are many localities tenanted by pastoral tribes.

The eastern portion adjacent to Kach Gandáva is inhabited by petty Rind tribes, or detachments therefrom, and the western portion is held by Bráhuí tribes. The Rinds, it may be observed, in matters of public interest, are supposed to follow the decision of the sirdár of Sahárawân. The direction of these parallel chains of mountains is from north by

east to south by west; in the parallel of Shâll, a range cutting through them nearly east to west marks the course of the Bolan river and pass, and describes the boundary between the hills of the Khâkâ Afghâns and the Baloches. In the pass is a zîarat of some repute, called Bîbî Nânî, and about the centre of it, immediately north of the river, is the small walled-in Baloch village of Kirta, inhabited by the Kúchik branch of the Rind tribe. Contiguous thereto is a tepid spring, which confers the name of Garm-âb on the locality whence it issues. Kirta has been frequently sacked by the Khâkâs. Of the many localities amongst these hills, such as have villages are Johân, belonging to the Púzh Rinds, and deemed fertile in wheat and rice. Rodbâr, said to be extensive, and comprising three villages; Rodbâr, held by Mandawârí Rinds; Jam, held by Kúchík Rinds; and Bárarî, inhabited by Puzh Rinds. Rodbâr has a vigorous cultivation of rice and grain, and its numerous orchards yield pomegranates of fair quality. Kájúrí, occupied by the Púzh Rinds, has a village of the same name, and, like the other valleys, yields rice abundantly. Ghazg is another valley, with a village of similar name. It has orchards and vineyards, and the grapes are highly prized at Kalât. It belongs to the Ghazghís, a petty Bráhuí tribe. Besides these valleys which have villages, there are many others, some of them extensive and fertile, which afford a residence to various tribes, whose genius and mode of life dis-

qualify them for permanent settlement and fixed abodes. Such are Merv, held by the Kúrds; Isprinjí, by the Bangúl Zais; Kúhak, by the Máhmúd Shâhís; Nermúk, represented as large, inhabited by the Lári Bráhuís; Lúp, belonging to the Kâlúí branch of Rinds; Kishân, held by the Sherwânís, with Pizai, Lâlájí, Sohráb, &c., places of little note, and sometimes visited by small tribes. The fixed population of the several villages dispersed over the tract under consideration will not, probably, exceed two thousand five hundred.

DISTRICTS IN THE HILLY TRACTS WEST OF SAHARAWAN.

To complete the review of Sahárawân, it remains to notice the districts in the western hills. They are Gúrghína, Kúrdígap, Nímarg, Ashí Khân, and Púdén. They lie to the west of Mangachar, a hill range intervening, having Sherrúd of the Afghâns to the north, and to the south, waste, hilly regions. Kúrdígap is the most northern district, and the only one which has a village, and that a small one; Gúrghína is south of Kúrdígap, and Nímarg is again south of it; while Ashí Khân and Púdén are to the west of both. As in Mangachar, so in these districts are many dams, or artificial mounds. The valleys are not so well supplied with water, and the river, or rivulet, of Sherrúd flows uselessly, through the hills. Cultivation is effected

by aid of mounds of earth, or bands, to confine the water from rains, and it is asserted that, in Gúrghína, there are above three hundred of them, a number, if exaggerated, yet showing that they are numerous. It is notorious that the cultivation of this and of other districts of Sahárawân, is not carried on to the extent their capabilities would allow; an evil arising, perhaps, mainly from their being held by pastoral races, who depend for their subsistence rather upon their flocks than upon their fields. So jealous are the several tribes of what they consider their peculiar property, that they will in no wise permit the settlement of others. This remark particularly applies to the Sirperras, who scantily inhabit the districts under notice, the Kúrds, possessing the spacious plain of the Dasht Bídowlat, the Shervânís, who hold Khad, and the Raisánís, who suffer the rich lands of Dolai and Khânak to lie waste. In comparison with other Bráhúí tribes, the Sirperras are not considered wealthy. They formerly paid attention to the collection of assafoetida, but of late years the plants have failed in quantity. The appellation Gúrghína, is understood to relate to the wild ass, called Gúr; but the animal, believed formerly to have abounded in these parts, is not now found. He, however, still ranges in the level wastes beyond Núshkí. The districts of Ashí Khân and Púdén, west of Gúrghína, are inhabited by the Rodaní branch of the Sirperra tribe. The fixed population of the

lands held by the Sirperras will not exceed three hundred.

From the estimates we have made, it would appear that Sahárawân does not contain thirteen thousand fixed inhabitants, while the capital and its environs has about fourteen thousand. The amount of the pastoral tribes of Sahárawân is more difficult to guess, but it can hardly be imagined to exceed, if it equal, that of the fixed part of the community. Supposing it equal, we have about twenty-six thousand for the population of Sahárawân; or, if in estimating the number of fixed inhabitants, I have, in calculating five to a house, taken too low a rate, let six be allowed, and we shall not be able to raise the entire population above thirty thousand. The pastoral races in the neighbourhood of Kalât cannot be conceded on any account to equal one half of the fixed population, and in taking them at six thousand, the estimate, no doubt, is too high; but doing so, for the sake of arriving at an amount, we have twenty thousand for the population of the capital and vicinity. If we reflect on the extent of country over which this amount of human life is dispersed, we must be conscious how trifling the latter appears in contrast with the former. It is within the truth, and also for the sake of approximate calculation, to consider the countries in question as covering a square surface of one hundred miles, and containing, therefore, an area of ten thousand

square miles. The population of fifty thousand distributed over this space, gives but five souls to every square mile; nor need we be surprised at so low a result, when we reflect that entire marches may be made in the country without a solitary human being presenting himself to the observation of the traveller. It is instructive at all times to analyze the population of countries; but particularly so when the inhabitants are prone to exaggeration. Experience has convinced me that the population of Oriental countries has been much overrated.

JHALAWAN.

Includes the countries stretching in a southerly direction between Kalât and the maritime province of Las. To the west, barren tracts intervening, it has the provinces of Múshkí, Khárân, and Kolwah. To the east, the prolongation of the great mountain chains of Sahárawân divides it from the territories of Sind and the valley of the Indus. In this lengthened tract of country considerable variety in the climate and productions is apparent: to Bâghwân it partakes of the temperate character of Sahárawân; south of that place it is much warmer, and its natural indications assimilate with those of more tropical countries. To Bâghwân, also, the descent from the elevated plateau of Sahárawân is, while decided, yet gradual. Beyond it, or at Wad, a broad

belt of hills is entered ; emerging from which, after descending the pass, or lak of Barân, by the defile of Koharn Wât, the level plains of Las are gained on the margin of the ocean.

Jhálawân comprises the districts of Sohráb, Zehrí, Bâghwân, Khozdár, Zídí, Kappar, Wad, Nâll, and the hills of the Minghals, Bízúnjús, and Samaláris.

In the narratives of journeys from Súnmiání to Kalât I have, in traversing many of the districts of this province, noted the little that is to be said about them, and it would be needless repetition to reinsert that little here. The district of Zehrí lying out of our route, came not within the range of observation ; but it merits notice both because it is comparatively fertile and populous, and that it is the residence of the sirdár, or lord of Jhálawân. It lies about forty miles south of Kalât, and immediately north of the Múllöh river. Of a warmer climate than Kalât, and copiously supplied with rivulets, its cultivation of the several varieties of grain and pulse is vigorous. It has several villages, as Jagasúr, Nográm, Mishk, Búlbúl, Ghat, &c. Neighbours to Zehrí on the east and north-east, are the Jetaks, a rather numerous tribe, and dependent on it.

If we apply the same calculations to Jhálawân as we have done to the northern province, relative to its population, we shall again be surprised at the low results we gain. The fixed population of the various, but still few little towns, villages, and hamlets, cannot be allowed to exceed ten thousand.

The pastoral tribes in this province are superior in numbers, the great tribes of Míngals and Bízúnjús giving them an obvious preponderance. If, for the sake of an approximate result, we go so far as to suppose them to double the amount of the fixed population, we have about thirty thousand inhabitants for the extensive tracts of Jhálawân, which spread over a larger space than those of Sahárawân, as they certainly have twice the length from north to south, and generally about the same breadth.

FOURTH, OR EASTERN SECTION.

Comprises the large province of Kach Gandâva, with Hárand and Dájil, bordering on and west of the river Indus. This tract of country, while under the same parallels of latitude as Sahárawân, for Bâgh is nearly due west of Kalât, from its depressed level, has altogether a different climate. So, also, are its vegetable productions distinguished by varying features.

KACH GANDAVA.

The principal characteristics of this province are, its large extent of level surface, its excessively sultry climate, which has become proverbial, its scarcity of water for agricultural purposes, which restricts its cultivation, both as to quantity and

variety, and comparatively with other parts of the *khân* of Kalât's territories, its large amount of population, with abundance of towns and villages.

It is inhabited by three very distinctly marked races; the Jets, the Rinds (including the Maghazzís), and the Bráhuís. The Jets are undoubtedly the primitive inhabitants, the Rinds are more recent settlers, and the Bráhuís have acquired a permanent interest in the province only since the time of Nádir Shâh.

The capital of Kach Gandâva is Gandâva, which we are told is more correctly named Ganjâva, from some allusion to *ganj*, or treasure. It is a walled town, and frequently the winter residence of the *khân*. It is small, and without trade, deriving its little importance from its being deemed the ancient as well as modern capital. Bâgh is a much larger town, and will always be of some consequence, being situated on the high road of traffic from Shikárpúr to the north. Formerly decidedly the commercial capital of the province, it has declined of late years; many of the Hindú bankers who once resided in it, having transported themselves and their business to Kótrú, a town held by the Eltârz Zai branch of the reigning family, where they are exempt from the annoying interference of the *khân* of Kalât's ill-controlled officers. Bâgh contains above six hundred houses, is surrounded by crenated mud walls, has a fair bazar, and a governor on behalf of the *khân*. It is the mart for the sale of

sulphur, extracted from the mines of Súní. Seated on the bank of the Nárí river, its inhabitants are perplexed by the scarcity of water, when the bed of the stream is dry. Water derived from wells is too saline to be used as a beverage. The neighbourhood is well cultivated. Besides júarí, the cotton plant and sugar cane are grown. Kótrú, or the Castles, are four castles or forts, built by four brothers of the Eltárz Zai family, just noted. Of them, the one held by Kerim Khân, has become flourishing, and a town of consequence. It is north of Jell and west of Gandâva. Between Bâgh and Gandâva, is the town of Nasírabád, built by Nasír Khân, which has a governor on the part of the khân.

Under the lofty ridges of Sahárawân, defining the province to the west, are a variety of towns, held by Rind tribes; as Súní, Súrân, Ghájân, Kanára, Kárí, &c., with Kótrú, just mentioned; and farther south, Jell and Shádiá, belonging to the Magghazzís. Most of these places are watered by springs and rivulets from the hills. Súní has a rivulet flowing from Koh Nághow. Another, called Shorín, flows to Kotrú. The Bâdrah runs by Gandâva, while the Múlloh, a more considerable stream, enters the plain between Kótrú and Jell. On the opposite side of the plain, and east of Dádar, are again hills. These intervene between the province and Hárând and Dájil, immediately on the great river, the Indus. At their foot, on the Kach Gandâva side, are the towns of Máhoméd Reza, Faizar

Khân, Lehrí, Búghtí, Púlají, Chattar, Gúnarí, Shahár Islámpúr, &c. These are held by lawless tribes of Rinds, as the Jakránís, Dúmbakís, Búghtís, Marrís, &c. Nearly through the centre of the province winds the Nárí river. Rising in the hills near Toba, north of Shâll, it flows through the Khâkâ district of Borah, and then into the Afghân district of Síwí, from which it enters the plain of Kach Gandáva to the east of Dádar. It now winds by Noshára, Bakra, and Mítarí, towns of the Raisání Bráhuís, and thence passing Irí and Hâjí Shahár, flows by Bâgh. From Bâgh, its course leads to Tambú, a town of the Rinds, where it falls upon the Pat, or Waste, of Shikárpúr. When it has an excess of water, it is said to be enabled to traverse the Pat; in that case, at Gharí Khairah, a hold of the Jamálí Rinds, falling into a canal from the Indus. This river has a large number of villages on its banks. From its entrance upon the plain to Bâgh it has about sixty, and from Bâgh to Tambú, I have the names of fifty-five villages. These villages are chiefly inhabited by the Jet population, who possess the centre, as the intrusive tribes occupy the skirts of the province. Between Bâgh and Mítarí are the towns or villages of Maisar, Búghtí, Rústam, Shahár Dowlat, Shahár Jelâl Khân, &c., &c.

The grains most extensively cultivated in this province are júarí and bájra, which appear to be adapted to a dry soil. In the better and manured

lands near towns, the cotton-plant and sugar-cane are objects of attention. The júarí has two varieties, indiscriminately growing on the same space, one distinguished by its sweet stem, and eaten as sugar-cane.

The natural productions of Kach Gandâva are very limited; a few saline plants vegetate on its bare plains, and a belt of jangal intervening between Hâjí Shahár and Bâgh is composed of stunted mimosas and bér trees. The vicinities of towns and villages are distinguished by groves of the same trees, but of more stately growth. At Gandâva, which has long been noted as the abode of the great of the land, are gardens, where orange, lime, and, I believe, mango trees thrive. The spirit of the Eltarz Zai family of Kótrú has, in like manner, embellished its environs with gardens. Dádar in the north of the provinces has also its gardens, and pomegranates of their growth are prized. Groves of date trees enliven the appearance of this town, and dense belts of these trees appear to extend along the skirts of the hills to the eastward.

The climate of Kach Gandâva is so oppressive from April to August, that communications are nearly suspended, and travelling is attended with great risk, from the hot winds, which sweep over the parched, arid plains, with fatal violence. No less terrific are the emanations emitted from the heated surface of the soil.

Between this province and the domain of Shi-

kárpúr stretches a barren, naked tract, known as the Pat of Shikárpúr. It is between thirty and forty miles across. Not a tree or shrub vegetates on this expanse. No water is found to supply the necessities of the traveller. With a level below that of the upper parts of the province, it receives the drainage of their waters in certain seasons. As suddenly as the fluid precipitates itself upon the surface, so is it suddenly imbibed by the thirsty soil. It has been the scene of infamous depredations, being considered neutral ground, as it is the boundary between the possessions of Kalât and Sind in this direction. Westward it extends to the superior hills, and separates the lands of the Magghazzís, subjects of Kalât, from those of the Chándí tribe, dependent on Sind.

In the hill ranges east of the plain of Kachí, and intervening between it and the provinces of Hárand and Dájil, are the abodes of the Doda Marrís, who have been there located above three centuries. Their principal town, Kâhan, has become memorable in our days through its occupation and abandonment by British troops, as well as by the disasters and losses it involved. The Marrís have long been distinguished as daring depredators, and have proved themselves to be a brave race. The Dodas are but a division of the great Marrí tribe, which is widely dispersed.

HARAND AND DAJIL.

These provinces border on the river Indus, having on the north, the district of Déra Ghází Khân, and to the south that held by the Mazáris. They are inhabited by the Gúrchání tribe of Rinds, and the government conferred the title of Nawâb on the person who held it. Hárând is reputed an ancient site, but Dájil is said to be, at present, the most flourishing of the towns. The villages are numerous, notwithstanding the soil is not considered fertile, probably by reason of proximity to the river. Hárând and Dájíl, anciently comprised in the government of Déra Ghází Khân, were ceded, together with Shâll, to Nasír Khân, by Ahmed Shâh, in recompense for his services in the Persian wars. They have since been taken possession of by Ranjit Singh of Lahore, and his successor holds them.

With reference to the population of these countries, it is impossible to concede to Kach Gandâva one hundred thousand, or to the Marrí hills, with Hárând and Dájil, above fifty thousand inhabitants. Granting an equal number to Sahárawân, including Núshki, Kalât, and Jhálawân, and again an equal number to the Western Provinces, we obtain a total of four hundred and fifty thousand inhabitants for the territories of the khân of Kalât; a trifling number compared with their extent, yet still rather over than under estimated.

PART II.

TRIBES OF EASTERN BALOCHISTAN.

IN the preceding pages a considerable insight into the nomenclature, and variety of the tribes of Eastern Balochistân, will have been acquired. It may still be advisable to devote a particular portion of this memoir to their classification and distribution, as well as to note the peculiar or accidental circumstances which distinguish them, when considered individually, or in relation with each other. Some readers may not deem it useless to notice the details the inhabitants have preserved of their origin, or to offer such conjectures as may tend to enlighten, if ever so little, that obscure subject.

Numerous as are the tribes dispersed over these extensive regions, those considered Baloch may be reduced to three great classes, the Bráhuís, the Rinds, and the Lumrís. Of those not Baloch, there are the Déhwârs of the capital and the fixed villages, the Jets of Kach Gandâva, the marine tribes of the coast, the Afghâns of Shâll, and, to complete the review, the Hindú residents in villages and towns. It is manifest that the Baloch class eminently claims attention in these pages.

We behold a race of people, calling themselves Baloch, extending from the eastern limits of Kach Gandâva and the valley of Sind to the frontier of Persia. It is clear that in this community are comprised many tribes of very different descent, inferring from the physiological distinctions which prevail amongst them, setting aside the variety in the dialects spoken by them. Some of them have dark countenances, which savour much of an Indian pedigree, while others are so much fairer, that we can scarcely believe them to be of eastern origin. If we examine the system of that portion of the Baloch community called Bráhúí, we find the tribes acknowledging the superiority of one, the Mírwârí, from which they select their head, or chief. This tribe is located in the provinces of Múshkí, Jhow, and Kolwah, which may be considered its headquarters, and which are intermediate between the central provinces of Sahárawân and Jhálawân and the western one of Kej. There is every reason to believe that the Bráhúís entered the central provinces from the west, their position, *hodie*, demonstrates it; and they consider Khozdár as their ancient capital, or that which they occupied previous to the acquisition of Kalât. In Kach Gandâva we find them only as proprietors of lands acquired within a known period, and on a certain occasion. If we analyze the appellation they have assumed, we learn little from it, and of that little we may not be certain. It has been conjectured to be the

equivalent of Varāha, and a race of that name figured in contentions with the Rájput̃s; but it appears to have inhabited the Panjāb and the countries east of it. Had the term been Barohí,—and the pronunciation approximates thereto,—it might have been supposed to be simply “ba roh-í,” or, “of the waste;” as we would say, “makhlúk̃h baroh-í,” or, “people of the waste.” That some of the tribes now known as Bráhuí are not strictly such we may imagine; circumstances of neighbourhood, intercourse, and identity of interests, have blended them. To separate them is not so easy; but, possibly, those tribes may be more correctly considered Bráhuí who speak the dialect so called. It has no resemblance to the dialects of the Afghāns or Jets, and Professor Heeren, who connects the Bráhuís with the Afghāns, has, I submit, erred.

The Bráhuís may be divided into three sections, with reference to the parts of the country they inhabit.

SECTION I.

INHABITANTS OF THE WESTERN PROVINCES.

Mírwarí . . .	dwell in Múshkí, Jhow, and Kolwah.
Gitchkí . . .	dwell in Panjghúr and Kej.
Núshírvâní . . .	dwell in Khárân.
Homarárí . . .	dwell in Kolwah.
Mehmasaní . . .	dwell in Múshkí.
Rodábhí . . .	dwell in Kolwah.
Kalmattí . . .	dwell at Kalamat and Pessaní, on the coast of Mekrán.

Sangúr . . .	dwel at Malân and Batt, on coast of Mekrân.
Gújar . . .	dwel at ditto.
Hállada . . .	dwel at Jhow.
Zigger Míngahs	dwel at Núshkí.
Rakshânís . .	dwel at ditto.
Sâka . . .	dwel at Gréshar in Múshkí.

SECTION II.

INHABITANTS OF SAHARAWAN.

Raisání . . .	dwel at Mastúng, Sháll, &c.
Sirperra . . .	dwel at Gúrghína.
Shirwâni . . .	dwel at Mastúng.
Máhmúds'hâhí .	dwel at Mastúng.
Bangúl Zai . .	dwel at Mastúng.
Kúrd . . .	dwel on Dasht Bídowlat and Merv.
Lárl . . .	dwel at Mastúng.
Langhow . . .	dwel at Mangachar.
Rodaní . . .	dwel at Ashí Khân and Púden.
Ghazghí . . .	dwel at Ghazg.
Shékh Hússéní .	dwel in hills west of Khânak.
Samalárl . . .	dwel in ditto.
Súnárl . . .	dwel on Dasht Gúrân.

SECTION III.

INHABITANTS OF JHALAWAN.

Zehrl . . .	dwel in Zehrl.
Minghal . . .	dwel in hills north of Las.
Bízúnjú . . .	dwel in the same hills, west of Míngahs.
Kaidránl . . .	dwel in hills near Khozdár.
Sáholí . . .	dwel in ditto.
Jetaks . . .	dwel in hills east of Zehrl.
Lútíánís . . .	dwel in Zehrl.

SECTION I.—TRIBES OF THE WESTERN PROVINCES.

It is unnecessary to recapitulate here the remarks already made on these tribes in the geographical portion of the Memoir. Of the Mírwârí it has been already observed, that it is the more illustrious of the tribes; and of the Mehmasaní it may be noticed, that branches of it reside in the province of Sístân, and again in the hills of Louristân, W. by N. of Shíráz. These all acknowledge a common origin. It may be remembered that the name is classical, being that of a powerful tribe encountered by Alexander in Upper Bactriana.

The Núshírwânís of Khárân claim a Persian descent, and, in common with the illustrious Rájpút tribes of Udípur, in western India, trace to the celebrated Núshírwân. In Múshkí, the tribe of Sâka deserves notice; it may be preserving the name of that powerful and ancient people so well known as the Sacæ in histories relating to the East.

SECTION II.—TRIBES OF SAHARAWAN.

The principal of the Sahárawân tribes, both as to rank and wealth, although not in numerical strength, is the Raisání, the chief of whom is the hereditary sirdár, or lord, of the province. The present chief is Assad Khân, whose brother, Mírúlah, fell a

victim to the fears of Mehráb Khân, and his minister, Dáoud Máhoméd. In 1830 he fled to Kândahár, and accompanied an invading army to Sháll and Mastúng. He retired with it, but was induced to return to Sahárawân at the instance of his mother. Assad Khân resides, during the warm months, at Gúl Máhoméd, in the plain of Khânak, near Mastúng. In winter he retreats to Mítarí, in Kach Gandâva; which, with dependent villages, he holds in grant. In late years he has become a cripple, and therefore less able to take a part in public affairs. The Raisánís pretend to be able to raise five hundred fighting men, and are the most respectable in conduct of the Sahárawân tribes. They derive their name from furnishing the rais, or principal, of the various confederated clans.

The Sirperra reside during summer in Gúrgína, and during winter in Kach Gandâva, where they hold the village of Bírí, on the banks of the Nárí, between Irí and Hájí Shahár. Their sirdár is Saiyad Khân, and they pretend to raise one thousand fighting men. This tribe, in its appellation signifying "cutters off of heads," bears one recognized in Indian as well as classical records. Pliny, for instance, mentions the Saraparæ in conjunction with the Bactrians, &c., in the neighbourhood of the Oxus.

The Shirwâní reside, with other tribes, in the districts of Sháll and Mastúng. They exclusively occupy Khad and Kishân, with the small town of

Skalkoh, about three miles eastward of Kalât. In Kach Gandâva they hold the towns and villages of Hâjî Shahâr, Maisar, Rústam, Ambí, and Bâghai. This tribe pretend to muster two thousand fighting men; and the chief, Máhoméd Khân, dwells near Mastúng. In the recent revolt in Balochistân he took a prominent part, indeed, commenced it by the slaughter of Lieut. Loveday's múnshí, Ghúlám Hússén, and a small detachment of sípáhís. Under the arrangements made by the envoy and minister, he became naib of Mastúng to his majesty Shâh Sújah al Múlkh, with a salary of two hundred rupees per mensem. He had long withstood the solicitations of those who meditated the outbreak, owing to his naturally timid or cautious disposition, and perhaps might have held out against them had not the violence of the unfortunate múnshí prompted him to action. The Shirwâní tribe believe that their forefathers came from Shirwân, in the neighbourhood of the Caspian, and thus account for the name they assume.

The Máhmúdshâhí dwell chiefly at Mastúng, possessing also Kúhak. In Kach Gandâva they hold Zirdád, a village west of Bâgh. The chief, Dínár, dwells near Mastúng. The tribe pretend to muster fifteen hundred fighting men. Dínár was one of the most active in the late revolt.

The Bangúl Zai reside at Shâll and Mastúng. They exclusively occupy Isprinjí. In Kach Gandâva, a portion of this tribe permanently reside at

Tallí, near Lehrí, and thither, in winter, the migratory portion also repair. The chief is Jân Máhoméd, and the tribe pretends to muster two thousand fighting men. Jân Máhoméd, in concert with Dínár, was unremitting in his efforts to produce rebellion, long before Máhoméd Khân could be persuaded to join them, and employed himself in swearing his partisans on the Korân.

The Kúrds possess the Dasht Bídowlat and Merv. In Kach Gandâva they hold Tirkárí, about two miles north of Bâgh. The sirdár is Saiyad Khân; his tribe pretend to draw out five hundred fighting men. It is subdivided into the Mádé Zai (the principal branch), the Shúdan Zai, the Zirdád Zai, the Sáltag Zai, the Shádí Zai, and the Massutárí. It need not be remarked, that this tribe bears the name of one of the most celebrated and ancient nations on the earth.

The Larís, with other tribes, reside at Mastúng and Shâll, while they hold exclusively Nermúk. In Kach Gandâva they have a tract of country below Bâgh. They pretend to raise fifteen hundred fighting men, and their chief is Máhoméd Khân, reputed a brave man. He became a warm supporter of the insurgents. This tribe, in designation at least, are connected with others in the deltá of Sind, and in the countries to the east.

The Langhow tribe dwell principally in the plain of Mangachar, and hold in Kach Gandâva the village of Bagarar, south of Bâgh. Their chief is Pír

Máhomed, and they pretend to muster fifteen hundred fighting men. The Langhows are said, originally, to have been slaves of the Rinds, enfranchized by the famed Mír Chákar on the occasion of his daughter's nuptials. This tribe is so plainly of common origin with some of the Indian races, that they yet retain Hindú appellations, and the title *singh* is frequent amongst them.

The Rodanís reside at Ashí Khân, and Púdén, west of Kúrdígap. In Kach Gandâva they hold Irí. They pretend to raise four hundred fighting men. Their chief is Táj Máhomed. This tribe is, in fact, a branch of the Sirperra, but has long been accustomed to act independently. A portion of it also resides at Sohráb in Jhálawân.

The Ghazghí tribe residing at Ghazg, in Kach Gandâva, hold Gájân. They pretend to muster four hundred fighting men, and their chief is Kerím-dád Khân.

The Shékh Hússéní reside at the skirts of the hills west of Khânak, have for their chief Dáoud Máhomed, and pretend to raise three hundred fighting men.

The Samalári were formerly located in Khânak and Dolai; but, committing depredations, fled to the hills of Péshing. Being regarded with jealousy, they repaired thence to the hills, between Khânak and Sherrúd; where they now reside as fugitives. It is supposed that they will be invited to resume their original seats. Their chief is Moríd, and they pretend to raise five hundred fighting men.

The Súnárí inhabit the Dasht Gúrán near Kalât. They are a branch of the Zehrí tribe of Jhálawân, and pay deference to its sirdár. They pretend to raise two hundred fighting men. They occupied their present position on the emigration of the Zigger Minghals into Núshkí.

SECTION III.—TRIBES OF JHALAWAN.

The Zehrí inhabit the valley of Zehrí, the one deriving its name from the other. Its chief is hereditary sirdár of Jhálawân, and resides at Ghatt. At present the rank is borne by a minor, the son of the late Rashíd Khân. The tribe is numerous, and generally respected for orderly habits.

The Jetaks, neighbours to Zehrí, are also a numerous tribe, but, without fixed villages, are dispersed over the hills. Their name implies that they are related to the Jet population of Kachí, which their position confirms.

The Minghal tribe inhabit the southern hills of Jhálawân from the limits of Khozdár to Béla in Las. Their manners are rude, and their habits predatory. They have two great divisions, the Shâhí Zai and Pâhlawân Zai. The present chiefs are Isâ Khân and Réhim Khân. Although this tribe does not migrate into Kach Gandâva, the chiefs hold lands at or near Púlají and Chatter, and south of Lehrí. The Minghals pretend to raise

eighteen thousand fighting men, and their chiefs reside at Wad.

The Bízúnjús inhabit the same hills as the Minghals, but westward of them. They are, if possible, a more violent people, and much addicted to rapine. Their chief resides at Náll. This tribe separates into the great branches of Amalárí and Tambarárí. In Kach Gandâva the chiefs possess lands south of Bâgh. I should consider they were quite as numerous as the Minghals, without, however, knowing their pretensions in that respect. The Kaidránís inhabit the hills contiguous to Bâghwân and Khozdár. Amongst them are the lead mines of Kappar, near which dwells the chief, Alí Morád.

The Sâholí dwell at Zídí, in the hills south-east of Khozdár, under their chief, Attá Khân.

RIND TRIBES IN KACH GANDAVA.

The great Rind tribes, although not Brahúís, are included under the general denomination of Baloch. Their traditions affirm them to be immigrants, at some remote period, from Damascus and Aleppo. It is, however, difficult at this time, to detect any trace of a western original in their appearance; but we must reflect, that if there be any truth in their records, they have been familiar to the climate of India, and in a course of amalgamation with its tribes, for nearly twenty-five centuries.

The language of the Rinds, in common with that of the other inhabitants of Kach Gandâva, is the Jetkî. They are subdivided into so many as forty-four branches. Although they have partially intruded themselves into the hills of Sahârawân, they never appear to have passed them; and, on every account, we can believe that, whatever their origin, they found their way into Kach Gandâva from the east. When mentioning the term Bráhúí, we have tendered our suspicions, that it may rather define the habits and mode of life of the people bearing it, than their peculiar race or origin. The same suspicion attaches, in our estimation, to the word Rind, which, we apprehend, signifies nothing more than a brave man. Thus "mird-rind" means "a brave man." With the general term Baloch we have more difficulty. Ebn Haukal, speaking of the inhabitants of Mekrân, says, "Many resemble the Arabs, eating fowl and fish; others are like the Curds." He further says, "The Boloujes are in the desert of Mount Kefes, and Kefes, in the Pársí language, is Kouje, and they call these two people Koujes and Baloujes." The appellation is, therefore, of some antiquity. There are numerous Baloches in the countries east of the Indus, and they are all, I believe, Rinds, as in Bahâwalpúr and the Panjâb. They have a similarity of appearance, and a peculiarity of dress, which does not allow them to be mistaken.

The Rinds of Kach Gandâva, of whom the prin-

cipal branch is the Utan Zai, pretend to be able to raise fifteen thousand men, and in political matters are supposed to act with deference to the Bráhúí sirdár of Sahárawân. A deadly blood feud rages between them and their neighbours, the Maghazzís. My acquaintance with the Rind tribes is not perfect; and I regret not being more fully informed as to their history. Of the tribes inhabiting Kach Gandáva, some are the

Utan Zai	. dwelling at	Súrân.
Dúmbkí	. „	Léhrí.
Jakrání	. . „	Léhrí.
Jallúí	. . „	Sanní.
Lashárí	. . „	Gájân.
Doda Marrí	„	Kâhan.
Búghtí	. . „	in hills E. of Léhrí, at Sing Saloh and Terikí.
Homárârí	. dwelling at	Tambú.
Jamáli	. . „	Rojân.

Of these tribes, the Dúmbkís, Jakránís, Búghtís, and Doda Marrís, always distinguished by their rebellious and predatory propensities, have acquired a more than ordinary repute by the excesses they indulged in during the operations of the British armies west of the Indus, as well as by the equivocal results of the efforts made to restrain and to punish them. Ignoble and obscure, they might have so remained had their treatment in the first instance been due and considerate, but, owing to neglect, from contemptible mauraunders they became powerful adversaries; and, in the contest with them

it is difficult to conceive which party had the advantage.

Residing in the north-eastern hills of Sahárawân are the minor tribes of the

Kallúi . .	dwelling at Lúp.
Kúchik . .	„ Kirta.
Púzh . .	„ Johân.
Mandarári .	„ Rodbár.
Púgh . .	„ Kajúrí.

On the western banks of the Indus, extending from the neighbourhood of Dájil, are two great branches of the Rind tribe; the Gúrchanís, inhabiting Hárând, and the Mazáris stretching south of them. The Mazáris, a predatory tribe, having a tract of country yielding, it is said, a revenue of one lakh of rupees per annum, are nearly independent, acknowledging, should necessity prevail, the supremacy of Sind. At this time, they are pressed by the Síkhs, who have insinuated their troops into Dájil and Hárând.

The Marrís, a considerable tribe, inhabit the eastern hills of Kach Gandâva. They are notorious for their lawless habits, make frequent inroads upon the plains, and are wholly in rebellion to the khân of Kalât. A portion of this tribe is found in the hills west of the province, below Jell. They are peaceable and obedient subjects. A larger portion is also found on the south-eastern frontier of Sind, where they have a town, called Adam Marrí. These, of course, are subjects of Sind. The Marrís

have the singular custom of never selling roghan, alleging, that they reserve it for their guests. The Jamâlí tribe, will, for the same reason, on no account sell milk.

The Búladaí, with their chief, Bárám Khân, reside at Warí, north of Lárkhâna, in Sind, and are subject to the Amírs. Also under the hills, the western boundaries of Sind, are portions of the Utan Zai, Jamâli, and other Rind tribes, who emigrated from Kach Gandâva in the time of Nasir Khân, and were granted a settlement in Sind. The greater part of the country west of the Indus, from the parallel of Shikárpúr to that of Sehwan, is held by Baloch tribes; but it is foreign to our purpose to consider them the subjects of another state.

In the Afghân district of Síwí, to the north-east of Dádar, are the Baloch tribes Khadjak and Shí-lârchí. The former are said to hold the villages of Khadjak, Gúlú, and Lúní. The Shelârchís have a village called Shelârchí, with a chief, Ahmed Khân. They are neighbours in Síwí to the Afghân tribes of Sáfi, Kúrak, Margazári, and Dappâl.

In the hills east of Kâhan, are the Hússénís, Cháchas, Ketras, Beloch tribes. They are independent, being remote. To their east, is Sanghân, belonging to the Píarí Afghâns, with a castle or fort of the same name, and a village called Mandéh.

The Magghazzís, the mortal enemies of the Rinds, are probably of the same race. They count only

four families, of which the principal is the Bútâní, whose chief, Ahmed Khân, resides at Jell, in the south-western quarter of Kach Gandâva, south of Kotrú and the Rind districts of Súran, Sanní, &c. They pretend to be able to raise two thousand fighting men, and in the political system of the Bráhúís, are placed in obedience to the sirdár of Jhálawân.

THE JETS OF KACH GANDAVA.

The Jets constitute the great bulk of the fixed agricultural population of Kach Gandâva, as of the Panjâb and Sindetic provinces; to say nothing of the countries between the Satlej and Ganges. A race so widely dispersed, of course, claims attention. Wherever located it is distinguished by speaking nearly the same dialect, and the name designating it carries us back to the Getic or Gothic invaders of India and of Europe. To the north and west of Kach Gandâva they are not found as agriculturists, but rather as itinerant professors of humble arts, somewhat like gypsies. Under such conditions they may be discovered at Kâbal, Kandahár, and even at Herát, at which latter place they are called, perhaps with reference to their occupations, Gharib Zâda, or descended of the poor or lowly. But wherever they go they preserve their vernacular tongue, the Jetkí. In the Panjâb, I believe, they do not occur westward of the Jélam,

which is instructive, as showing, if they represent the ancient Getic races, how they have been pushed forward by subsequent invaders. There can be no doubt but that the Getæ once possessed the whole of the countries immediately east and west of the Indus. With the Jet population, east of the Jélam, waggons, to the traveller from the west, first make their appearance.

The language of the Jet races deserves notice, especially with reference to the important question, what is Hindí? Materials for the comparison of its various dialects exist in their several vocabularies, and the labour of reviewing them could not be unprofitable. The settlement of the Jets in Kach Gandâva has been at so remote a period, that they now appear as the aborigines. Their subdivisions are numerous. The names of some of them are the Kalora, which formerly gave princes to Sind, Kokar, Hampí, Túnía, Abbrah, Púsarár, Máchí, Howra, Manjú, Waddara, Palál, Búah, &c.

LUMRIS OF LAS.

We have already pointed out the common origin of these races with the Rajpút, or Indo-Scythic tribes of India, and we have noted their subdivisions. They claim, and justly, a close affinity with the Búlfat, or Namadí, and the Júkía tribes of Sind, their neighbours to the east. Of these, it

may be observed, that the Búlfats are divided into two principal clans, the Bâppahâní and the Ammallâni; and that the Júkías are subdivided into fourteen families: the Tébir (the chief), Músa, Bardíjáh, Sálaráh, Haría-pútra, Mohmat, Panda, Hinghúra, Ghád, Hartí, Tagía, Hamíra-kâh, Shikárí, and Ponwár.

MARINE TRIBES OF THE SEA PORTS.

These, called Méds, we have before noticed, and need not repeat our remarks here.

DEHWARS OF THE CAPITAL AND FIXED VILLAGES.

Of these people we have before had occasion to point out that an interest attaches to them, from their position, settled mode of life, and from the fact of their vernacular language being what is known as Persian.

AFGHANS OF SHALL.

These need scarcely be considered when touching on the tribes of Balochistân, albeit they are not without claims to attention, if, in their appellation, Kâssí, they have preserved that of the

important race, which, at some remote period, predominated over a large portion of Asia, and whose memory is consecrated in the mythological and authentic literature of so many nations, as well as by current traditions.

PART III.

GOVERNMENT AND HISTORY.

ON the subject of Bráhuí history we inquire in vain for any written record. Tradition, and the national songs, commemorating the exploits of chiefs and illustrious men, are the only native sources of information at command. The testimony they yield is necessarily obscure and exaggerated. We know, however, that the armies of the caliphs, at an early period, or within the first century of the hejira, appeared, both in Sind and Khorasân; and it may be inferred that Balochistân was visited by them. The natives, however, recovered authority; for we find, in Sind, two families ruling, one of them of the Rájpút race certainly, as was the other probably, although converted to Islâm, since, with the former, its chief bore the title of jám. About this time the Sehrais, a Máhomedan family from Sind, governed at Kalât, and their burial-ground is still shown immediately south of the town walls. They were displaced by the Séwah, a Hindú tribe, whose expulsion was effected by the Bráhuís, still in power. There are no means of ascertaining the dates of these changes.

The Bráhuí conquest is believed to have been achieved under the orders of Kambar, a chief of the Mírwârí tribe; and the consequence was the adoption of a new form of government, suited to the enlarged possessions acquired. It was fixed, that the supreme power should be vested in Kambar, and that it should be hereditary; while other two chiefs, of the tribes Raisání and Zehrí, were appointed sirdárs; the first, of Sahárawân, and the last of Jhálawân; and these dignities were alike hereditary. It was, moreover, arranged that these two sirdárs, on all occasions of darbár, or council, were to sit, the sirdár of Sahárawân to the right, the sirdár of Jhálawân to the left of the khân. Matters of public interest, or which concerned the welfare of the Bráhuí community, were first to be submitted to the consideration of the sirdár of Sahárawân, who had also a priority in the delivery of his opinion. In the second instance, the sirdár of Jhálawân was to be consulted. Nothing of importance was to be undertaken without the concurrence of these two sirdárs, who, possessing an influence amongst their tribes independent of the khân, could at pleasure withhold their support. It became necessary, therefore, for the khân to act in concert with his hereditary counsellors, or, otherwise, he became suddenly powerless. This system of rule, whether suggested by the notion of promoting ~~the~~ union between the khân and his tribes, or of effectually counteracting any attempt on his

part to assume despotic authority, placed the head of the government in too dependent a state, and subject to the caprices of chiefs, it may be presumed, often restless and contrary. The khân had, besides, a special adviser, or vazír, whose office was alike made hereditary; and this minister was selected from the Déhwâr, or Tâjik population, showing a desire to conciliate that class of subjects from whom revenue was to be principally derived. Barbarous as are the Bráhuí tribes at this day, it is fair to suppose that they were formerly more so, and fancy portrays but a rude picture of the infancy of their government. The resources of the khân must have been very scanty, as he derived then, as now, no revenue from the tribes; and the provinces of Kach Gandâva and Dájíl to the east, and of Panjghúr, Kej, &c., to the west, were under other authority, or independent. The scanty revenues of Kalât, and of the villages of Sahárawân and Jhálawân, must have furnished him with the means of keeping his court, paying his troops, &c.

They must, moreover, have been very trifling, as there is reason to believe that one of the first measures of the Bráhuí rulers was the banishment of their Hindú subjects, and this unenlightened policy was acted upon until the era of Nasír Khân. Very probably, the khâns of Kalât were, for a long period, dependent on the spoils of their neighbours; and the chief subject of council debate may have been the selection of points on which to direct

their forays ; indeed, the first of them, whose name is consecrated to fame, owed his renown to having been a more than ordinary bold and successful depredator. Notwithstanding the imperfect form of government, and the excessive power of the hereditary sirdárs, no change has been made in the Bráhuí dynasty up to this time, and the present chief can boast of being the descendant of eighteen sovereign khâns, or princes. This fact may favour the opinion that the Bráhuí constitution is adapted to the people for whose government it was framed. It may be, perhaps, as reasonably accounted for by the limited sphere of action formerly open to the exercise of political contentions, and the submission of the country to the great Indian empire. We find Séwistan (described as comprising Sahárawân and Jhálawân) enumerated amongst the provinces of the empire in the time of the emperor Akbár, and noted as furnishing quotas of troops, but paying no tribute. Immediately before the invasion of Nádir the authority of the empire was little respected in its remoter provinces, and the several petty chiefs of Síwí, Sind, and Kalát, affected independence, and waged mutual war. About this time, or at the commencement of the eighteenth century, the khân of Kalát and of the Bráhuís was Abdúlah Khân, an enterprising chieftain, who made marauding excursions to Kej, Panjghúr, Kândahár, and so particularly harassed and desolated Kach Gandâva, that, to use the expression of

the Bráhúís, who relate his history, its “naffas,” or “vital principle,” became extinct. In one of these inroads, an army arrived from Sind, of eight thousand men, with which Abdúláh Khân, with fifteen hundred men, ventured to commit himself in conflict. He was slain, with three hundred of his followers. His corpse, it is said, was never found. The action took place at Jandrír, between Dádar and Mítarí, where, some years afterwards, Nasír Khân formed a garden, called Mír Bâgh. He also erected a cenotaph to the memory of his father under the hills east of Kalât. The memory of Abdúláh Khân is cherished by his countrymen, who are fond of relating his lawless exploits, and who revere him as the author of their political importance. His son, Mohábat Khân, succeeded, and while he ruled the invasion of Hindústán by Nádir happened; and the whole of the provinces west of the Indus were annexed to the Persian empire by the treaty which followed the submission of Máhomed Shâh. Nádir undertook the settlement of his newly acquired territory, and, it is said, by his orders, Mir Núr Máhomed, Kalora, the prince of Sind, was delivered into the hands of Mohábat Khân, that he might avenge the death of his father. The Bráhúí chief declined the commission of murder, and Nádir compelled the Kalora prince to cede Kach Gandâva as an equivalent or atonement for the blood of his slaughtered father. Hence it is

always spoken of as having been acquired by the blood of Abdúlah Khân.

Nádir, however, found the Bráhuí chief in hostility with his inveterate opponents, the Ghiljís, then holding Kândahár, and therefore was disposed to regard him favourably; and the services he received from Mohábat Khân had most likely as much to do with the cession of Kach Gandâva as a desire to compensate for the blood of Abdúlah Khân.

Mohábat Khân, in imitation of his father, set on foot several forays; amongst them, one upon the vicinity of Kândahár. This proved unfortunate. The government of that place, consequent on the murder of Nádir, fell to the vigorous Ahmed Shâh, who revenged the insult by ravaging Sahárawân, by the destruction of some castles, particularly the citadel of Mastúng, and by carrying with him to Kândahár, as hostages for the future good behaviour of the Kalât chief, his two brothers, Eltárz Khân and Nasír Khân, afterwards so famed. Mohábat Khân was not popular with his chiefs, and the then sirdár of Sahárawân held a correspondence with his younger brother, Nasír Khân, at Kândahár; also with Ahmed Shâh, who, already prepossessed in favour of Nasír Khân, summoned Mohábat Khân to his capital, where he detained him in captivity until his death, deputing Nasír Khân to rule in his stead. This chief, while a hostage with Ahmed Shâh, had the misfortune to slay, accidentally, his

brother, *Eltárz Khán*, from whom the *Eltárz Zai* families of *Bâghwân* and *Kotrú* are descended.

Nasír Khán, by his capacity to govern, justified the choice of his subjects and the favour of the *Dúrání* sovereign, and soon developed enlarged and enlightened views of policy. His grand object was to effect the union of the *Baloch* community; and, with the view of engaging the hearty coöperation of his tribes, and to secure the recent acquisition of *Kach Gandâva*, he divided its lands and revenues into four equal portions, making over two shares to the tribes of *Sahárawân* and *Jhálawân*, assigning another to the *Jet* population of the country, and retaining the fourth to benefit his own revenue. A fifth portion, occupied by the *Rinds* and *Magghazzís*, was not interfered with, grants to them having been made by *Nádir*. These two tribes, however, were included within the political system of the *Bráhuís*; the *Rinds* by being attached to *Sahárawân*, and the *Magghazzís* by being united to *Jhálawân*. No arrangement could have been more popular; and it is worthy of observation that, while intended to provide against the recovery of the province by the *Kalora* princes of *Sind*, it was not only effectual, but has proved in our days the means of exciting the tribes to a strenuous opposition to the measures adopted by the British political authorities; for there can be no doubt that the unjust annexation of *Kach Gandâva* to the crown of *Kâbal* was one of the main causes of the

revolt in Balochistân. Before the grants of Nasír Khân the several Bráhúí tribes of Sahárawân were accustomed to migrate into Kachí with their flocks for the winter season, paying a certain amount for the sufferance of settlement and right of pasture. As the wealth of these people lies in their flocks, which cannot subsist during the winter months on the bleak snowy wilds of Sahárawân, the advantage of permanent possessions on the warm and level plains of Kachí were inestimable to them; and how it came to be expected that they were to be renounced without murmur or struggle I know not, unless through ignorance of the habits of the tribes, and of the tenure on which they held a footing in the province.

Nasír Khân, by original treaty a dependent on the Dúrání king, through his signal services in the field obtained so great a share of favour, that Ahmed Shâh ceded to him, in recompence, the districts of Shâll and Mastúg, with the provinces of Hárand and Dájil. The Bráhúís claim Shâll on account of having wrested it from the Teríns in the time of Abdúlah Khân; but, by reason of the inhabitants being Afghâns, it had been resumed by Ahmed Shâh, when he resented the inroad of Mohábat Khân, although now restored by him to Nasír Khân. The Kalât chief carried his victorious arms into Kej and Panjghúr, annexing them, with the intermediate provinces, to his dominion. Ultimately, he provoked Ahmed Shâh, who besieged

him in his capital, which would have fallen, had not mediation been interposed. During the latter part of his reign he had to suppress the revolts raised by Báhrám Khân, grandson of Mohábat Khan, who, young and active, asserted by force of arms his pretensions to power.

Nasír was sedulous in consolidating his territory and in improving his resources. He encouraged the settlement of Hindús in his towns, and recalled a colony of Bábís, who had been expelled by his predecessor. He strengthened his connexion with the maritime province of Las, and obtained possession of the port of Karáchí from the Kalora prince of Sind. He died, after a glorious and lengthened rule of forty years. His liberality had always been great, and he left to his son and successor an extended empire, but a scanty treasury, of three lákhs of rupees.

Máhmúd Khân had early to dispute the possession of authority with Bahrâm Khân and his father, Hájí Khân, who had been released, or had escaped from Kândahár. They were so far successful that Hájí Khân recovered Kalât, and Máhmúd was compelled to call in the aid of the Dúránís, who afforded it. Hájí Khân, respected while occupying the mírí, or citadel of Kalât, which is held in peculiar veneration by the Bráhúís, was plundered by them as soon as he left it, and soon after, being placed in the power of the Dúránís, was carried back by them to Kândahár, where he died.

His son, after many bold but fruitless attempts to establish himself, became, at length, a prisoner to Máhmúd, and died at Kalát, leaving two sons in confinement. In the contest between Máhmúd and Hájí Khân the sirdár of Jhálawân, then Khodâbakhsh, had taken many oaths on the Korân to support the cause of the latter. When the crisis came he ranged himself on the side of Máhmúd, and when his engagements to Hájí Khân were urged upon him, he observed, that it was true he had given the Korân to Hájí, but that he had given his beard to Máhmúd. He clearly thought he might do without the Korân, but not without his beard, and this is the case with many of the Bráhuí tribes, who regard an oath upon their beards as the most sacred of obligations. The Marrís, and some other tribes, in like manner, consider an oath on their swords as the most stringent of ties.

During these troubles the province of Kej renounced the yoke imposed upon it by Nasír Khân, and Máhmúd Khân was too much engaged to support his claims. Without the enterprise or ability of his father, the Kalát chief might have seen his territories further curtailed, but for the energies of his half brothers, Mastapha Khân and Réhim Khân. The disorders of the Minghal and Bízúnjú tribes of Jhálawân aroused him from his usual inactivity, and he revenged himself upon their chiefs by their common slaughter, near Khozdár.

The Kalora dynasty had now terminated in Sind. The last of its princes, weak and cruel, had been expelled by his officers of the Tâlpûri tribe, and the government was in the hands of four brothers, one of whom, Fatí Alí, was a man of some decision of character. One of his first acts was the resumption of Karáchí. Mahmúd Khân contented himself with demanding its restitution by his ambassadors. His brother, Mastapha Khân, contemplated its recovery by force of arms, when he was prematurely cut off, as will be noticed. Important political changes occurred in Afghânistân. Máhmúd Khân remained faithful to the treaty concluded between his father and Ahméd Shâh, acknowledging the Sadú Zai prince, the sovereign of the day, whether Shâh Máhmúd or Shâh Sújâh. Up to a late period a Bráhuí contingent, of one thousand men, was stationed in Káshmir.

The two brothers of Máhmúd Khân, Mastapha Khân and Réhim Kkân, were remarkable men, and their singular lives and tragical deaths might form a topic of romance, as well as of history. Mastapha Khân held the government of Kâch Gandâvá and Dájil, or the provinces east of Kalât, and by his valour and unremitting attention to the repression of disorders, produced in them a state of security they had never enjoyed before or since. He made several expeditions against the predatory Bráhuí tribes of the hills, as the Marrís and others; also against the Khâkâ Afghâns, north of Shâll,

inflicting upon them great slaughter, and completely restraining them in the exercise of their lawless habits. He demanded of the chiefs of Sind the restitution of Karáchí, with the sum of the revenues they had drawn from it during the period of its unauthorized occupation, and was prepared, in case of refusal, to have made an expedition into Sind. The Tálpúr leaders proffered first simple restitution, then with three years revenue, and, finally, with the whole of the revenues they had collected from it. The envoy charged with the latter propositions had not reached Mastapha Khân when he heard of the chief's murder. There became no necessity to fulfil his mission, and he returned to his employers. It is said that Mastapha Khân had concluded a treaty with Sâdat Khân, the ruler of Bahâwalpúr, the object of which was the partition of Sind; and it is further said that the treaty had received the sanction of Fatí Khân, then at the head of affairs in Afghânistân. Sâdat Khân was to have taken the country east of the Indus, and Mastapha Khân that to the west.

Mastapha Khân and Réhim Khân, who, it should be noted, were half brothers, were in Kach Gandâva when news arrived from Kalât of the death of Réhim Khân's mother. As customary with Máho-medans on the decease of their relatives, the bereaved son sat, as it is expressed, on the gillam, or carpet. Supposing, as a matter of course, that Mastapha Khân would be a visitor, Réhim Khân, to

distinguish him, had, on the first day of sitting on the gillam, prepared an entertainment for him. Mastapha Khân did not appear, neither did he on the second or third day, which induced Réhim Khân to send a message. Mastapha Khân excused himself, and promised to attend on the morrow. Réhim Khân, persuaded that his brother would now become his guest, ordered a due repast to be provided. On the morrow, seated at a balcony of his house, he beheld Mastapha Khân quit his residence, which was contiguous, and mount a camel. Instead of taking the road to Réhim Khân's abode of grief, Mastapha Khân took one in the contrary direction. It became evident that he was gone on a hunting excursion, accompanied by four or five attendants. Réhim Khân, incensed at the neglect, or premeditated insult of his brother, determined upon desperate and unlawful revenge. With fifty or sixty armed followers, he followed Mastapha Khân during the day, but at such a distance as not to be recognised by him, awaiting an opportunity to assail him. This did not present itself until evening, when Mastapha Khân, on his return homeward, alighted from his camel and seated himself upon the ground. Réhim Khân, with his retinue, appeared, and he fired a shot at his brother, which took effect. Mastapha Khân exclaimed, "Ah! Réhim, do not destroy me from a distance; if thou art a man, close with me." Réhim Khân rushed in upon his brother, and, after a violent struggle,

both being upon the ground, Mastapha Khân was despatched. Réhim Khân also was wounded. The corpse of Mastapha Khân was interred near Bâgh, and a makbara was erected over his remains, a little north of the town. Although the resentment of Réhim Khân was the immediate cause of the assassination of Mastapha Khan, it is pretended by some that the rulers of Sind, fearing his designs, had promised a considerable sum of money to an aunt of Réhim Khân, residing at Kotrú, in case she should despatch Mastapha Khân; and that the nephew, at her instigation, committed the atrocious deed. Réhim Khân, indeed, immediately fled towards Sind, and he received from its chiefs a sum of money, whether the reward of perfidy, or the proceeds of a private sale of jewels and swords, must remain doubtful. Mastapha Khân had the character of an undaunted soldier. Of a commanding stature, his fine person and noble aspect were well fitted to ensure the respect of his rude countrymen, as his liberality and valour were calculated to win their esteem and admiration. He was a man of violence, but of justice, and the innocent had nothing to fear from him. Powerful to chastise an enemy, he was prompt to reward a friend; and his generosity of sentiment and action had often converted to a friend a worthy enemy. He retained in pay a body of eight hundred well-equipped Afghân horse, which, while it made him competent to carry any of his measures, also left him but little dependent

on the tribes. Robbers he chastised with the utmost severity; and although his punishments were barbarous, as impalement, &c., he proved that it was possible to restrain the licentious habits of his subjects. It had ever been the custom in Kach Gandâva, as it is now, and in most Máhomedan countries, for a Hindú in passing from one village to another to put himself under the protection of a Máhomedan, for which he presented a fee. Mastapha Khân, during his administration, abolished this system; punishing by fine the Hindú who paid a Máhomedan for protection, and by death the Máhomedan who accepted a protecting fee. In his progresses amongst the hill tribes, he was wont to throw on the road rolls of cotton cloth. If on his return, or at any subsequent time, he found them *in situ*, he rejoiced, and observed, "I almost fancy that Mastapha Khân's authority is respected as it ought to be." So fearful were the natives of the hills of exciting the attention of their terrible chieftain, that, on seeing a roll of linen on the road, they would run away from it, and pray that Mastapha Khân might never know that they had even seen it. The Bráhúí chief was not, however, without his eccentricities, and was devoted to intemperance. On these accounts, as well as for his indomitable courage, he was a great favourite with the profligate Vazír Fatí Khân. Hâjí Khân, Khâkâ, afterwards of such prominent notoriety in Afghân affairs, was, at the commencement of his

career, an obscure soldier in the service of Mastapha Khân.

Réhim Khân, after his brother's murder, retired to the frontiers of Sind, where he collected a force, with which he marched into the provinces of Hárand and Dájil, and took possession thereof. Máhmúd Khân, the chief of Kalât, reflecting probably that he was a brother, did not molest him, or affect to notice his proceedings. Growing at length weary of his situation, Réhim Khân secretly left Dájil with some fifty horsemen, and entered Kach Gandâva, which he traversed, and gained the skirts of the hills, separating the province from Kalât at a point west of Gandâva. His attendants were desirous that he should enter the hills, urging, that the sister of Mastapha Khân was at Gandâva, and might be aware of his situation, as it was barely possible that he had not been recognized on the road. Réhim Khân refused to attend to their prudent councils, and observed, alluding to some former event of his life, "What would be said of Réhim Khân, who at Dádar with five men, disdained to fly from as many hundreds, if now, with fifty, he should retire into the hills through fear of a woman?" The apprehensions of his attendants were but too well founded. Mastapha Khân's sister was aware of Réhim Khân's arrival in the province, and of his halting-place. She collected the troops of Gandâva and the armed peasantry, and with the tumultuary mass marched upon Ré-

him Khân, who was overpowered and slain. His body was carried to Bâgh, and interred by side of his brother, Mastapha Khân. Réhim Khân's motives for quitting Dájil are not precisely known. Some suppose that he had an idea of throwing himself into the western provinces; others imagine, with greater probability, that he had determined to cast himself at the feet of Máhmúd Khân, and to implore pardon for his past offences.

Máhmúd Khân, the chief of Kalât, in the prime of life, fell a victim to intemperance, dying, it is said, of stricture. He had become devoted to the pleasures of wine, and had brought a company of dancing girls from Sind. In their society he spent the greater part of his time. It is rumoured in Balochistân that the jealousy of Máhmúd Khân's wives, rather than his bodily infirmities proved, fatal to his existence. One of them, the mother of Mehráb Khân, incensed at the neglect with which she was treated, and at the preference shewn by her husband to the dancing girls of Sind, is supposed to have administered a draught of poison to her estranged lord. This lady is since dead, and, be the fact as it may, no suspicion implicates her son Mehráb Khân in the transaction. Máhmúd Khân had governed about twenty-five or twenty-six years. While living, his reputation suffered by comparison with that of his energetic father. Dead, he was regretted, when his sway was contrasted with the more feeble one of his son and successor.

Mehráb Khân succeeded peaceably to the government, and his first acts betokened spirit, and gave the promise of an effective and active reign. He regained ascendancy in Kej and the western provinces, and controlled the disorders in other parts of his territory. But he had speedily to encounter opposition from the descendants of Mohábat Khân; and Ahmed Yár Khân, the son of Báhrám Khân, was in arms against him. This chief repaired to Jell, and excited the Magghazzís to espouse his faction; after expending ten thousand rupees to little purpose, Mehráb Khân repaid him the money, and allowed him to return to Kalát. A second time he went to Tallí, in Kachí, and having no better success than before, Mehráb Khân repaid him two thousand rupees which he stated to have been spent. Still restless, he fled to Dájil, which he devastated, and was again forgiven by Mehráb Khân. A fourth time he retired amongst the Khadjaks of Síwí, and raised the Sahárawâní tribes, whose revolt caused Mehráb Khân an effort to repress; and Ahmed Yár Khân, being made captive, was detained at Kalát, where he was afterwards slain, at the instance of Dáoud Máhoméd, a Ghiljí, of low extraction, whom it was the misfortune of Mehráb Khân to raise from obscurity to power, to the detriment of the old servants of his father and grandfather, and in opposition to the feelings of the tribes. Dáoud Máhoméd wished to have sacrificed with their sire his two sons Sháh Nawáz and Fatí,

who have since become known in Bráhuí history, but Mehráb Khân would not consent, although he held them in honourable confinement.

The khân's partiality for Dáoud Máhoméd proved the pregnant source of evil and embarrassment to him. The Ghiljí, to maintain his position, deemed it necessary to remove all those in opposition to him, or whose influence and character he feared; and these were so many, including all who were high-born and illustrious in the country, that the task might have daunted a man of less effrontery. Twenty-three or twenty-four of the most distinguished Bráhuí chiefs and individuals were sacrificed, and in succession, as the opportunity presented itself, to calm the apprehensions of Dáoud Máhoméd. Many of these unfortunate men were no doubt in rebellion, but it cannot be forgotten that their crimes were merely defensive, and would never have been heard of but for the unwise step of the khân, and for the pride and insolent bearing of his minister. The immediate consequence of these acts was, the complete dislocation of authority; the surviving relatives of the slain, bound by national obligations as well as by their feelings to revenge, disavowed allegiance, and formed a general combination to expel Dáoud Máhoméd by force of arms. They marched to the capital, where Mehráb Khân was encamped without the walls, and no sooner had they arrived than they were joined by those about the chief, excepting

some four hundred of his immediate dependents, principally khânázats, or household slaves. So complete was the defection on this occasion, that Walí Mahomed Khân, the old Minghal chief, afterwards slain at Kalât, was the only person of note who adhered to his master. Even Jám Ali, from remote Las, who was present, became a rebel. Mehráb Khân, obstinate in his purpose to retain Dáoud Mahomed, was placed in extreme danger; his tent was surrounded, and the muskets of the implacable insurgents, who declared Akhúnd Mahomed Sídik their khân, were directed to it. The Bábí merchants, and other natives of Kalât, interposed, and effected an arrangement, by which, leaving the main point of dispute at issue, the khân should be allowed to retire within the town, held by the dárogah, Gúl Máhomed; in return, the newly-appointed khân's wives and children within the walls were to be permitted to leave the town. Difficulty attended the execution of the agreement; the disaffected fearing to be overreached; but by some clever contrivance it was acted upon, the khân being popped in at one gate as the family of the akhúnd were popped out of another. As soon as the khân was liberated, dárogah Gúl Máhomed opened fire from the citadel and town walls on the malcontents; and as the valley east of Kalât is within range of gun shots, they were forced to retire to some distance, and dissension creeping into their councils, they marched to Zehrí, where a dispute

concerning some seized grain occasioned their dispersion, and the several chiefs, with their followers, returned to their respective homes.

Notwithstanding this failure of the chiefs to compel the dismissal of Dáoud Máhomed, the khân, aware that the prejudice against him was as strong as ever, thought prudent to remove his favourite for a while, and, accordingly, secretly despatched him to Kándahár, where, for a year or two he resided. When again summoned to Kalât, a plot was formed by the chiefs of Sahárawân to assassinate him on the road; but it was frustrated by the care of Mehráb Khân. The Ghiljí again assumed power, alike detested and feared by his numerous enemies.

Mehráb Khân's military operations have been few and inglorious. In an expedition against the Marrís he was foiled, and forced to break up his army, without gaining anything but contempt.

The intrigues of the Sahárawâní chiefs with the sirdárs of Kándahár have, on more than one occasion, brought a Dúrání army to Mastúng, and occasioned the assembly of the Bráhúí's levies to oppose it, when a treaty has been patched up, without the intention of being observed on either side. On one of these inroads Akhúnd Máhomed Sídik, before mentioned as having been appointed khân by the malcontents, and who has since become known to the British political authorities, visited, as envoy, the Dúrání camp. Introduced to the sirdárs, he, of course, proposed to sell his master. Kóhan Dil

Khân inquired if he were not a múlla, and being answered affirmatively, asked, why he wore a military Baloch cap, and why he suffered his hair to grow so profusely. Commenting upon the inconsistency, he called for the barber and ordered the âkhúnd's head to be shaven, and then replaced his cap, with a white muslin turban. The âkhúnd was so mortified, that he did not appear in public life until his head was again covered with the honours of which the unnatural Dúrání barber had deprived it. Kóhan Dil Khân well knew how to treat such men. Our diplomatic gentlemen were less shrewd.

In the reign of Mehráb Khân a memorable instance of the punishment of presumption and pride occurred in a contest between the tribes Rind and Magghazzís in Kachí, between whom, from of old, a deadly feud exists. The Rinds, who have greatly the advantage of numbers, collected, it is said, seven thousand men, and contemplated the extermination of their foes. The Maggazzís were unable to oppose more than two thousand to them. All offers of accommodation were rejected, and the prayers and tears of saiyads and of women were interposed in vain. The hostile parties drew near to each other, and the Magghazzís, determined to sell their lives as dearly as they could, in calmness awaited their approach. A murderous volley, at forty yards, threw the Rinds into confusion, which was made irremediable by an immediate charge, and the embarrassment of canals

of irrigation amongst which they were entangled. Two thousand of the Rinds were supposed to be slain, while little loss befel the victors. The khân of Kalât, on hearing of the victory, sent a dress of honour to Ahmed Khân, the Magghazzí chief, which so disgusted the Rinds that they retired in a body to the frontiers of Sind, where the Amírs assigned them territory for their subsistence. In course of time they were recalled. The defeat of the Rinds happened in 1830.

About the same time, Mehráb Khân was deprived of the provinces of Hárand and Dájil by the Síkhs, owing to the course of intrigues set on foot by Saiyad Máhoméd Sheríf, since famous for subtlety and crime, in connexion with the melancholy fate of his master, and no less infamously distinguished for his misdemeanours in the service of those who had been duped by his plausible appearance and manners.

In 1831 Mehráb Khân made some ineffectual efforts to repress the license affected by the Minghal and Bízúnjú tribes of Jhálawân, and for that purpose went to Khozdár. Returning to Sohráb, he collected an army to reduce to obedience the western tribes, which finally marched under the orders of his brother, Mír Azem Khân, and the Ghiljí Dáoud Máhoméd. Rústam Khân, Mehmasenní, one of the disaffected, early made his submission; but Mohém Khân, Núshírwâní, who had placed himself in dependence on Kândahár, resisted.

and was besieged in his stronghold of Gwerjak. The usual process of a Baloch investment and siege was carried out; towers and mounds were erected to overlook the walls of the fortress; but, an understanding existing between the rebel chief and many in the Kalât camp, nothing of consequence was effected, until the besieged needed fuel. On this, offers were made to surrender the place; but it was insisted upon that the garrison should give an entertainment to the victors; which being approved, stores of fuel were allowed to be introduced into the fort, and immediately shouts of defiance were heard from it. The siege was again pressed, and the garrison once more reduced to extremity, when Mohém Khân produced a peremptory order from Kândahár that the siege should be raised, on account of his being a vassal of the Dúránís. The army thereupon marched into Kej; and, ultimately, returned to Kalât without having achieved anything of moment.

For a year or two Mehráb Khân was occupied in providing against his unruly chiefs and tribes, being uninterrupted by any invasion from abroad, when he experienced a fresh cause of solicitude in the escape from the citadel of Kalât of Shâh Nawâz Khân and Mír Fatí Khân, the sons of Ahmed Yár Khân, slain at the commencement of his rule. The faction of these young men was embraced by the Sahárawání tribes; and Dádar being captured by them, they advanced into Kachí. Mír Azem Khân,

with the Magghazzí levies, encountered and defeated them, compelling Shâh Nawâz Khân to seek an asylum in Kândahâr, and Mír Fatí Khân in Sind. Soon after these events the ex-king, Shâh Sújah al Múlkh, appeared at Shíkârpúr, determined to attempt the recovery of his dominions. Mehráb Khân directed all honour to be shown him in his passage through his territory. After the ex-king, defeated at Kândahâr, had invoked, to no purpose, the aid of the chiefs of Lâsh and Sístân, he crossed the desert, and arrived, a fugitive, at Kalât, warmly pursued by the Kândahâr sirdâr, Réham Dil Khân. Mehráb Khân did not hesitate to grant him protection, and to his conduct on this occasion the British government has publicly offered its testimony of applause. "This reverse left him no alternative but flight; and pursuing the route of Belochistan, he arrived at Kalat; the capital of that country, with about two hundred followers, and so closely pressed by Réham Dil Khân, of Kândahâr, with upwards of two thousand men, that the royal fugitive was forced to take refuge within the palace of the khân of Kalat. The Beloochee chief instantly accorded to the unhappy monarch the protection and hospitality for which that nation is proverbial." Vide No. 61, The Governor-General of India, in council, to the Secret Committee of the Court of Directors of the East India Company, 5th March 1835, page 42, of the "Papers relative to the Expedition into Afghânistân."

While there is some error in this extract, as to trifling details of numbers, &c.; there is none as to the main fact of the protection afforded, and some may think that the khân's generosity might have been better requited. Râham Dil Khân, the shâh's pursuer, was a manly foe; and when his brother, Kohan Dil Khân, wished to have avenged upon Mehrâb Khân the escape of the shâh, he protested against it, affirming, that the Kalât chief had proved himself a good man; neither was he ashamed to avow that he esteemed him for his sense of honour.

In 1833 the influence of Dáoud Máhomed, before on the decline, became so low that to maintain his position he conceived it necessary to invite an invasion from Kândahár. His communications were intercepted, and Mehrâb Khân considered his treason deserved punishment. One of the early victims to the fear of Dáoud Máhomed had been the hereditary Tâjik adviser of the khân, the Vakíl Fatí Máhomed. The vakíl's son, Náib Múlla Hassan, was suffered to live, and generally accompanied the khân in his excursions, and attended the darbár, without being consulted on affairs. Latterly he had received more attention, which increased in proportion as Dáoud Máhomed declined in estimation; and from mere insinuations, he gradually intimated more plainly his opinion of the perfidy of the Ghiljí, without offence, until, emboldened by the khân's state of mind, he offered

himself as an instrument to despatch him. The khân spoke approvingly, without further committing himself, and Dáoud Máhoméd, perhaps apprehensive of the náib's enmity or acquainted with his project, represented to his master that it was incumbent to put the náib to death. The khân did not object, but declined to give the requisite order. The struggle between the Ghiljí and náib became publicly known, as well as the indecision of the khân, and the community of Kalât were wondering what would be the result. The correspondence with Kândahár probably decided the Ghiljí's fate. The dissimulation of Mehráb Khán was, however, remarkably displayed on this occasion. He consented to sacrifice the náib to the resentment of Dáoud Máhoméd, and fixed the morrow for the enactment of the deed. In like manner, he promised the náib that his enemy, Dáoud Máhoméd, should fall by his hand. On the following morning he repeated his assurance to the Ghiljí; who returned home so well satisfied that, on again leaving his house for the citadel he observed, that before he returned he should have run down, in chase, a great prey. The khân, the Ghiljí, and the náib, sat with others in general discourse until the evening time of prayers, when the company dispersed, the náib and Ghiljí, being privileged persons, remaining to pray by the side of the khân. Dáoud Máhoméd retired to a chamber to perform the usual ablutions before prayers, and while engaged in them received

a sword-cut on the neck from Náib Múlla Hassan, who had followed him; he turned round, inquiring "Chí shúd?" what's the matter? when a second cut deprived him of speech and life. Náib Múlla Hassan naturally succeeded to the post of his slain father, which had been so long enjoyed by Dáoud Máhoméd.

The change of ministers unfortunately produced no improvement in the state of affairs, or in that of the country at large; one course of intrigue being merely substituted for another. The chiefs of Sahárawân continued in disaffection; and found, strangely enough, an additional cause in the murder of Dáoud Máhoméd. The sirdar of Jhálawân absented himself from attendance at court, and the chiefs of Bâghwân and Wad placed themselves in open revolt. While matters were in this state the British expedition crossed the Indus, its route to Kândahár lying through the khân's territory. It is needless to repeat what has been written on this subject in the preceding part of this volume; but we may deplore the misfortune of Mehráb Khân, when the composition of his darbár at the time is considered, and when we call to mind the people he was compelled to employ in his negotiations with the British authorities. They were Náib Múlla Hassan, Akhúnd Máhoméd Sídik, and the Saiyad Máhoméd Sheríf; to them may be added the brother of Dáoud Máhoméd. Náib Múlla Hassan had to avenge his father's death. Akhúnd Máhoméd

Sídik, it will be remembered, had once been nominated khân. Saiyad Máhoméd Sheríf, by his treason, had lost to the khân, Hárand and Dájil, besides intriguing with the Kándahár sirdárs; the brother of Dáoud Máhoméd naturally cherished feelings of revenge.

To baffle the insidious efforts of such men, and to impart confidence to the soured and sullen Mehráb Khân, qualities were required which the officers of the British mission never gave any proof that they possessed. In lieu of penetrating the crafty wiles of the designing, they were themselves duped by them, and an uninterrupted series of errors led to the death of the misled and bewildered Kalât chief, the sack of his capital, and the partition of his country.

The detection of error, although acknowledged by the captivity of Náib Múlla Hassan, was not accompanied by the recognition of the son of Mehráb Khân, who, a fugitive upon his father's death, was chased from one place to another, while on the plea of legitimacy, Shâh Nawâz Khân was placed in authority over Kalât, and the remnant of the country attached to it.

The revolt of the Bráhúí tribes, the operations at Kalât and elsewhere, require not to be more than alluded to in this place. The governor-general found it necessary to reverse everything that his political officers had done, as far as lay in his power. The son of Mehráb was seated on the

masnad of his late father ; and the present head of the Indian government has completed the act of justice, by restoring to him that portion of his dominion which had been so absurdly annexed to the crown of Kâbal. What has become of Shâh Nawâz Khân, the chief constituted by the political authorities, I know not ; but for Mr. Bell's better sense of justice, he would have been victimized, to conceal the incapacity of those who placed him in a false position. The actual chief of Kalât, now styled Mîr Nasîr Khân, in regard to the memory of his great-grandfather, is fifteen or sixteen years of age, has a prepossessing appearance, and has been well educated through the care of his father. At the period of life when the mind is most open to impressions of good and evil, his future course must be contemplated with interest, not unmixed with fear, with reference to the dangers which surround him. He has, however, more than ordinary incitement to do that which is right, as his exemplary conduct will best vindicate his father's reputation.

GENEALOGICAL TABLE,

SHOWING THE DESCENT, ON THE MALE SIDE, OF THE PRESENT CHIEF OF KALAT FROM ABDULAH KHAN.

Abdúlah Khân; slain in battle at Jandrír.

Mohábat Khân, reigned some time at Kâlat; superseded by his brother, Nasír Khân, and died, a hostage, at Kândahár.

Eltárz Khân, slain accidentally by his brother, Nasír Khân, when both were hostages at Kândahár; from him descend the Eltárz Zai families of Bâghwân and Kotrú.

Nasír Khân, originally a hostage at Kândahár, superseded his brother, Mohábat Khân, and ruled about forty years.

Hâjî Khân, died, a hostage, at Kândahár.

Máhmúd Khân ruled at Kâlat.

Máhoméd Réhim Khân, slain by sister of Mastapha Khân.

Mastapha Khân, slain by his brother, Máhoméd Réhim Khân.

Barhám Khân, originally a hostage at Kândahár, unsuccessfully asserted his claims to the government with Nasír Khân and his son, Máhmúd Khân. Died at Kalât.

Mehráb Khân,* slain on the capture of his capital by the British.

Azem Khân, living at Kalât.

Sirafráz Khân, slain by Mehráb Khân, at the same time with Ahmed Yár Khân.

Ahmed Yár Khân, slain by Mehráb Khân the second year after his accession.

Hássan Khân, present chief of Kalât, with the assumed name of Mír Nasír Khân.

Shâh Nawâz Khân.

Fatí Khân.

Retained in captivity by Mehráb Khân, from which they escaped; temporarily placed in power by the British.

* Mehráb Khân had four wives. 1. A daughter of Mastapha Khân, the Bîbí Ganjânî. 2. A daughter of Jám Alí, late ruler of Las. 3. A daughter Eltárz Khân, Ahmed Zai of Kotrú, and mother of his son, Hássan Khân, the present khân. 4. A daughter of Assil Khân, Shirwânî, now a cripple.

PART IV.

ANTIQUITIES AND DIALECTS.

ANTIQUITIES.

IN Balochistân we search in vain for the magnificent vestiges of the olden times, which are to be found in Afghânistân and Persia. This need not be a subject of wonder if we reflect that it has not, like those countries, ever been the seat of powerful and extensive empire, and that it was in the earliest ages in the same relation to them, with reference to advancement in civilization and political connexions, as it stands at the present day.

That it has been formerly much more populous can hardly be doubted, when we descry the sites of many cities, which have not now representatives; and when we observe the present villages had, at some remote period, predecessors of magnitude and importance. Many of the bleak, extensive plains, now speckled thinly with the black tents of tomâns, would seem to have once contained fixed villages and towns, if we may judge from their numerous dams, or artificial mounds,

which it is difficult to conceive as not representing the sites of ancient villages, or of the places of sepulchre attached to them.

From the earliest historical notices of this country, we may infer it to have been a dependency of the great Persian empire, and probably in the category of those which, from remoteness, were merely known by name at Persepolis. It fell, with Persia, into the hands of Alexander the Great, and was subject to the vicissitudes of sway, resulting from the struggles between his successors. It was naturally, from its distance, early included amongst the defections which happened under the Syro-Macedonian kings, but at a subsequent period, faint incidental rays of information might authorize us to conclude that it was again under the sway of another Greek, in the person of Demetrius, son of Euthydemus of Bactria, who appears to have founded a city in Arachosia, which, wherever it was, could not have been far from Kalât. Those sovereigns who succeeded to the authority of the Greek Bactrian princes, probably extended their way, and introduced their religion into these countries. A dark epoch then obscures the history of his country, until the era of Máhommedanism, when the armies of the caliphs overran Balochistân. That the caliphs did not retain permanent sway is evidenced by the fact, that a Hindú principality, additionally known as that of the Sewáh dynasty, flourished at Kalât until a comparatively late pe-

riod, and tenaciously maintained its independence amongst the Máhommedan states around it.

If the invasion of Jenghiz Khân, also asserted by tradition, be historically true, it may be conceived that that barbarous chief and his generals effectually completed the work of desolation which the caliphs had commenced some ages before. Ever at the mercy of any powerful invader, Kalât was afflicted by a visit from the generals of Taimúr, and, agreeably to his historian, was razed to the ground.

Of its Greek rulers we have no vestiges. It is not impossible that their coins may be occasionally elicited. Such reliques are found near Mastúng, at Mítarí, a town of Kach Gandâva, near Béla in Las, and on the site of an ancient city in Jhow, which tradition affirms to be that of a city founded by Alexander, also at a locality in Khárân, and at other places. Three or four years before my visit to Kalât, a silver medal, said to be as large as a German crown, with a bust on the one side, was found at Sorra Bek, a little north of Kalât. This town flourished in the time of the caliphs, according to the Nubian geographer mentioned by Wilford, and its site retains the original name.

Near Kalât we have the sites of three considerable cities; that of Sorra Bek, just mentioned, to the north; that of Kúkí, said to have been destroyed by Jenghiz Khân, near Rodinjo to the south;

and one, with name unknown, on the plain of Chappar, to the west. Besides the ancient sites at Mastúng, Mítarí, Béla, and Jhow, there are others at Khozdár, Kharân, Nushkí, &c., and very many in the western provinces, which, of necessity, fell not under my observation.

At Níchára, in the hills east of Kalât, are a few caves and cave temples. These excavations, the samúches of Afghânistân, now that we are fully acquainted with them, were certainly religious and sepulchral localities, or the abodes of the ascetics connected with them. At Níchára, a few years since, a proof of their nature was afforded by the accidental discovery of one heretofore closed, in which were found several corpses, according to my informant, arrayed in their habiliments, and extended on cháhárpáhís, or couches. They pulverized on being touched.

Some five or six miles from Níchára, on a plain occupied by the Jetaks, are said to be remains of an alleged city of the infidels, and, what is of more consequence, an inscription graven on a rock. My inquiries left me in little doubt of the truth of this record, and certainly I should have visited the spot but for the unfortunate outbreak in the country. It was impossible to ascertain from my informant in what characters it was inscribed.

At the ancient site, near Béla, may be dug up jars full of ashes. It is said, they contain nothing

else, but the probability is, that coins and trinkets might reward a careful search.

Amongst the extant remains of antiquity in Balochistân the more conspicuous are, perhaps, the walls and parapets of stones, called by the present inhabitants, Gohar Basta, or the works of infidels. They occur in many places to great extent, particularly at Lâkoriân, between Sohrâb and Bâghwân, in the contiguous plain of Anjîrá, on the road from Sohrâb to Kej, in the valley of the Múlloh river, and at Rodbâr, in the hills between Kalât and Kirta. Those at Lâkoriân are the most remarkable. The purpose of these structures may be questioned, but they are probably places of defence.

In the district of Gúrghína is a remarkable subterranean chamber, which was discovered some years since by workmen employed in the construction of a kâréz. To their astonishment, they penetrated into an immense excavation, supposed to be artificial. It continued for a time an object of curiosity, but, so far as I could learn, was entirely devoid of sculpture or embellishment. It was conjectured to have been a retreat of refugees in time of war, at some remote period. Probably, it was a cemetery or temple, of past ages.

The maritime province of Las, besides the cave temples near Béla, contains a celebrated sthân, or place of Hindú pilgrimage. It is situated in the hills bounding the province to the west, and through which flows the Hingohl rivulet. The

sacred locality is called Hinglátz. It is understood to be consecrated to Parbatí, the goddess of nature, the universal mother, &c., or Diana, the moon, &c. By Máhommedans, by whom it is alike revered, the shrine is considered as one of Bíbí Nání, the lady Nání, or the motherly lady. It is possible they have preserved the ancient name NANAIA, that of the goddess of the old Persians, and Bactrians, and now so well known to us by coins. There is a small mat or temple at Hinglátz, but the chief attractions appear to be natural objects, as a kand, or reservoir of water; a well, of unfathomable depth, above the mat; and the semblance the mural disposition of the rock presents, in a certain spot, to that of a fortress. There are also said to be the figures of the sun and moon hewn on the rock, in an inaccessible site. It is necessary for pilgrims to remain two days amongst the holy shades and solitudes of Hinglátz, when they return, impressed with feelings of awe and devotion, inspired by the solemnity and mysterious grandeur of the sequestered haunts they have visited.

Many votaries and pilgrims proceed no farther than Hinglátz, but it is deemed to be especially praiseworthy and beneficial to extend the pious tour to Satadip, an island off the coast of Mekrân, and between Hormára and Pessaní. I was surprised at discovering that this celebrated island was no other than the Ashtola of our maps, the Asthílâl of Arabs and Baloches, the Carnina and Enchanted Isle of

Nearchus, and the *Asthæ* of Ptolemy. It afforded me pleasure, also, that I had anchored for the night under its bare rocks, in a trip in 1830 from Karáchí to Maskát, but it was difficult to imagine what circumstances had invested it with a sacred character. It was a *sthân*, I was told, called Rám Jelloh, without any particular natural object of interest or curiosity, and where it was needful to carry water for the time the devout stayed upon it, which, as at Hinglâtz, has been fixed by custom at two days.

The voyage of Nearchus conferred an interest upon the dreary shores of Las and Mekrân, which has been greatly enhanced to us by the lucid explanation of its details afforded by the late Dean Vincent. It is curious to discover that many of the appellations of localities, as named by the Greeks, are borne by them to this day. On the coast between the mouths of the Indus and Gwâdar, amongst the stations as given by Arrian, are, Malana, Araba, Kalama, Derenobosa, Kophas, all recognizable in the present Malân, Araba, Kalamat, Darambâb, and Kaphân, of the rude natives. The port of Alexander, unfixed by the learned Dean, I should suppose to be Karáchí, which he conjectured to be Krokala, though this place was an island, not a port; and, in confirmation of my view, the next station to the port of Alexander was the island Bibacta, which well accords with the island Chirna of the Sindians.

The Carnina of Arrian has been above shown to be the Asthæa of Ptolemy, and its name to Baloches and Arabs is yet Asthí-lâl. With so many recognizable stations in a limited space, it becomes easy to determine the intermediate ones, some of which even may pretty certainly be decided by their present appellations; for instance, Mosarna may be conceived to be Mosam, or Shamâl Bandar; Domo may be Dúmag, &c.

Of the routes of Alexander and his officers through the upper country, it will have been remarked, that tradition seems to have preserved a memento, in the belief that a city in Jhow owed its origin to him, and, if so, it must have been the Alexandria, he founded amongst the Oritæ. Craterus, who led the veterans by a still higher route, passed through Choarene, whose position as fixed by Strabo, has puzzled his commentators, yet it may have been the modern Khâran, if not the Kâwer Zámín of oriental writers.

DIALECTS.

It has been observed, that the division of the Kalât territory into sections conformably to circumstances of locality, was alike sanctioned by the diversity of dialects current in the several provinces. The tribes of the first, or western section, use what is pre-eminently called the Baloch, which

extends to the limits of Kermân, and is considered the genuine dialect of the Baloch community. Its affinity with modern Persian cannot be doubted, though it has, probably, preserved a greater proportion of the forms of its parent tongue. Some of the Jhálawân tribes, as the Minghals and Bízúnjús, and even some of the tribes included within the Rind community, employ this dialect, which is also spoken constantly by the khâns and sirdárs, who consider it would be vulgar to express their meaning in Brahúíkí.

The Bráhúíkí, or Kúr Gállí (the Patois), is peculiar to the tribes of Sahárawân and Jhálawân. It necessarily contains a good deal of Baloch, or Persian, and a very little Pashto, but much of it must be referred to some unknown root. The only work I could hear of in this dialect was not original, but translated from a Persian treatise on the greatness of God and wonders of the creation. Persian characters were used in it.

The Jets of Kachí have a dialect, called, after them, Jetkí, of close affinity with the dialects of the Sind and of the Panjâb, which have been supposed to approach, more than any other extant tongues, to Sanscrit; and this affinity is only in accordance with their origin and descent.

The Lúmrí tribes of Las speak the dialect common to the kindred tribes of Júkiás and Búlfats in the west of Sind, and allied to that prevalent in the tracts on either bank of the Indus in the inferior

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VOCABULARY OF THE BALOCH DIALECT.

Nail	Náhún.	Date	Hormag.
Breast	Ghwen-sína.	Sword	Záham.
Belly	Láp.	Shield	Hisfar.
Leg	Pád.	Matchlock	Tofak.
Thigh	Pádí baz ghúst.	Spear	Nizzar.
Knee	Pádí khúnd.	Knife	Kárch.
Calf of leg	Húsh-pádag.	Bullet	Tír.
Foot	Panjak.	Ramrod	Tír-koh.
Ankle	Kar.	Powder	Shúrú.
Heel	Púnzig.	Sight at muzzle	Morag.
Toes	Múrdánag.	Sight at breech	Didarfán.
Sole of foot	Pádí-dil.	Pan	Gúshawand.
Vein	Ragh.	Match	Fallítæg.
Navel	Nápag.	Screw	Házárnar.
Armpit	Bagal.	Butt	Kúndak.
Bone	Had.	Sea shell	Ghúr.
Flesh	Ghúst.	Stone	Sing.
Lip	Lúnt.	Mud	Liggitch.
Palm of hand	Dast-dil.	Rope	Chílik.
Dog	Kaochak.	Wood	Dár.
Cat	Pishí.	Paper	Kággiz.
Rat	Múshk.	Cotton	Karpás.
Horse	Hásp.	Comb	Shak.
Camel	Húshter.	Leather	Drohál.
Elephant	Píl.	Black	Síáh.
Ass	Har.	White	Sífét.
Cock	Nerak.	Green	Saoz.
Hen	Mádak.	Red	Súr.
Kine	Gúk.	Scarlet	Réto.
Cow	Gúk mádak.	Yellow	Zard.
Bull	Gháríghar.	Blue	Níl.
Buffalo	Ghá-mésh.	Tree	Derách.
Fish	Máhi.	Fruit	Bar.
Sheep	Mésh.	Root	Rotag.
Goat	Búz.	Stem	Dar.
Water Melon	Kotig.	Branch	Shágh.

Leaf	Tág.	To speak	Gwáshtan.
Flower	Púl.	To burn	Sútan.
Date tree	Match.	To fall	Koftan.
Wind	Ghwát.	To stand	Pádátan.
Nor.-west-wind	Jil-ghwát.	To give	Dátan.
South-east-wind	Sir-ghwát.	To throw	Dúrdátan.
North-wind	Goríh.	To carry	Búrtan.
South-wind	Zir-ghwát.	To flee	Gistan.
Shirt	Jáma.	To eat	Wártan.
Trowsers	Shelwar.	To bring	Hártan.
Cap	Toph.	To wash	Shústan.
Shoes	Kosh.	To sit	Nishtan.
Boots	Múzag.	To write	Nawishtan.
Waist-shawl	Sirinband.	To kill	Kúshtan.
Head-shawl	Fogh.	To walk	Gashtan.
Band of trowser	Pai-in-jag.	To walk	Maidán kartan.
Ant	Múrí.	To fear	Társítan.
Fly	Makish.	To laugh	Handítan.
Flea	Kak.	To measure	Gaz kartan.
Louse	Búr.	To break	Proshtan.
Good	Sher.	To see	Díshtan.
Bad	Gandag.	To sew	Dotan.
Light	Súbak.	To scrape	Tráshtan.
Heavy	Garán.	To reckon	Issâbkartan.
Small	Kassán.	To do well	Shar kartan.
Large	Massán.	To open	Patch kartan.
Thick	Baz.	To tie	Bastan.
Thin	Tannak.	To come	Háhtan.
Fire	Ora.	To read	Wántan.
Water	Háp.	To sleep	Waftan.
Cup	Tás.	To awake	Nashtan.
Dish	Tál.	To dry	Kúsk kartan.
Earthen vessel	Kúlak.	To rub	Lútartan.
Frying-pan	Kallind.	To pay	Pirmátan.
Fort	Kalát.	To fly (as a bird)	Bál kartan.
Ship	Bújí.	To plunder	Lútítan.
Sea	Deríá.	To milk	Doshtan.
To do	Kartan.	To fight	Jang kartan.
To be	Shútan.	To boil	Grastan.

To receive	Rasítan.	To beat	Lat jitten.
To pick up or find	Chítan.	To wound	Záham jittan.
To kiss	Chúk-kítan.	To fire	Tofak jittan.
To kick	Laggat jittan.	To hit	Laggítan.
To bite	Gat-girtan.	Door	Darí.
To blind	Cham kúshtan.	Window	Darwáza.
To flog	Chábak jittan.	Ladder	Pádí-ánk.
		Pen	Kalam.

VOCABULARY OF KUR GALLI, OR THE BRAHUIKI DIALECT.

Bread	Irag.	Nostril	Gránz.
Water	Dír.	Eyebrows	Burwák.
Eye	Kan.	Eyelash	Michách.
Mouth	Bár.	Mustachio	Birút.
Tooth	Dandán.	Chin	Zanú.
Tongue	Darí.	Temple	Kúsh.
Nose	Bámús.	Father	Báwar.
Ear	Kaf.	Mother	Lúma.
Arm	Dú.	Son	Mahal.
Leg	Nat.	Daughter	Masír.
Finger	Or-pindí.	Brother	Ilam.
Nail	Had.	Sister	Ir.
Forehead	Káhtam.	Uncle paternal	Bráder-báwa.
Hair	Puzhar.	Aunt paternal	Ir-báwa.
Belly	Pid.	Grandfather	Pader-báwa.
Heart	Ust.	Grandmother	Lúma-báwa
Neck	Lekh.	Husband	Harí
Waist	Múkh.	Wife	Harvat.
Nipple	Kad.	Marriage	Bárám.
Breast	Pehlá.	Heir	Wáris.
Beard	Rísh.	Inheritance	Mírás.
Lip	Júr.	Year	Sál.
Cheek	Kallak.	Month	Tú.
Bone	Had.	Day	Dé.
Blood	Dittar.	Night	Nan.
Vein	Rágh.	Winter	Sehl.

Summer	Tir-mâh.	Wind	Thow.
Autumn	Irîcha.	Tempest	Tofân.
Spring	Hâtam.	Rainbow	Bîlasûm.
North	Kotab.	Rabbit	Mûrû.
South	Sohél.	Sheep	Méhl.
East	Dé-tik.	Ram	Khar.
West	Kébîla.	Kine	Kharâss.
River	Darîâ.	Bull	Karîghar.
Hill	Bot.	Cow	Daggî
Mountain	Mash.	Horse	Hûlî.
Plain	Dan.	Stallion	Narîân.
Valley	Dara.	Mare	Mâdîân.
Defile	Tang.	Fowl	Kokar.
Rivulet	Nala.	Cock	Bangû.
Well	Dûn.	Hen	Mâkiân.
Fountain	Chushmeh.	Dog	Kûchik.
Rain	Pîhar.	Cat	Pishî.
Road	Kassar.	Camel	Hûce.
Sand	Régh.	She-goat	Hét.
Stone	Khal.	Ant	Morink.
Clay	Litchak.	Spider	Moro.
Wood	Pât.	Fly	Hîlt.
Fire	Khâka.	Bee	Hîlt-shâhid.
Heat	Bâsûnî.	Ass	Bish.
Flame	Lamba.	Wasp	Mûnghî.
Charcoal	Pog.	Snake	Dûshar.
Ashes	Hiss.	Fish	Mâhi.
Smoke	Mûlt.	Crow	Khâkû.
Darkness	Tar-mâh.	Matchlock	Tofak.
Cloud	Jamma.	Shield	Hisper.
Thunder	Hûra.	Sword	Zâhgam.
Lightning	Garúk.	Knife	Kattâr.
Sky	Asmân.	Spear	Nizzer.
Earth	Dagghâr.	Bow	Bil.
Sun	Dé (day Celtic)	Arrow	Sûm.
Moon	Tûvî.	War	Jang.
Star	Istâr.	Peace	Khair.
Snow	Barf.	Mine	Kahân.
Hail	Tronghûr.	Gold	Kísûn.

Silver	Píhún.	Sugar	Kand.
Copper	Miss.	Colour	Rang.
Brass	Brinj.	Yellow	Poshkún.
Iron	Ahín.	Red	Kisún.
Steel	Polád.	Black	Mohan.
Lead	Súrf.	Blue	Karúr.
Tin	Kalláhi.	White	Píhún.
Quicksilver	Párra.	Olive-green	Ghwankí.
Antimony	Súrma.	Flower	Pool.
Sulphur	Gogard.	Tree	Darakht.
Alum	Fitkí.	Leaf	Berg.
Marble	Sang marmar.	Fort	Kot.
Flint	Istárkal.	Tower	Túl.
Pearl	Dúr.	Ditch	Kandak.
Cornelian	Akík.	House	Khúdí.
Diamond	Almâss.	Door	Dargah.
Ruby	Lál yákút.	Grape	Hangúr.
Emerald	Zamrúd.	Water melon	Kútik.
Turquoise	Ferozeh.	Musk melon	Kerbuj.
Soral	Mírjân.	Mint	Púrchink.
Crystal	Balor.	Camomile	Bú-mádarán.
Grain	Ghalla.	Disease	Merz.
Flour	Nút.	Fever	Khel.
Clarified butter	Sí.	Ague	Larza.
Butter	Kassí.	Life	Zindeh.
Cheese	Pánír.	Death	Kask.
Milk	Pál.	Laughter	Makh-khékh.
Meat	Sú.	Weeping	Hoyikh.
Oil	Tél.	Cap	Top.
Egg	Báidár.	Chudder	Khérí.
Wax	Múm.	Waist-band	Mokta.
Honeycomb	Angúmen.	Shirt	Khúss.
Leather	Chirm.	Trowsers	Shelwár.
Salt	Bí.	Man	Bandak.
Rice	Brinj.	Woman	Zaífa.
Barley	Sár.	Kiss	Búzhalk.
Júarí	Júarí.	Rope	Réz.
Madder	Rodan.	Cord	Chit.
Pepper	Filfil.	Saddle	Zén.

Dust	Mish.	Long	Múrghún.
Shoes	Múcharí.	Broad	Ghwand.
Carpet	Gállí.	High	Burz.
Felt	Tappar.	Low	Mandar.
Mortar	Johghan.	Good	Sher.
Pistle	Dastí-johghan.	Bad	Gandar.
Ship	Bérí.	Swift	Zaft.
Fruit	Míwár.	Slow	Karár.
Comb	Iriss.	Heavy	Kobín.
Scissors	Kaichí.	Light	Subak.
Chain	Zamzír.	Dry	Bahlúm.
Nail	Mékh.	Wet	Pahlúm.
Stick	Lat.	Near	Khúrk.
Cotton	Pamba.	Distant	Múr.
Afraid	Kolík.	Left	Chap.
Brave	Bahádar.	Right	Râst.
Beautiful	Sher.	True	Râsh.
Ugly	Gandar.	False	Darogh.
Dry	Malláss.	Glad	Khúsh.
Hungry	Bíngún.	Angry	Khar.
Naked	Lagghar.	Hard	Sakht.
Poor	Garíb.	Soft	Kúlábún.
Wealthy	Dolatman.	Cold	Yákht.
Equal	Barober.	Hot	Basún.
Old	Pír.	Painful	Khal.
Young	Warnar.	Weary	Damdarúk.
Old	Wútkún.	Vigilant	Híshíár.
New	Púskún.	Mad	Ganuk.
Much	Baz.	Slain	Kassífi.
Little	Machí.	Before	Awal.
All	Khúl.	After	Gúdah.
Half	Ním.	Yes	Jí or há.
Dear	Kúben.	No	Na or ná.
Cheap	Azán.	Which ?	Errár ?
Bitter	Karén.	Why ?	Antai ?
Sour	Súr.	Where ?	Errang ?
Sweet	Hanén.	This	Dar.
Big	Balún.	That	Hí.
Small	Chunak.	Another	Pén.

Without doors	Péshan.	To read	Khwânnings.
Within doors	Tartí.	To repose	Damdannings.
Before	Múst.	To fly	Báll-kannings.
Behind	Pizír.	To approve	Pasand-kannings.
To give	Tenning.	To call	Khwâst-kannings.
To grind	Núsing.	To milk	Bíring.
To see	Khanning.	To taste	Chakking.
To sleep	Kaching.	To fight	Jang-kannings.
To go	Inning.	To boil	Júsh-kannings.
To come	Banning.	To pull	Pashing.
To cut	Terring.	To kiss	Pak-kannings.
To hear	Benning.	To scrape	Tráshing.
To laugh	Makhing.	To twist	Péching.
To sit	Tuling.	To die	Kahing.
To know	Shâhing.	To bite	Báhshâhghing.
To burn	Húshing.	To open	Ithing.
To fall	Taming.	To measure	Dahghing.
To stand	Selling.	Todrop (asrain)	Chakking.
To throw	Shâhghing.	To kick	Laggat-kallings.
To build	Júr-kannings.	To tear	Párrah-kannings.
To flee	Nerring.	To shade	Saikar-kannings.
To sew	Múching.	To sit in sun	Dé-í-tuling.
To carry	Danning.	To speak false	Darogh páning.
To eat	Kuning.	To weigh	Túl kannings.
To bring	Atning.	To swim	Tár kannings.
To do	Kanning.	To sink	Gark-mannings.
To strike	Kalling.	To count	Yártilling.
To weep	Okhing.	To fear	Khúling.
To want	Alling.	To rest	Karár kannings.
To wash	Selling.	To forgive	Bashking.
To break	Perghing.	To ask	Arfing.
To bind	Taffing.	To reap (grain)	Rúting.
To sow	Dassing.	To tremble	Larzing.
To pass over	Illing.	To gather	Arraffing.
To write	Nawishta-kannings.	To sweep	Rufing.
To kill	Kasfing.		
To find	Khanning.		
To seize	Halling.		

To steal	Dúzí kanning.	He has spoken	Páré kanní.
To walk	Cherring.	He may have	
To spit	Tuf kanning.	spoken	Paré sakní.
To embrace	Bagal kan- ning.	He may speak	Akhar páyik- ní.
To speak	Páning.	Speak	Pâ-kanní.
He speaks	Páyikrrí.	Let him speak	Pâ-wanní.
I did speak	Párét.	One	Assit.
He did speak	Páré.	Two	Irat.
He spoke	Párétní.	Three	Músit.

(In advance, precisely as Persian, cháhár, pánch, &c., &c.)

PART V.

MILITARY FORCE, REVENUE, TRADE, AGRICULTURE, &c.

MILITARY FORCE.

IN treating on this subject, it is necessary to make clear distinction between the military resources of the country at large, and those at command of the supreme chief. The former, in a population where every individual capable of bearing arms may, in one sense, be esteemed a soldier, is considerable; the latter, from various incidental causes, may be very trifling. Numerical statements might be furnished, showing the number of men each tribe is capable of mustering, according to the accounts of the natives themselves, but these would, of course, be palpably exaggerated. Others might be offered, exhibiting the quotas of men each tribe is bound to provide for the public service on any case of emergency; but these, although somewhat official documents, would not be the less deceptive, and they were, perhaps, originally framed with a view to deceive, for no such quotas are ever pro-

vided, and never could be. The point ~~most~~ ^{ess} essential to know, is the force that the supreme chief can bring into the field, and this may be ascertained from experience. Nasír Khân, a prince of great vigour and popularity, assembled armies of thirty thousand men. His son, Máhmúd Khân, congregated bodies of fifteen thousand and twenty thousand men; while the late Mehráb Khân, from his schisms with the tribes, his poverty and unpopularity, had never been enabled to collect a larger force than twelve thousand men. This number is merely what some of the tribes, however incorrectly, are stated to be capable of furnishing singly. It is in instances of hostility between the respective tribes that their strength is developed. On such occasions the whole, excited by common feeling and impulse, stand forward with alacrity; and their contests are brought to a prompt conclusion, the parties interested being unable to subsist their followers, and consequently to carry on a protracted warfare. Another reason inducing a full attendance of the tribes in their individual strifes, may be noted, without an imputation on their courage, viz. the certainty, nearly, that no serious collision will take place; women and saiyads being ever at hand to intervene between the angry hosts, to seize their firelocks, and to forbid their deadly designs; the former, by affecting appeals to the kinder sensibilities of nature, the latter authoritatively, as descendants of the Prophet, and in the solemn

name of religion, which proscribes civil warfare amongst its followers. By such instrumentality temporary arrangements are concluded, in nine out of ten cases, without actual bloodshed, or, after the exchange of a volley by each party, if such a demonstration be deemed necessary.

The quotas of troops supplied by the tribes for the service of government of course fluctuate according to the popularity of the *khân*, or of his cause, and are always very much dependent on the wills of the several *sirdárs*, who may be ill or well affected to the government of the day, as the case may be. The claim by the supreme chief on the tribes for military service, is universally acknowledged, it being the condition on which they hold their lands, exempt from taxations and imposts of whatever kind.

The supreme chief has a number, greater or less, of hired soldiers, receiving pay and other allowances. These attend him for the purposes of the little display and etiquette thought necessary at a *Bráhuí* court, and on his excursions. They also furnish garrisons, if from paucity of numbers they can be so called, for the towns he holds personally, as *Kalât*, *Quetta*, *Mastúg*, *Dádar*, *Bâgh*, *Nasíra-bád*, *Gandáva*, *Hárand*, *Dájil*, &c. They are also employed on various commissions or detached duty to the provinces, as *Kej*, *Panjghúr*, &c. The chief has also many slaves, or *khânazâdas*, and the late *Mehráb Khân* had so many of these that he had

very few retainers besides them. They are preferred to high appointments, and they have their own hired followers, who may be considered to form part of the khân's force. It is obvious that the number of men in the pay of the supreme chief is a pretty sure criterion of his prosperity. Nasír Khân had a small standing army, as had his son and successor, Máhmúd Khân. The latter had even troops dressed in red jackets, in imitation of an Indian battalion ; and one of his brothers, Mastapha Khân, had in his pay a body of eight hundred Afghân horse, excellently equipped and mounted. These have now disappeared, and Mehráb Khân, nearly destitute of troops in his own pay, was compelled, on the slightest cause for alarm, to appeal to the tribes, who attended or otherwise, as suited their whims or convenience, conscious that he was powerless to enforce their obedience or to punish their contumacy.

REVENUE.

The revenue of the khân of Kalât, considered relatively to the very large extent of country which acknowledges, in some way or other, dependence upon him, is a mere trifle. My friends at Kalât did not suppose that it exceeded three lákhs of rupees. The cause is found in the circumstance that all the lands held by the Bráhuí tribes are

exempt from taxation. The chief's revenue is therefore derived from the towns he occupies himself, from the Afghân agriculturists of Shâll, the Déhwâr agriculturists of Mastúng, Kalât, Níchára, &c., the Jet agriculturists of Kach Gandâva ; from duties on trade and kâfilas, and from remittances from the provinces. The tax on agricultural produce is variously levied on different classes. The Déhwârs pay a third of the produce, or séhkót. From the Jets of Kachí, half of the produce, or nímaghí, is levied. From the provinces, a fourth, fifth, or sixth part of the produce is claimed, according to their contiguity to the capital, and the chance of being able to procure it. From the remoter ones, as Kej and Panjghúr, a tenth only of the produce is demanded.

TRADE.

The trade of Balochistân is of comparatively little importance, being limited chiefly to the internal sale and exchange of commodities, the state of civilization not being such as to be attended with a luxurious mode of dress and living, or such as to have induced that condition of society which renders it dependent upon foreign markets for the supply of its members. The more opulent here, as everywhere else, affect a distinction in dress and habits, which provides for the sale

of a few of the manufactures of the stranger; but a vast change must take place before Balochistân can become a country of importance to the merchant, at least to take off his investments. In articles of export, she has an advantage in the fine wool of her fleeces, which, although I believe not superior to that of the flocks of Afghânistân and of the Hazárajât, is excellent of its kind, and may be produced in large quantities, for the sheep producing it thrive through all the extent of country from Wad to Shâll, in the Kalât dominions. The facility of conveying it to a port makes it more valuable. Besides wool, the only articles exported from Sahárawân and Jhálawân are a little madder from Shâll, Mastúng, and Kalât, almonds from Mastúng, and a little grain from Khozdár and the neighbourhood, which, attracted by high prices, finds its way to Bombay. From Núshkí small quantities of assafoetida, and from Kach Gandâva sulphur, are also articles of export. At Kalât, and generally in Sahárawân, horses are reared, and they are often sent for shipment to the coast. The maritime provinces nominally dependent on Kalât carry on an export and import trade with foreign ports. The exports are roghan and hides, the gum called bdellium, with salted fish and isinglass, the latter being sent to Bombay for the Chinese market! The imports are rice, spices, indigo, wood, metals, calicoes, chintzes, and a multitude of miscellaneous articles. At Kalât are con-

siderable numbers of Afghân merchants, as Bá-bís, who migrated from Kândahár in the time of Ahmed Shâh, were expelled by Mohábat Khân, and recalled by Nasír Khân, and of various tribes who have retired to Kalât to avoid the oppression of the chiefs of Kândahár. These undertake annual commercial excursions to Las, Sind, and Bombay; but the greater part of them trade on Hindú capital. There are numerous Hindú merchants and bankers at Kalât, and at Kotrú in Kach Gandáva. To the latter place they have retired from Bâgh, formerly a place of importance, but it has declined. Quetta, Mastúng, Dádar, and Dájil, are places of some trade.

Nasír Khân gave every encouragement to trade; Máhmúd Khân did not discourage it; but Mehráb Khân, from the weakness of his government, rather than from his oppressive measures, considerably injured it. From himself, merchants enjoyed all security, but the exactions made on the kâfila routes, and above all, the circulation of a base currency, severely impeded commercial pursuits. During the reigns of Nasír Khân and of his son, there were many Jews at Kalât; at present there are none. They are yet spoken of, and appear to have participated in the financial affairs of the state, and, what may be thought singular, they were eventually losers. That they were held in respect, may be inferred from the terms applied in discours-

ing of them, their names being always prefaced by the honorary appellation of Agá.

Some important commercial routes traverse Eastern Balochistân. The more celebrated is that from Shikárpúr to Kândahár, crossing the level plains of Kach Gandâva, passing through the long and dangerous defiles of the Bolan, and opening upon Quetta, from which routes diverge upon Kalât, Núshkí, Kândahár, Ghazní, and Kâbal. Another route, nearly as excellent, particularly for camel-kâfilas, leads from Súnmiání to Kalât, and thence to Kândahár and Kâbal. This route may be calculated at forty camel-marches between Súnmiání and Kândahár, but is still much the shortest route by which that city can be gained from the coast. The route from Shikárpúr to Kândahár I traversed with a kâfila in 1828, and was above a month on the march. From Shikárpúr to the coast must be above twenty camel-marches. Another travelled route from the coast, is that from the port of Karáchí, which passes along the western frontier of Sind, to Jell, the town of the Magghazzís,—thence it leads to Kalât by the circuitous route of the Múllöh river, or, passing on to Bâgh, falls into the high-road from Shikárpúr. This road is unexceptionable to kâfilas with camels. Kâfilas pass occasionally from Kalât to Kej, Panjghúr, Dájil, &c., less frequently to Ghazní and Kâbal.

AGRICULTURE.

The agriculture of Balochistân is still in a primitive state, and probably has continued for ages on the same level of mediocrity. Wheat is the principal object of cultivation, and the bulk of it is grown on lands called khúshk âwâh, which owe their fertility to the rains. On these, if the vernal rains have been sufficiently abundant, seed is inserted; and the crops, if not extremely productive, are at least moderately so, and the grain is esteemed good. The wheat most prized in Balochistân, and whose quality has become proverbial, is that grown on the khúshk âwâh lands of Kapútú, east by south of Kalât. There are two species of wheat cultivated, the common, or white grain, and the Shoráwak, or red grain. The latter is preferred. Those extensive and bleak plains which, to the traveller, in the latter months of the year, present a chilling and repulsive appearance, overspread with weeds and thorny plants, in the spring are clothed with the vivid verdure of rising harvests, and nod in summer with their matured fruits. The deficiency of rain is, however, to be dreaded, and its absence is inevitably followed by scarcity and high prices. In Sahárawân the harvests are collected by the end of June. In Jhálawân fifteen or twenty days earlier. The districts most famed for wheat are Sohráb, Bâghwân, Khozdár, and Náll, or those of Jhálawân, as to

quantity; and those of the capital and of Sahárawân as to quality. Bullocks are used in ploughing the soil; camels rarely.

Rice is cultivated in the districts of Shâll and Mastúng, also at Kirta, Rodbár, Johân, &c.; indeed, in the valleys, amongst the ranges east of Kalât, it is an object of general attention. The valleys of Pándêrân and Zehrî, south of Kalât, also yield it abundantly, and it is grown in many spots along the course of the Múllôh river. The produce of Pándêrân and of Rodbár is prized. Gâll and gâllachî, varieties of millet, are both cultivated. The grain is employed in the preparation of bread eaten by the poorer classes. These crops are of rapid growth, hence they generally succeed crops of wheat on soils which have the advantage of being irrigated, and whose fertility is supported by manure. The harvest of those about Kalât immediately precedes the setting in of the cold weather.

Júarî and bájra are cultivated but partially, on harsh, dry soils. These grains form the chief objects of culture in Kach Gandâva.

Maize, or Indian corn, is a still rarer object of culture; neither is nákod abundantly grown.

Múng is much cultivated in Zehrî in many of the valleys amongst the hills east of Kalât, along the course of the Múllôh river, and in most of the districts of Jhálawân.

Tobacco is grown, in fair quantities, in the vicinities of Kalât and Mastúng. It is an article of

export, but, although good, is inferior to that of Kândahár.

A large cultivation of aspúst, or lucerne, the spíshta of the Afghâns and rishka of the people of Kâbal, is general along the whole line of cultivated tracts, from Khozdâr, northward, to Shâll. It appears an excellent and profitable object of culture, requiring renewal but once in six or seven years. Due irrigation and manure are necessary, and with such attention it yields six successive crops during the year. In the environs of Kândahár so many as ten crops of this grass through the season attest the superiority of the soil.

Mangel-wurzel, or, as called at Kalât, lab-lab, is grown in small quantities, but is merely made use of as a condiment by man, when previously boiled.

The cotton-plant is produced scantily in Jhálawân, and along the Múlloh river. It is an object of more attention in Kach Gandâva. From its seeds a coarse lamp oil is pressed. Sircham, or sesamum, is one of the oleaceous plants cultivated, and a pure bland oil is also extracted from the kernels of apricots.

Melons, both musk and water, are raised on so large a scale that they seem entitled to be considered when treating on agricultural subjects; moreover they receive the attention of the zamíndár, or farmer, not of the bâghwân, or gardener. The grounds on which they are raised are called pález. Pálézes are everywhere found throughout Baloch-

istân. Whether of good or bad quality, melons are the universal fruit of all varieties of climate, and of all classes. The produce of the temperate regions of Sahárawân is superior, and the fruits of Mastúng are pre-eminent. For the large demands of the capital, extensive melon grounds are annually formed on the plain of Chappar, west of it.

HORTICULTURE.

To the example and encouragement of Nasír Khân the inhabitants of Kalât are indebted for the various gardens in the neighbourhood of their city. This wise prince, who really seems to have had the welfare and comfort of his subjects at heart, distributed premiums to such of them as devoted their labours to horticulture. He made grants of land, and gave the proprietors documents, on the authority of which, water for their necessary irrigation, is supplied free of charge and for ever. His son, Máhmúd Khân, did not interfere with the proprietors of gardens. His own garden, or Bâgh-Khân, he consecrated entirely to Flora, and amid a profusion of roses, jasmines, and the many-coloured gúl-abbâs, was wont to spend days together, exhilarated by wine and music, and surrounded by dancing-girls. Under Mehráb Khân, improvement in horticultural pursuits, as in all others, ceased, and Bâgh-Khân became a wilderness. The fruit trees,

however, planted in the time of Nasír Khán, have attained maturity, and the people who enjoy their rich treasures in succession, laud the provident and beneficent care of their former sovereign. The fruit tree which seems most kindly to accord with the climate and soil of Balochistân, is the zardálu, or apricot. It is found southerly, so far south as Wad. The number of these trees at Mastúg is immense, and their fruit is dried to a large extent annually. The mulberries of Kalât are inferior, if we except the shâh tút, or royal mulberry, which occurs but rarely. On the other hand the mulberries of Mastúg enjoy a great fame, and are extremely abundant, while they are of numerous varieties. The apple-tree does not particularly thrive in this part of the country; its fruit is small, and its varieties are confined to two or three. It is not largely propagated. Neither is the pear-tree more excellent; there is but one variety, a small and moderately flavoured fruit. Quinces, plums, peaches, &c., are to be procured, but not plentifully. Pomegranates are few at Kalât, and, indeed, throughout Sahárawân; in Jhálawân they are more abundant, and attain greater perfection. Those of Dádar are highly prized. Mastúg is proverbially the garden of Sahárawân, and has numerous vineyards, which yield excellent grapes, while the few grown at Kalât are indifferent. The black grapes of Karâní, a village near Quetta, are esteemed, as are those of Ghazg, a valley in the hills north-east of

Kalât. Mastúng has numerous groves of almond trees, whose fruit forms an article of export, and there, as well as at Kalât, and other places, the banks of the canals of irrigation are fringed with sanjit trees. A country embracing so many gradations in climate as Balochistân affords scope for the production of most kinds of fruit. The mango-tree flourishes at Béla, in Las, and is not found in Kach Gandâva, only because it has not been introduced.

The tamarind, which would thrive in most situations in Las, is found only at a zíárat in the hills, where its presence is imputed to a miracle. Kach Gandâva, capable of producing all the fruits of hot countries, yields only limes and pomegranates, in gardens; and about villages the transplanted bér, or jujubes. The province of Panjghúr has excellent dates.

Amongst the vegetables cultivated, are the turnip, carrot, egg-plant, radish, kaddú—a species of gourd—cucumber, kolfah—a mucilaginous plant—fenugreek, onions, mustard, and spinach.

Amongst the flowers, and flowering-shrubs, are observed the rose, jasmine, narcissus, red, white, and yellow varieties of the gúl abbás, stocks, sunflowers, prince's-feather; French and African marigolds, hollyhocks, china-asters, and Indian pinks.

PART VI.

MANNERS, CUSTOMS, &c.

THE contemplation of a rude and unenlightened race may offer little attraction, but is necessary to those who would trace mankind through its several gradations of society and improvement; nor can it be neglected by those who would wish to form a correct estimate of human nature.

The tribes of Balochistân hold but an inferior rank in the grand scale of society, whether as regards their intellectual advancement or their acquaintance with the arts of life; yet, with the errors and excesses generally attendant upon ignorance and a savage state, they have some good natural qualities, and many of those virtues which seem to glow and flourish with brighter lustre and strength under the shade of the barbarian's tent, than under the more costly canopy which civilization expands over the heads of her refined sons.

A commendable trait in the Bráhuí character is the practice of *zang*, or hospitality. The person of a guest is held sacred, and the rites of friendship are never refused. If a traveller be seen approaching a *tomân*, its inmates spread, without their tents,

carpets or felts for him to sit and repose upon. If he be tired, after a long march, it is usual to furnish oil, that he may anoint his weary limbs. On his departure, the traveller is accompanied a short distance on the road, his entertainer carrying for the time, his musket, or other article of weight. Some of the western tribes, particularly the Mehmanís, although they respect the traveller when their guest, and would defend him at the risk of life, even against relatives, make no scruple, like Arabs of the desert, of assaulting him when he may have passed their roof. The traveller amongst them requires other safeguards than the deference due to his character as a guest.

Without the harsh, austere manners of the Afghân pastoral tribes, the Bráhuís are less bigoted, indeed are rather careless as to religious observances and ceremonies; and not only are they lax on the point of prayers, so regularly observed by the Afghâns, but very few of their tomâns are furnished even with a masjit, or place of worship. Máhommedanism with them, as with many barbarous races, has degenerated into the homage paid to shrines and saiyads.

The Baloch tribes, although they may be brought to act in concert on questions affecting the general interests of the community, have very distinct and jealous feelings towards each other. Between many of them, blood feuds of old standing prevail, and their discords are encouraged by the khân and his government for the sake of maintaining ascendancy

over them, according to the maxim, *divide et impera*. This policy prevents so cordial an union amongst the tribes as might endanger the khân's authority, and enables him, on the revolt of some, to direct against them the resources of others. Blood feuds, once created, can hardly be extinguished, and the tribes, in their conflicts, balance the accounts of slain on either side. A regular debtor and creditor account is kept, and the number of men and women for whom khún-bâwar, or satisfaction in blood, is required, is carefully treasured in memory.

The intestine wars amongst the Bráhuís are not generally attended with much bloodshed. After the first attack, or onset, in which three or four persons on either side may be slain, it is customary for women and saiyads to interpose, and to seize the matchlocks of the combatants, when hostilities invariably cease, and temporary arrangements are made. The women and saiyads, indeed, frequently prevent collision.

The Bráhuís of all tribes respect in their frays the lives of women, and if any of these should be slain or wounded, as may sometimes happen, it is the effect of accident, and is considered a great calamity.

The value of human life is but slightly appreciated throughout Balochistân, if we may judge from the frequency of murders, and the apathy which attends their perpetration. No tie of con-

sanguinity is a sufficient protection from the purfidy of unnatural relatives. The domestic history of the greater portions of the chiefs of the several tribes furnishes a surprising and disgusting recital of crimes and treasons, and there is scarcely one of them whose hands are not imbrued with the life's blood of his kinsmen.

The Afghân plunders, but does not kill, except in extreme cases, or of resistance. The solitary Baloch robber places himself in ambush, and shoots his victim, before he despoils him. In their large forays, although resistance be not made, murders are committed from mere wantonness, and frequently for no better reason than to try the temper of their swords. The Bráhúí tribes of Sahárawân and Jhálawân are better in this respect than many of the tribes of Kach Gandâva. It must, in justice, be noted, that these marauding tribes are in open rebellion, or contumacious to the authority of Kalât.

Feasting is a prominent characteristic of the Baloch, as of other rude tribes. It may be in part a remnant of ancient custom, and in part a consequence of Máhommedan tenets, which strongly recommend, as acceptable in the true believer, *kairáts*, or charitable distributions of food. They are used on all occasions, whether of rejoicing or of sorrow; every incident of life becomes a pretence for festivity, although, except on important occasions, the entertainment may be restricted to the

family, it being understood here, as elsewhere, in practice at least, that charity begins at home. But the Baloch tribes are too sagacious to trust solely to kairáts in all cases. When afflicted with disease, the first care, after making a kairát, is to procure a távíz, or scrap of paper, on which is written some formulary words, believed to operate as a charm, and to be a specific against the malady. It must be written by some holy or competent person, and saiýads, as being unexceptionable in character, profit, on this score, not a little by the credulity of their clients. Others besides saiýads are, however, eligible, and when at Kalát I was often applied to, and had to scribble a good deal,—not to appear unkind, and to rid myself of importunity. The távíz is not only obtained to cure sickness, but to prevent it; to ensure its owner against wounds in battle; to secure success in amatory affairs; to render a person invisible; in short, it is supposed an antidote against all the ordinary and extraordinary accidents of life. It is singular that daily experience does not diminish faith in these ridiculous remedies; but so strong is the force of confirmed prejudice, and so intense the interest excited in the savage breast for anything wonderful or supernatural, that faith in their virtues continues unimpaired, although contrary to the evidence of sense. The application of medicines is, however, not omitted, for every housewife has her collection of simples. There grows not a plant on the hills or plains to which curative

or sanative qualities are not ascribed ; and it is not improbable, that many of the vegetable productions may be beneficial in sundry diseases ; but the Brá-húís, failing in the discernment requisite to ascertain the particular uses to which their powers might profitably be directed, in general administer them very indiscriminately.

The question of medicines naturally leads to that of disorders, and it is fortunate that the temperance, regularity, and exercise of a pastoral life are conducive to health, and render recourse to the healing art but little necessary. Where there are few physicians, there would appear to be few diseases. In the tomân, no doctor, no sickness ; in the town, plenty of doctors, plenty of sickness. It must be conceded that the tenant of the tomân often suffers from a lingering disorder, which, at its commencement, admitted of easy cure, and is afflicted throughout his existence from having omitted to apply for advice. Neither am I certain that the value of life is greater in the tomân than in the town. There are many diseases to which the inhabitants of town and wild are equally liable. Of these, the poto, or casual small-pox, is much dreaded, and sometimes makes extensive ravages. This severe disorder completely baffles all medicinal skill ; and its cure, although of course attributed to charms and kairáts, is really the effect of chance or the kindly force of nature. Inoculation is sometimes performed, by scarifying with a razor the inner

portion of the arm an inch or two above the wrist, and binding over the divided skin the dried matter of pustules. It is frequently necessary to repeat the operation twice or thrice before the infection is communicated. Saiyads and priests are the persons employed as inoculators, and receive, as remuneration, a quantity of grain, a sheep, or other small present. The saiyads are preferred, it being believed that their sanctity, as descendants of the Prophet, may have an influence upon the progress and event of the malady. Syncope, hysterics, and similar affections, are imputed to the presence of jins, or demons; and various are the laughable means adopted to expel the supposed guests. I was once entreated to visit a female slave, who had been suddenly seized with a fainting fit. On arrival I found many persons congregated, busy in writing charms, which they afterwards burned, and applied to her eyes, ears, nostrils, and mouth; it being unanimously decided that she was possessed by a jin.

The Baloch, with a large share of credulity, ignorance, and superstition, allows his wild and fervid imagination to riot in unchecked indulgence. Hence the belief universally entertained of the existence of jins (genii) and perís (fairies). Their notions of these are, indeed, absurd, but often highly poetical and amusing; and endless are the tales which are recited of these supernatural agents, to the delight and wonder of their even-

ing circles. The same easy faith induces the most implicit credence in the numerous extravagantly ridiculous legends connected with their religion, and makes them willing dupes of every impostor who pretends to the character of "búzúrg," or inspired. In accidents and diseases charms are had recourse to in preference to medicines, and the bite of a snake, as a fever, is expected to be counteracted by a "dam," or incantation. Some of the Bráhúís, as those in the valley of the Múl-lah river, pretend to the power of preventing by spells, called "údah," the discharge of musket-balls. I was assured that there are persons so confident in the possession and efficacy of this údah as to suffer themselves to be fired at for a very trifling consideration. The Marrís, a very large tribe, have the reputation of being able to prevent the discharge of artillery. On asking why our European musketry and artillery had never been kept silent by údah, I was told that Europeans were proof against it because they eat swine-flesh. This admission emboldened me to ask again, why they did not eat swine flesh and become proof also. The stranger in Balochistân will not fail to be struck with the formality of the salutations, and the gravity of deportment assumed on such occasions. If the parties be acquainted, they alternately kiss hands; then one commences a series of gratulatory inquiries, embracing the individual, his family, his cattle, &c., as "Darâkh! darâhk! Darâkh júr! Júr

massan! Massan darâkh! îlam darâkh! lashkar darâkh! tomân darâkh!" &c., &c.; to which the other incessantly replies, "Fazl! fazl khodâ! shûkr! al-hamdillâ!" &c.; or, if an inferior, he repeats, "Meherbânî! meherbânî!" The first course of inquiries completed, he asks, "Kúbar nettí?" or "Is there any news?" Should a third person be present, he is first appealed to as to whether the inquiry for news shall be made, and answers, "Jí îlam," or "Yes, brother." The person from whom intelligence is demanded then relates all he knows, or has heard, concerning the khân, the several sirdars, &c.; and, public affairs dismissed, proceeds to private details, and relates circumstantially where he is come from, where he is going, on what business he went or is yet engaged in, how it was or may be settled, and so forth; and, having exhausted his subject, concludes by saying "Am ín kadr áwâl ást," or "this is the extent of my information." The parties then burst forth into a fresh repetition of gratulatory inquiries, which terminated, the person who has communicated his intelligence asks of the third person if he, in turn, may inquire the news. Upon being answered in the affirmative, he makes the demand, which is complied with in the same minute and important manner. The close is again marked by a renewal of Darâkh! darâkh! darâkh júr! &c., &c. Females present their hands to be embraced, but modestly cover them with their chádars.

The Baloch costume is far from elegant. The men wear a loose upper garment, or frock, called a *khúss*, extending nearly to the feet, and giving a disorderly and womanish appearance. Their *perjâmas*, or trowsers, vary from the *Afghân* mode, in being narrow at bottom. For coverings to the head, two or three varieties of chintz cap, stuffed with cotton, and fitting close to the head, are in use; but the national cap is the high circular one of cloth, chintz, or *kimkâb*, common also in *Sind*; the *Bráhuí* one, as well as that of the *Lúmris* of *Las*, being distinguished by a small tuft or button in the centre of the crown. I have been much perplexed, both here and in *Sind*, to account for the introduction of this topi, as called, for in shape it is the European hat without brims. Affording no shade to the face, it is not very suitable to a warm climate. The inhabitants of towns only wear what can be properly termed shoes. The resident of the *tomân* has a kind of sandal; a broad leather thong, frequently highly decorated and punctured with embroidered holes, encircling the instep, the toes being exposed, while from this thong a more slender one passes round the ancles.

Lúnghís, or turbans, are not in general use; the wealthy, of course, have them, and sometimes shawls, besides being wont to wear fanciful garments of silk, *kimkâb*, and British chintzes. In the *tomâns*, one or two of the most opulent persons may be seen decorated with a shawl of mixed cot-

ton and silk. The Baloches are universally filthy in their raiments, and the lower orders absolutely suffer them to fall from their backs through age and dirt.

The women are arrayed in large loose robes or gowns, which cover them from head to foot, and wear no perjâmas or trowsers. These robes are ornamented with a profusion of needle-work in silks of divers colours and patterns. Such embellishments extend down the parts concealing the bust, along the respective seams, and around the skirts and long sleeves. From the centre, in front to the skirt, stretches a pocket, which is also profusely decorated. On either side are inserted triangular patches of chintz or silk, of a colour varying from that of the robe, which is usually red. A châdar, or large piece of cloth, is universally worn, thrown over the head, and trailing along the ground. The hair of the females is separated from the centre of the forehead, and being made smooth and glossy by some glutinous composition, is brought behind the ears, whence, being plaited or braided in two portions, it depends down the back. It is customary to intermingle with the hair plaits of coloured worsted, which terminate in large bunches or tassels. The head is moreover bound with a fillet of black stuff or silk. The fair sex have a due proportion of trinkets, as armlets, ear-rings, nose-rings, &c. Ornaments of lapis lazuli are very common. Besides puncturing the nostrils for the reception of

rings, it is usual to perforate the cartilage of the nose ; which, in absence of ornaments, supplies the females with a convenient place for inserting their bodkins, needles, and other slender objects. The women in towns, of the wealthy classes, may dress in *perjâmas*, and may affect to hide their faces on the appearance of a stranger ; but these are practices arising from imitation, and contrary to Baloch custom, which, as the Afghân, enjoins not the privacy of women.

It is but justice to observe, that many of the Baloch ladies are very personable. There is a proverb which celebrates the attractions of the females of Níchâra, near Kalât, and a high reputation is allowed to the Bízúnjû women of Jhálawân. The complexion of the poor Bráhuí women soon becomes bronzed, in consequence of exposure ; and she assumes a hardy masculine appearance, which alike indicates that she has hardships to encounter, and that she is able to endure them. On a march, the females sustain incredible labour ; they will be seen, without coverings to their heads and feet, arrayed in a coarse black gown, driving before them a camel, cow, or ass, laden with their miserable effects ; while on their backs they carry their infant children, and, as if they had not enough to do, on the road are busily engaged in twirling their handspindles, and spinning coarse threads of wool or hair. The men of a *tomân*, on the march, always start before sunrise, and gain the appointed place of

halt in the cool of the morning; leaving their wives to pack the effects, to load the beasts of burthen, and to follow them with their children slowly, or as best they can.

The Baloches can scarcely be said to have a national physiognomy; neither, perhaps, should it be expected, if we consider how many tribes, of very different origin, are included under the denomination, or, if we look to their position and admixture with their neighbours. Towards India, whose climate confounds, in the dark shades it imparts, all distinction of features, the Baloch tribes have a swarthy, almost black colour. On the frontiers of Kermân, where they border on the fair-complexioned races of Persia, the tribes have ruddy cheeks and grey eyes. It is not intended to affirm, however, that the several tribes may not generally be distinguished from each other, although by no very broad lines. Thus, the Rind tribes of Kach Gandâva and the east, have certainly an appearance varying from that of the Bráhúí tribes, their neighbours to the west, owing, no doubt, in some measure to a different cast of features, and augmented by dissimilitude of dress, the Rind tribes wearing turbans, and never the Bráhúí hat, with garments of a somewhat varying style. Again, it would not be difficult to distinguish a Bráhúí from the Baloch races of the extreme west, as of Bam and Núrmanshír. The Bráhúís are by no means a handsome race, and it is

rare to observe amongst the males what would be called a fine countenance. The facial form is generally inclined to oval; but the forehead is small, as are the eyes; the nose is somewhat flattened, being seldom a prominent feature, the aquiline form is most uncommon, the lips are thin, and the chin insignificant. What has been remarked of the nose may be applied to the whole countenance. It is deficient of prominence in expression or features. In many of the ruder tribes, and the observation holds good with some of the Afghâns, the forehead is so overgrown with hair that it is barely developed. The Lúmrí tribes of Las have a peculiar disposition of features, which at once separates them, the Bráhuís, and other Baloch races, and confirms their affinity with the Rájput races of India. In stature the Bráhuís do not generally exceed the middle size, to be accounted for by the accidental cause of hard fare, for the wealthy amongst them are as tall as other people. They are otherwise stout and well-proportioned. They wear their hair hanging loosely down their shoulders, and are extremely inattentive to cleanliness. The remarks made by Curtius, as to the disgusting appearance of the long lanky matted hair, hanging down in ropes, of the then inhabitants of the maritime provinces of this country, are at this day perfectly applicable to them, as well as to those of the northern provinces. Amongst the Méd inhabitants of the little towns

on the coast, may be noted heads of hair exhibiting that exuberance of natural and clustered ringlets, coinciding with the style in vogue during the epochs of the Parthian and Sassanian kings of Persia, as manifested by their coins and the various sculptured monuments dispersed over Persia. The Rinds and Magghassís of Kach Gandâva have universally fine heads of hair, as have the greater proportion of the Jet tribes, and they are easily to be distinguished by their superfluity of pendent curls. The Lúmrís of Las, in common with their kindred races in Sind and the Panjâb, tie the hair in a knot at the crown; a characteristic practice with some of the ancient German tribes, as noted by Tacitus and others. Marriages amongst the Baloches are always celebrated with a variety of festivities. Sang, or betrothal, is the first step, when the parents and friends of the parties assemble, and enter into engagements, which they confirm by repeating fátiha. The interval between betrothal and the union of the young people is employed in the preparation of wedding garments, the fabric of carpets, and other articles for domestic purposes and convenience. A few days before the final ceremony of nikkár takes place, minstrels attend, and the days are passed amid the melodies of vocal and instrumental music. On the marriage-day the bridegroom, arrayed in silks of gaudy colours, mounted on a horse and attended by his friends, makes a considerable circuit, while

he emplores a blessing at some favoured shrine. Large quantities of food are prepared and distributed amongst neighbours; and rejoicings continue for more or less time, according to the means or dispositions of the parties. The bridegroom makes a pecuniary present to the father of the bride, who generally expends it in the purchase of trinkets and necessaries for his daughter. The entire expense of the marriage is defrayed by the bridegroom.

On the birth of an infant there is much rejoicing, and music: distribution of food is also made. On the fourth day a name is conferred, and neighbours assemble to partake of shiríní, or fruits and sweetmeats. On the sixth day, a sheep, or two, will be cooked, and friends entertained. On the seventh day, kâttam, or circumcision, should be performed, although it is often postponed for a year or two. This being an important ceremony, it is distinguished by great festivity and large kairáts. It is, in fact, the consecration of the juvenile member into the bosom of the Máhommedan church, and is an equivalent for the Christian rite of baptism.

On occasions of death, kairáts are never neglected, and are frequently repeated, it being supposed that they benefit the soul of the deceased. The grave for a male is very little sunk, that for a female is made breast deep; it being whimsically alleged that the nature of a woman is so restless, that without a large proportion of earth upon her

she would hardly remain quiet, even in the grave. There are few or no head-stones to the graves of ordinary persons, yet attention is paid to their preservation, and the tumulus above ground is covered with white and black fragments of stone, neatly arranged.

Wives, on the decease of their husbands, neglect washing, and the usual cares bestowed on their persons, and sit making sad lamentations for a space not less than fifteen days, when their female relatives and friends conjure them to desist from weeping, and bring them the powder of *lárra*, (a plant,) with which they lave their heads, and resume their wonted serenity and enjoyments. As it is understood that a widow's grief for the loss of her husband is excessive and sincere, and that she discards it only at the pressing instance of her relatives, should they maliciously not present themselves, she may have to mourn for a longer period, perhaps a month or two.

The domestic economy of the Bráhuís is very simple and confined. Milk, so important an article in their household management, is obtained principally from ewes and she-goats; from the former in the largest proportion. Cows are exceedingly rare in Sahárawân and Jhálawân, and buffaloes still more so. The milk of ewes is known to be heavy, and to yield much cream. I believe it is seldom made use of in England, and that it is unheard of in the vicinity of the metropolis; yet, in these

countries, such as the greater part of Balochistân and Afghânistân, where there is not pasture for the larger animals, it forms the primary object of domestic attention, and forms the basis of a variety of preparations, for which no adequate substitutes are to be found.

Butter and cheese made from ewes'-milk are of good quality; the latter, perhaps, a little pungent; the former is not made from cream, as in England, but from mâss, or curd, placed in an earthen jar, and agitated by a simple machine, consisting of a slender stick, at the end of which two small bars cross each other. It is impelled in its revolutions by the assistance of a string.

Mâss, or curd, is one of the most frequent modes in which milk is employed as food. This is made by simply boiling the milk, and then inserting a portion of butter-milk, which imparts a tendency to coagulation, and a gently acidulated taste. The evening's milk is usually set apart for mâss, the space of a night being necessary to render the conversion perfect; while it is made use of for the repast of the morning. There are many other methods of making mâss, practised in other countries. I only notice that in general use amongst the Brâhúís. An effectual, but reprehensible method, is sometimes employed in Sind, of placing a piece of copper money in boiling milk. Mâss is eaten as a relish or accompaniment to bread and rice. Seasoned with garlic, it is esteemed dainty, and is

a favourite mixture with many. Mâss made into butter, of course, preserves its cream: but milk intended for mâss, may be first deprived of it. The quality only of the curd is affected.

In the preparation of cheese, the Brábhúís have an excellent substitute for rennet in the seeds of a plant, named in consequence, panír-band.

Roghan, or clarified butter, is undoubtedly the product derived from milk of the first consequence, and of the most general use. It is prepared in immense quantities, not only supplying a free consumption amongst the tomâns, but furnishing the necessities of the towns. Roghan is a favourite oleaceous substance in all eastern countries, and is preferred to butter, being better adapted to travelling, and because it preserves its freshness for a more considerable time, and that during the vicissitudes of heat and cold to which it may be exposed. The clarification of butter is effected by simply boiling the substance until its water be absorbed, or until it shows a disposition to granulate. Sometimes a flavor is communicated by the addition of a few grains of jîra or fennel seed, a small portion of sugar, or even a few grains of wheat. A yellow tint is frequently induced, by inserting during the process a little turmeric.

Shelânc of the Brábhúís, or krút of the Afghâns, is another preparation from milk. It is made by boiling buttermilk until the original quantity is reduced one half. The thickened fluid is then placed

in a bag of hair or wool, and suffered to drain, exposed to the solar heat. When the draining ceases the mass in the bag is formed into small dumps, which are dried unto hardness in the sun. When required for use, these dumps are pounded and placed in warm water, where they are worked by the hands until dissolved. The thickened fluid is then boiled with a share of roghan, and provides a meal, by having bread saturated in it. This is a favourite article of food in Afghânistân and western Persia. The Afghân preparation excels the Bráhuí. It is a convenient food for travellers, being easy of transport and readily served.

The milk of camels is but partially employed in the districts of upper Balochistân. It is much made use of in Las, and in northern Sind, where of all milk it is esteemed the sweetest. The abundance of ewes' milk completely supersedes its use in Sahárawân and the neighbourhood of the capital, where the flocks are so numerous that it is customary for the experienced housewives of Kalât, during the vernal season, to repair to the adjacent hills, and to contract for the milk of a certain number of ewes, at the rate of one rupee for two, during three successive months. They remain with the flocks, and prepare quantities of roghan, krút, &c., with which they return laden to their homes.

The favoured inhabitants of the smiling districts of Mastúng and Sháll, where Pomona has bounti-

fully dispersed her treasures, have in their fruits during their respective seasons a store of sanative and luxuriant condiments, while the immense surplus of mulberries and apricots, which are carefully dried, supply them with an equally wholesome and nutritious diet during winter. Dried mulberries have a peculiar and grateful flavour like melilates, or honeyed gingerbread. Dried apricots are eaten as an accompaniment to bread, by being beaten up with water, and boiled with a proportion of roghan. The dish is called *chamarí*, and may be made very agreeable, if duly spiced. In the districts of *Khárân*, *Núshkí*, &c., where the hing plant, or *ferula assafoetida*, is found, it is largely employed as food. The entire plant is used, and the natives are loud in their commendations of its zest and flavour, terming it "*khúsh korák*," or "pleasant food." Great quantities of this plant are, in season, brought to *Kalât*, and consumed chiefly by *Hindús*. The stem is, by the *Bráhuís*, simply roasted. In like manner is eaten the stem of another species of *ferula*, called "*húshí*," (*opopanax*?) found abundantly in the hills. The hing plant is, moreover, pickled at *Kalât*, and is not unpalatable, retaining, however, that peculiar flavour which characterizes it. In *Núshkí* and *Gúrghína*, *rawásh*, or native rhubarb, abounds. It is also used for food, the leaf stalks being selected. They are either roasted or eaten in a crude state, and are esteemed for their acidulated taste.

In Khárân large quantities of a concrete whitish gum exude from a species of gaz, called shakr-gaz. It has a sweet taste, and is brought for sale to Kalât, where an ass's load is exchanged for two ass loads of wheat. In Khárân, during a deficiency of grain, it serves as a substitute for bread. As a stock for the winter season, the Bráhúí housewife prepares the entire carcasses of one or more sheep, according to her means, by a process somewhat analogous to that by which bacon is got up. I do not remember to have seen such preparations in European countries, and they appeared to be worthy of imitation; the process being simple, and the meat well preserved and flavoured, indeed resembling bacon. At the opening of the cold season the animal is killed, the entire carcass deprived of the bones, and extended by means of short sticks. It is then well rubbed with common salt, and hung up on the ceiling of a room, or on its sides, or even without the house, that it may dry completely. It is not uncommon for the inner and outer walls of masjíts to be covered with these flitches of mutton, and I never heard of any portion of them being purloined. The viscera, and all other edible parts of the sheep, are also salted and dried, but hung up distinct from the carcass. Mutton, so prepared, is called khaddít by the Bráhúís, and lándí by the Afghâns. In Panjghúr it is prepared by being spiced as well as salted, and is said to be superior.

Independently of the articles of sustenance afforded by their flocks and herds, the fleeces of the one, and the hairy hides of the other furnish materials for clothing, and other necessary and useful objects, while, beside household cares, the principal occupation of the women consists in their fabric. The skins of sheep and goats are made into massaks, or vessels for the retention of water. They also serve to contain flour. Sufficiently cleanly, they are well adapted for the transport of water over extensive plains, slung in the rear, or on the side of the camel sheltered from the sun. If on arrival at the place of halt a tree be at hand, the massak, suspended on a branch, preserves the water delightfully cool.

The wool of sheep is beaten by slender sticks, or rods, held in either hand, and alternately descending until it be reduced to a pulp fit for the fabric of namads, or felts. It is also spun into threads and woven into carpets, which are coloured with madder, indigo, turmeric, &c., all of which operations are carried on within tomâns. The leaves of apple-trees are collected at their fall in autumn, and preserved for use as a yellow dye, which is, I believe, a novel application of them. The hair of camels is often used as a base to carpets, upon which the lines, or various patterns in worsted are worked. It is exclusively adapted to the fabric of the coarse black coverings for tents, and for a variety of furniture for the living animal. As well as wool, it is employed

in the construction of ropes and strings. Cloaks, here called shálls, are made of the same materials, and are in general use, varying in fineness of texture ; some of them are gaudily decorated with floss silk, of varied colours. The better fabrics of Níchára have a very gay appearance. As a general rule, the manufactures, if we may so term them, of the Baloch pastoral tribes, are as much surpassed by those of the corresponding classes in Afghânistân, as these latter are by the productions of the same grade of artisans in Persia.

It will be seen that the chief, if not the whole labour of a pastoral family, falls upon the woman. It is the same in all barbarous communities, and is the consequence of a rude state of society. The Bráhuí never condescends to eat with his wife, and she patiently waits upon him during his repast, and cheerfully retires when it is completed, to regale upon the fragments which have been spared. The dwellings of the Bráhuís are formed by a number of long slender poles, bent and inverted towards each other, over which are extended slips of the coarse fabric of camel-hair, before noted, and dyed, generally black. The direction of the length is from east to west, the better to exclude the sun's rays. The interior management is as simple as the exterior. On the one side are piled up their bags of grain, flour, and other necessities, which are concealed from view by a carpet spread over them in front, while above them are piled their stock of

carpets and felts, neatly folded. The culinary utensils of the Bráhuís are chiefly of copper, tinned, as are their dishes and ewers. They place their cakes of bread in carpet-bags, also their flour and salt. A single tent is called a búnghí, an assemblage of tents, a tomân; and this is designated from the principal personage or patriarchal chief residing in it, as the tomân of Fatí Máhoméd, the tomân of Pír Baksh, &c., &c.

Slavery is general throughout Balochistân, and there is no family of the least consideration that has not its complement of male and female slaves. These are generally Sídís, or negroes procured from the coast, whither they are brought from Maskát. At Kalât there are some slaves both of Baloch and Afghân origin; but the condition of these is generally better than that of the negro, who, if not absolutely ill-used, is not much considered in matters of food and clothing. Khânazâdas, or slaves, born in the families of their owners are more favoured. Many of them are placed under the charge of a múlla when young, and acquire the accomplishments of reading, writing, &c. They are, moreover, confidentially employed, well apparelled, and as respectable and comfortable as slaves can be. Mehráb Khân had a great number of khânazâdas; many of them were opulent, and preferred to the government of his towns, and other high offices. The late Shâhghâssí Núr Máhoméd, the present Dárogah, Gúl Máhoméd, and Réhímdád,

were all khânazâdas. The proprietors of slaves exercise over them an absolute power of life and death, without right of appeal to the tribunals of the country ; or, in other words, the law does not interfere in questions between masters and slaves.

PART VII.

NATURAL HISTORY, &c.

QUADRUPEDS.

THE palang, or leopard, would seem to be the most formidable of the wild animals ranging the hills of Sahárawân, yet the species is not abundant. Kaftárs, or hyenas, are more numerous, and the daring huntsman sometimes makes them the objects of his chace.

Gurges, or wolves, exist in considerable numbers, and it is a common occurrence for huntsmen to expose, in the hills, the carcase of a dead animal, and placing themselves in ambush to shoot these beasts as they assemble for prey. Wolves, during the winter, become sufficiently audacious to attack man, and to carry off children.

There is an animal called peshkozeh, which is represented to be larger than a cat, with a reddish-coloured hide. It moves in companies, and attacks deer and sheep. Its mode of descending perpendicular precipices, as described, is singular, each animal fixing his teeth in the tail of another, and forming a kind of chain.

Perhaps the most interesting animal found in this country is the wild mountain-sheep. It exists in great numbers. Its fleece is tinged with a deep red hue, the breast of the male being of a glossy black, and that of the female of a delicate whiteness. The male has very long spiral horns: in the hills near Mastúng is a variety with straight tapering horns. The male has also a long beard, attains a much larger size than the female, and has a very fine appearance. The females are said to bring forth every spring two young ones, a male and female. In the season of breeding combats amongst the males are general, the females standing aloof, and becoming the rewards of the victors. At such times they are unusually thirsty, a circumstance of which hunters profit, by concealing themselves near the spots where they are constrained to repair for water, and thence deliberately taking aim at them. After the period of delivery, great numbers of the young are carried off by the Bráhuís, and brought to Kalât for sale. The hunting of the wild-sheep is a favourite pastime in Balochistân. In winter, the Bráhuí follows the chase, and continues to do so until the close of spring. The meat of this animal is very dark-coloured, but is esteemed delicious food. The skins are favourite substitutes for carpets or mats, to repeat prayers upon; and many of the masjits, in the little villages amongst the hills, have their floors spread over with them. The horns of the beast adorn the exteriors of the

buildings, and, with the antlers of deer, are frequently ostentatiously suspended on trees and rustic shrines. I may note, that many persons assured me that the straight, tapering horned animal alluded to above, was the wild-goat; and, I believe, our European gentlemen have pronounced it to be the ibex. The gúr-khar, or wild-ass, was formerly to be found on the dasht Gúrân, and in Gúrghína, but has disappeared of late years. It is still occasionally seen about Khárân. It also ranges the plain of Dálbanding, on the road from Núshkí to Jálk. South-easterly of Kalât, it is said, to be found on the Pat of Shikárpúr, between Tambú and Rojân. Nasír Khân had one of these animals, which is said to have become quite tame. The flesh of the gúr-khar is esteemed lawful food.

Khasm, or deer, are common in the hills, as are hares on the plains. A yellow or dun-coloured ground rat is universal throughout the country, as are jackáls. Hedgehogs are not rare.

BIRDS.

The birds of this part of the world mostly resemble those to be met with in more eastern regions. The common crow; the bird with black plumage and long forked tail, called by Europeans king of the crows; the handsome speckled and crested bird, called here múrg súlímân, the common

sparrow, the crested lark, the cuckoo dove, the wild pigeon, the mainah, the kingfisher, called mítú, with the large common vulture, called khâlmâlak, may all be seen in Hindústân. Besides them are the raven, the magpie, the daw, and a bird intermediate in size between the raven and crow, of very glossy black plumage, with red beak and legs. Its meat is reputed good. There are also owls, hawks, swallows, and two or three varieties of birds of small size and dull plumage. In Las and Kach Gandâva are perroquets; and on the shores of the former province are large flocks of flamingoes. In a dry elevated region, like Sahârawân and the greater part of Jhâlawân, aquatic fowl are, of course, but rare, yet large flocks of them annually pass over, in their migrations. Ducks are to be found about Sohrâb, and again near Khârân. The smaller kinds of game, as partridges and quail, are plentiful, the titta, the chikhor, the búdína, &c., and in Kach Gandâva the hobâra, a splendid variety of bustard, prevails. As Sind is approached, the wild fowl, the original of our domestic poultry, ranges in the jangal.

INSECTS.

Of the insects common, the two or three varieties of wasp, and a large species of hornet, are analogous to those of warmer countries. Gad-flies are like

those of England, and the ordinary white butterfly is abundant. At Kalât the caterpillar is a very beautiful object, and has a length of four or five inches. Beetles of a large size abound. There is a very troublesome bug, called mangúr, which infests the houses of Kalât, and annoys by its bite both natives and strangers, the latter more severely. It is always seen bloated with blood. By some, its presence is imputed to the juniper cedar wood employed in the construction of every house, by others to the mud used in raising the walls. There is no mode of avoiding the attack of this insect, but cold bathing is recommended to prevent the ill consequences of its wounds. There are likewise, of ordinary insects, dragon-flies, ladybirds, skippers, soldiers and sailors, ear-wigs, ground-fleas, crickets, grasshoppers, gnats, scorpions, centipedes, &c., &c.

AMPHIBIA.

Of this class there are land tortoises, frogs, toads, lizards and serpents. Of lizards there are two varieties common to the soil, the large gúána, or shúsh már, as called, and a small species, most abundant, called chelpâssa. On walls, and in every house is a small lizard, the fly-catcher. The excrement of the gúána is held in repute for some medicinal properties, particularly for ailments of the eye. Serpents are by no means few, and their bites

are considered venomous. I doubt it, as instances thereof, which fell under my observation, were always relieved by no more effectual remedy than a dam, or incantation.

BOTANY.

To the botanist the vegetable productions of Sahárawân and Jhálawân undoubtedly present an ample field for the gratification of his delightful and favourite studies. I have to regret the want of scientific information, which permits me only to enumerate some of the more conspicuous objects which present themselves in this elegant department.

To myself, a superficial observer, the similarity and approximation of the vegetable productions of Balochistân, and those of India, on the one side, and of Persia on the other, could not but be apparent. In the southern provinces there are few plants not to be found in Western India; in the northern provinces very many occur which are to be met with in the hills and valleys of Shíráz and Persepolis. The vegetation of Persia is, however, more vigorous.

The olive-tree, or zaitún, is found in the hills of Jhálawân and Sahárawân, and appears to extend over all the mountainous tract between the meridian of Kalât and that of the Indus. It

flourishes in the hills of the Súlímân range, and of Bangash. It is also a native of the hills of Shíráz.

The ghwen, or galangúr, (the banní, or bínah, of the Shíráz hills,) is a middle-sized tree, abundant on the lower hills and less elevated regions of the superior ones of Sahárawân, where it is always observed to fail where the juniper cedar-tree commences. This tree, a species of mastich, bears clusters of berries of a red or purplish tint, when mature, in which it differs from the Persian species, whose berries, when ripe, are white, or yellowish, like those of the mistletoe. The skin of the berry covers a viscous matter, in which is enclosed a stone with a kernel, yielding to expression a bland oil. A gum-resin exudes from the trunk and branches of this tree, which is supposed to possess vulnerary virtues, but is here not collected. In Persia it is applied to useful purposes in the arts. The berries, having an acidulated flavour, are eaten by the Bráhúís.

The appúrs, or juniper cedar-tree, seems more peculiar to the mountains of Sahárawân. It contributes by its solemn and majestic appearance to the scenery of the hills, and is the wood principally used at Kalât for purposes of building and fuel. It abounds on the eastern ranges of Sahárawân, and on Chehel Tan, delighting in the superior regions. It bears clusters of berries, which are gathered, when perfected, and sent for sale

as medicines to Sind and Hindústân. The appûrs is said to be the harhâr kohî of Persian authors.

The síáh-chob, or black-wood, is a shrubby tree of the Sahárawân hills. It has a variety of perpendicular stems, shooting to the height of ten or twelve feet. The leaves are minute, and the branches bear thorns. It derives its name from the colour of its stems, which are, however, dark red, rather than black. This tree is found in the hills of the Hindú Kosh, north of the Kohistân of Kâbal, and there yields shírkhist, or manna.

The mazmúk is a low bushy shrub, also with thorns and minute leaves, which bears, in large tears, a very pure gum, varying in shade from a clear white to yellow and red. It is found on the higher hills of Sahárawân. The gum is neglected, or nearly so, although it might be procured in quantity, and the finer specimens are not excelled in translucence or purity by gum-arabic.

The fig-tree is a native of the hills of Balochistân, as of those of Persia. It is found in the sheltered situations of ravines and water-courses. Its matured fruit is very palatable, the rind white, and the inner pulp of a lively red.

The hills of Sahárawân have, according to my observation, four varieties of ferula, the most important of which is the hing, or ferula assafoetida. This plant spreads itself over a large extent of country, being found on the western hills of Sahárawân, and on those of Núshkí, Shoráwak, and

Peshing. It even occurs so far south as the neighbourhood of Wad, in Jhálawân. It is found in the vicinity of Sístân, and flourishes extremely in some parts of western Khorasân, as near Ghain, whence, *viâ* Kândahár, passes to the east much of the assafoetida of commerce. Again, it becomes an article of lucrative traffic with the natives of Séghân, Kâmerd, Ajer, &c., north of Bámiân, whose hills and valleys produce the plant abundantly.

The gum-resin is collected at Núshkí, and was formerly at Gúrgína, but the plant there in late years is said to have failed. Little of the produce of Balochistân finds its way into the markets beyond its frontiers. It is in general use as a savoury ingredient in cookery, and the green plant is universally eaten. The assafoetida of commerce is usually adulterated with flour, sand, and other substances. A test of its purity is affirmed to be, the retention of its liquescency for a year. With respect to the medicinal virtues of assafoetida, its anthelmintic powers are alone known to the Bráhúís, who administer the seeds of the plant to children afflicted with worms, and distribute the gum-resin amongst their melon fields, to preserve the plants from the ravages of earth worms. They conclude that the quantities of the drug annually passing through their country to Bombay are destined to similar purposes.

The ferula, next to assafoetida in importance, is called húshí; it is, I suspect, the Persian jowáshír,

and may be the *pastinaca opopanax*. It bears a gum-resin, but this is wholly neglected. The green plant is roasted and eaten by the Bráhúís. This *ferula*, like the *assafoetida*, ranges over a large extent of country, but is more universal than that plant. I believe that it everywhere accompanies the *assafoetida*, but it is also common on the granite and gneiss ranges of Kâbal, to which the more valuable vegetable is a stranger. There is an irregularity in the dispersion of the *assafoetida*, but which no doubt admits of explanation. I have seen it only on hills of secondary formation, on those of Shorâwak and Séghân, but had not the opportunity of verifying whether it is peculiar to them. The húshí flourishes vigorously on the hills near Kâbal, and large quantities of the gum-resin might be obtained. Esteemed a vulnerary, it enters into the composition of ointments, but no further use is made of it. The dried stems are sold in the bazárs as fuel, and selected ones are distributed in the roofs of houses.

There are two other species of *ferula*, much inferior in size to the húshí. On neither of them could I detect any gum-resin. They are very general.

A variety of the gaz, or tamarisk tree, flourishing principally in Khárân, but found also in the valley of the Múllöh river, yields a sweet-tasted gum, as has been elsewhere noted. The tree producing it differs from the common variety of tamarisk in

having white flowers in place of red ones, and that its verdure is of a more lively, although paler green. The variety in question bears also a species of galls, which, like those of the oak tree, are used as mordants in dyeing. The gum and tree have both the name of shakr-gaz, and the galls are called sákor. I have reason to believe that this species of tamarisk is known in the swamps of Mazánderân. The common tamarisk, or gaz, is met with along the entire line of road from Súnmiání to Shâll, and indeed from thence to Kándahár, Gazní, and Kâbál, but never larger than a straggling bush, and always in swampy grounds. This tree thrives particularly in the valley of the Indus, at Baháwalpúr, Múltán, Pesháwer, and at Jelálabád. It is the athello of the Arabs. A solitary tree of the species amongst the ruins of old Babylon, is supposed by some to be a vestige of the famed hanging gardens. Be this as it may, the athello, or gaz, as a shrub, still fringes the banks of the Euphrates and Tigris.

The oleander, or gandéli, as called, is found in the stony beds of the torrents of Balochistân. With its handsome appearance and splendid tufts of flowers it enlivens many a dreary scene. A native of the hills south of Shíraz, it is found, in delightful contrast to the bold and stern features of the rocky landscape, along the beds of the mountain rivulets which traverse them. The plant is poisonous to cattle, and its firm-pointed leaves possess acrid properties. Its Bráhuí name is jowar, and “am chí

tálin ka jowar," or "as bitter as jowar," is a proverb.

Two or three varieties of willows are found in Sahárawân, near water-mills, or on the banks of canals. They are not indigenous, neither are the poplars, chanárs, or planes, and cypresses, to be seen in gardens.

The plains of Sahárawân, as well as of Jhálawân, so far south as Bâghwân, are covered with two notable varieties of plants; one called búntí, or terk, the other kâr-shútúr. The former has two species, the stalks of the one white or yellowish, of the other red, constituting the white and the red terk. The latter is esteemed a febrifuge. This plant is general over the wilds of Afghânistân. It has a fragrant and peculiar odour, like rue, which it imparts to the passing breeze. It is eagerly eaten by camels, sheep, and goats, and, when dried, is collected for fuel. The kâr-shútúr, or camel's-thorn, is, as its name implies, a thorny bush, and a favourite food of camels. Besides these, the mangúlí is a common plant, bearing yellow flowers. It is said to be poisonous to horses and camels, not so to sheep and goats. About Kalât, and generally in cultivated ground, the shír-gúnar is a frequent plant, from which exudes a highly acrid milk. Near the skirts of hills, and in their lower regions, are a number of odoriferous plants. During the spring, so profuse is the vegetation on the hills that numbers of sheep constantly die of repletion. The

animals burst, and their flesh, while eaten, becomes nearly black. The hills of Sahárawân and Jhá-lawân boast a great diversity of flowering plants with bulbous roots. Of these, the varieties of the lâla, or tulip, of the orchis, &c., are most conspicuous. Pinks are general. Amongst the many other plants of the plain, and of the little pasture-ground occurring, are several common in England, as clover, hawkweed, mallows, thyme, horse-mint, dandelion, star-flowers, docks, iris, camomile, cuckoo's bread and cheese, &c.

The wild white rose abounds on the hills of Sahárawân, and seems to select the higher elevations. The petals are gathered for medicinal uses, and females and children make themselves necklaces of the scarlet hips. As we proceed northward towards Kâbal, the wild rose is of a yellow colour, and, with its blossoms covering the entire stems and branches, is a magnificent object. Its leaves are most minute. Red and white wild roses at Kâbal are very seldom seen, but again prevail in certain favoured spots in the Hazârajât.

A thorny bush, called shínálúk, abounds on the hills of Kalât, and is much used as fuel. It bears yellow flowers, like the furze-bush, and, like it, burns fiercely and with a crackling noise. The true furze embellishes with its golden blossoms the neighbourhood of Wad.

Of the many plants found in the hills, there are some possessing medicinal properties, and some

which are useful in other ways. Of the medicinal plants, híshwarg and panírband may be noted. They both delight in temperate climates, and are found principally amongst the hills of Jhálawân. They are alike natives of the hills of Eastern Afghânistân. Híshwarg, which may be a species of *justicia*, is esteemed a refrigerant and febrifuge. The leaves and roots, of a harsh bitter taste, are used in decoction, the roots being deemed most effectual. Pánírband (the cheese-maker) is the constant companion of the former, and a very similar plant in appearance and manner of growth, there being slight differences in the colour of the leaves and form of the flowers. Pánírband has leaves of a mouse colour, and its flowers are umbelliferous, while those of híshwarg are of the tuberoso description. In the former they are succeeded by globular seed vessels, the parts of the plant held of value. These are invested with a yellow, waxy pulp, when ripened, of an astringent and sweetly bitter taste, and are much celebrated for their efficacy in pains and disorders of the stomach. In the valley of the Indus, where they are sold in shops, I have witnessed that they are serviceable. In such cases, I could not account for their mode of action, although I could readily believe them to be tonic. Inserted in milk, they have the property of coagulating it, whence they serve as substitutes for rennet, and this circumstance has conferred upon the plant its name. Besides these, the *plantago*, *ispaghul*, is common,

and, as a demulcent, is much used. Another plant, called yútrangan, and by Afghâns trikandar, is celebrated, however idly, for its aphrodisiac virtues. The cassia senna, common in Sind, prevails along the line of coast westward. It is also found so far north as Hâshtnagar, in the plain of Pesháwer. This is one of those plants which distinctly exhibits the sexual variations, like the date tree, and lasúra, or cordia myxa.

Amongst the useful plants, the fiesh, a species of aloe, is perhaps the more generally so. From its fan-like leaves are manufactured mats, ropes, sandals, and numerous articles of domestic convenience. This plant affects a mild moderate temperature. In Afghânistân it is a native of the hills of Bangash and Pesháwer. The thin flexile branches and stems of the gíshtar are made into a substitute for whipcord and catgut by the Bráhúís; the plant has no leaves. They are also considered strengthening diet for camels, which eagerly feed on them. The mármút, a variety of lichen, is sometimes employed as food, but more generally as a medicine; it is thought efficacious in diseases of debility.

It will be seen, from the preceding observations, that Balochistân, while it may boast of some variety in its plants, is by no means a woody country. The largest trees indigenous to its hills are the ghwen and ápurs, and neither has a height exceeding twenty to twenty-five feet. While the variations in

latitude of the several provinces are not important, the differences in elevation are sufficient to cause a strong contrast in their vegetable productions. This is very observable with regard to the provinces of Sahárawân and Kach Gandâva, under the same parallel. In the former are to be seen most of the trees and plants I have enumerated; in the latter are to be met with, of indigenous growth, little beyond stunted mimosas, bérs, and karíls. The southern and maritime province of Las has a few trees of Indian origin, which may be considered importations, as the kénatti (palma Christi), the doguri (ficus religiosa), and the emmali or amblí (tamar Indicus), with the nim (melia azadarachta). It has others common to both countries, as the tamarisk, the pérú, the bér, the perpúk, the karil, the dédár, and a few which, if not peculiar to it, are not found eastward, as the gúgúl, producing the gum-bdelium, the olive, the krúp, a species of capparis, &c.

MINERALOGY.

That a country possessing so large a proportion of mountainous surface as Balochistân, should be destitute of metallic and mineral treasures is hardly to be credited. That they are unknown or neglected, must be ascribed to the ignorance and apathy of the inhabitants. The extensive regions under note have never been scientifically explored,

and present, no doubt, an ample field to reward skilful research. That the metallic and mineral treasures have not been developed, we are told is owing to an aversion to excite the cupidity, or to promote the benefit, of the Dúránís, who claim the produce of mines. The sulphur mines of Kach Gandâva, worked formerly with vivacity, were held by them under a military force, and the revenue was enjoyed by the governor of Déra Ghází Khân.

The mountain chains of Balochistân are of compact limestone, enclosing, as instanced at Chehel Tan, marine shells and corals, identical with similar objects picked up on the sea shores at this day. At the skirts of the ranges bordering on Kach Gandâva and Sind, where evidences of a peculiar action are manifest in tepid and sulphureous springs, marine petrifications of an earlier date are frequent; at least, not to be identified with the present products of the ocean. The parallelism of the principal ridges of Balochistân deserves attention, particularly as it pervades by far the greater part of the chains which, radiating southward from the primary belt of the Caucasus, rib as it were this part of the world. The direction is from north by east to south by west. The minor ranges, which stretch into the northern Panjâb, from the Pir Panjâl belt, east of the Indus; and west of that river, the ranges which define the limits of Shamla, Banú, Sohât, and Bájore, with those farther to the westward, separating Lughmân

from Taghoh and Nijroh; and again these places from the Kohistân and Koh Dáman, have all the same inclination; so has the chain bounding to the west Koh Dáman and the Kohistân, while supporting the elevated mountainous region of the Házârajât. Farther south the hills of eastern Bangash, the long chain of Chaisaghar, or Takht Súlimân, west of the Indus, the ranges intersecting the country south of Ghazní, and between it and Shâll, have a strictly conformable course. In Balochistân the continuity of the system of parallelism is preserved by the chains separating Kach Gandâva and the valley of Sind from Sahárawân and Jhálawân, by the minor ridges extending west of them, until they merge into the loftier barrier of Khwoja Amrán, dividing Sahárawân, Sherrúd, and Peshing from Shoráwak, Búldak, and the vicinity of Kândahár.

It must not, however, be supposed that all the mountains in this part of the world have the same direction. While there is evidently one system, distinguished by its inclination from north to south, there is as palpably another extending from east to west. Belonging to it are the Seféd Koh range, south of the Jelálabád valley, the Siáh Koh, north of the same valley; the ridges south of the valley of Kâbal, and the range traversing the chains of Sahárawân, and marking the course of the Bolan river. To examine the structure of these various hills would, no doubt,

be a labour of interest, and one which might lead to the confirmation of many important geognostic theories, or displace them by others more agreeable to facts. I regret it is in my power only to show there is something to be done. While the hills of Balochistân, that is the more considerable ones, are of limestone, as we proceed northward, and approach the superior belt of Caucasus, in the vicinity of Kâbal, the ridges are composed of gneiss and mica slates. There are also ridges of pure granite; and there is one circumstance which struck me,—that the pure granite is always attended by genuine slate, while the spurious granite, or gneiss, is never without mica slate. Very many of the granite ranges in the vicinity of the Caucasus being distinct, are highly instructive, as the peculiarities of their construction and conformation become apparent. These have, I believe invariably on the one front, a bold, and more or less abrupt aspect; on the other, towards their bases, they support a mass of upraised schistose strata.

Of metals known to exist, lead is most abundant, being found at Khozdâr, in the hills between Sind and Balochistân, and again in the ranges between Kalât and Panjghûr. The same hills yield antimony. Iron obviously occurs in the hills north of Béla, and so widely dispersed a metal must needs be found in many other places. Copper is believed to occur in the hills west of Sohrâb and Ghiddar, also at Kísandún, between Sohrâb and Rodinjo.

The sulphur mines of Kachí are in the hills west of Súrân and Sanní. They are lazily worked, and yield a profit of twelve thousand rupees annually. Formerly they yielded five times as much. The ore is carried to Bâgh for purification. It is effected by boiling the pounded matter in oil, until the fluid is evaporated, when the stones and impurities subside, and the sulphur remains on the surface. Fine porcelain clay abounds in the low hills between Kalât and Mangachar; much of the limestone of the hills is so translucent as to be, in fact, excellent marble. Boles and ochres are common, and in the Bolan valley is an earth resembling fullers'-earth, and applied to similar purposes. Coal occurs both in the Bolan pass and in the hills of Gúrghína. Agates, and fragments of jasper, are found in the hills east of Kalât, near Shalkoh, and are used in place of flints.

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